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# OUTLINES

OF A

# PHILOSOPHY

OF THE

# HISTORY OF MAN;

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

## JOHN GODFREY HERDER,

BY

T. CHURCHILL.

——— Quem te Deus esse
Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re,
Disce ———

PERS.

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# THE

# TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

EVERY one, who is acquainted with HERDER, muſt be aware of the difficulty, if not impoſſibility, of transfuſing his ſpirit, his 'words that burn,' into another language. To have undertaken a taſk ſo arduous, may be deemed preſumption in me; and no one can be more ſenſible than myſelf, that, in the execution of it, I am far, very far from having done what I wiſhed, and what it would have been the height of my ambition to have accompliſhed.

Yet I did not engage in it without the encouragement of one, who can appreciate the merits of Herder; who happily unites a critical knowledge of the engliſh language with that of the german; and to whoſe kindneſs I am indebted for the explanation of many paſſages, and the improvement of many expreſſions, as well as ſome notes diſtinguiſhed by the ſignature F. I truſt, therefore, I ſhall have afforded ſome gratification to the engliſh reader, and added to our ſtock a valuable book: for ſurely all the merit of Herder, all the beauty and ſublimity of his ideas, cannot be obſcured by any tranſlation.

For myſelf, at leaſt, though laborious, it has been a pleaſing toil: many moments of bodily pain and mental anxiety has it ſweetly beguiled; and while it has made my breaſt glow with the fervour of virtuous ſentiment, I have almoſt felt myſelf the inhabitant of another world. May others feel from the peruſal what I have done from the performance; and then no one, I hope, will lay down the book, without being able to ſay, that he is a happier and a better man.

London, Nov. 15, 1799.

# PREFACE.

When I publiſhed ten years ago the little tract, entitled 'Another Philoſophy of Hiſtory for the Improvement of Mankind,' this title was by no means intended to proclaim, '*anch' io ſon pittore*,' 'I too am a painter.' It was meant rather as a Supplement to many Supplements of the preſent Century, and the ſubjoined motto, as an expreſſion of humility; implying, that the author, far from exhibiting it as a complete philoſophy of the hiſtory of our ſpecies, merely pointed out, amid the numerous beaten roads, that men are perpetually treading, one little foot-path, which had been neglected, and yet was probably worth exploring. The works quoted occaſionally in the book were ſufficient, to ſhow the wellworn paths, from which the author wiſhed to turn his ſteps; and thus his eſſay was intended for nothing more than a looſe leaf, a ſupplement to ſupplements, as it's form likewiſe evinced.

The whole of the impreſſion was ſoon ſold, and I was encouraged to prepare a new edition; but it was impoſſible, that this ſhould appear before the public in it's former ſtate. I had obſerved, that ſome of the ideas contained in my tract had been introduced into other works, and applied in an extent of which I had never thought. It had never entered into my mind, by employing the few figurative expreſſions, the *childhood*, *infancy*, *manhood*, and *old age* of our ſpecies, the chain of which was applied, as it was applicable, only to a few nations, to point out a highway, on which the *hiſtory of cultivation*, to ſay nothing of the *philoſophy of hiſtory at large*, could be traced with certainty. Is there a people upon earth totally uncultivated? and how contracted muſt the ſcheme of Providence be, if every individual of the human ſpecies were to be formed to what *we* call cultivation, for which refined weakneſs would often be a more appropriate term? Nothing can be more vague, than the term itſelf; nothing more apt to lead us aſtray, than the application of it to whole nations and ages. Among a cultivated people, what is the number of thoſe who deſerve this name? in what is their preeminence to be placed? and how far does it contribute to their happineſs? I ſpeak of the happineſs of individuals; for that the abſtract being, the ſtate, can be happy, when all the members that compoſe it ſuffer, is a contradiction, or rather a verbal illuſion, evident to the ſlighteſt view.

If the book, therefore, would in any degree anſwer it's title, it muſt begin much deeper, and embrace a much wider compaſs of ideas. What is human happineſs? how far does it exiſt in this world? conſidering the great difference of all the beings upon earth, and eſpecially of man, how far is it to be found in every form of government, in every climate, in every change of circumſtances, of age, and of the times? Is there any ſtandard of theſe various ſtates? and has Providence reckoned on the well-being of her creatures, in all theſe ſituations, as upon her ultimate and grand object? All theſe queſtions muſt be inveſtigated, they muſt be unravelled through the wild whirl of ages and governments, before a general reſult for mankind at large can be produced. Thus we have here a wide field to traverſe, and profound depths to explore. I had read almoſt every thing, that was written upon the ſubject; and from my youth every new book that appeared, relative to the hiſtory of man, and in which I hoped to find materials for my grand work, was to me a treaſure diſcovered. I congratulated myſelf, that this philoſophy became more in vogue of late years, and neglected no collateral aſſiſtance, that fortune threw into my way.

An author, who produces a book, be it good or bad, in ſome meaſure exhibits his own heart to the world, provided this book contain thoughts, which, if he have not invented, and in our days there is little that is new left for invention, he has at leaſt *found*, and made his own, nay which he has enjoyed for years as the property of his own heart and mind. He not only reveals the ſubjects, that have employed his thoughts at certain periods, the doubts, that have occurred to perplex him in his journey through life, and the ſolutions, with which he has removed them; but he reckons upon ſome minds in uniſon with his own, be they ever ſo few, to which theſe or ſimilar ideas will prove of importance in the labyrinth of life; for what elſe could excite him to turn author, and diſcloſe what occurs within his own breaſt to the eyes of a rude multitude? With thoſe he converſes unſeen, and to thoſe he imparts his ſentiments; expecting from them in return their more valuable thoughts and inſtructions, when they have advanced beyond him. This inviſible commerce of hearts and minds is the one great benefit of printing, without which it would be of as much injury as advantage to a literary nation. The author conſidered himſelf as in a circle of thoſe, who actually felt themſelves intereſted in the ſubject on which he wrote, and on which he was deſirous of calling forth and participating their better thoughts. This is the moſt eſtimable merit of authorſhip; and a man of a good heart will feel much leſs pleaſure from what he ſays, than from what he excites. He who reflects, how opportunely this or that book, or

merely this or that hint in a book, has ſometimes fallen in his way; what pleaſure it has afforded him, to perceive a diſtant mind, yet actively near to him, in his own, or in a better track; and how ſuch a hint has often occupied him for years, and led him on ſtill farther; will conſider an author, who converſes with him, and imparts to him his inmoſt thoughts, not as one who labours for hire, but as a friend, who confidentially diſcloſes his yet imperfect ideas, that the more experienced reader may think in concert with him, and carry his crudities nearer to perfection.

On a ſubject like mine, *the hiſtory of mankind, the philoſophy of their hiſtory*, ſuch a diſpoſition in the reader appears to me a prime and pleaſing duty. He, who wrote it, was a man; and thou, who readeſt it, art a man alſo. He was liable to errour, and has probably erred: thou haſt acquired knowledge, which he did not and could not poſſeſs; uſe, therefore, what thou canſt, accept his good will, and throw it not aſide with reproach, but improve it, and carry it higher. With feeble hand he has laid a few foundation ſtones of a building, which will require ages to finiſh: happy, if, when theſe ſtones may be covered with earth, and he who laid them forgotten, the more beautiful edifice be but erected over them, or on ſome other ſpot!

But I have imperceptibly wandered too far from the deſign, with which I ſet out, and which was, to give an account of the manner of my falling upon this ſubject, and returning to it again among other occupations and duties of a very different nature. At an early age, when the dawn of ſcience appeared to my ſight in all that beauty, which is greatly diminiſhed at the noon of life, the thought frequently occurred to me, *whether, as every thing in the world has it's philoſophy and ſcience, there muſt not alſo be a philoſophy and ſcience of what concerns us moſt nearly, of the hiſtory of mankind at large.* Every thing enforced this upon my mind; metaphyſics and morals, phyſics and natural hiſtory, and laſtly religion above all the reſt. Shall he, who has ordered every thing in nature, ſaid I to myſelf, by number, weight, and meaſure; who has ſo regulated according to theſe the eſſence of things, their forms and relations, their courſe and ſubſiſtence, that only one wiſdom, goodneſs, and power prevail from the ſyſtem of the univerſe to the grain of ſand, from the power that ſupports worlds and ſuns to the texture of a ſpider's web; who has ſo wonderfully and divinely weighed every thing in our body, and in the faculties of our mind, that, when we attempt to reflect on the *only-wiſe* ever ſo remotely, we loſe ourſelves in an abyſs of his purpoſes; ſhall that God depart from his wiſdom and goodneſs in the general deſtination and diſpoſition of our ſpecies, and act in theſe without a plan? Or can he have intended to keep us in ignorance of this, while

he

he has displayed to us so much of his eternal purposes in the inferiour part of the creation, in which we are much less concerned? What are the human race upon the whole but a flock without a shepherd? In the words of the complaining prophet, are they not left to their own ways, *as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things that have no ruler over them?* Or is it unnecessary to them, to know this plan? This I am inclined to believe: for where is the man, who discerns only the little purpose of his own life? though he sees as far as he is to see, and knows sufficiently how to direct his own steps.

In the mean time perhaps this very ignorance serves as a pretext for great abuses. How many are there, who, because they perceive no plan, peremptorily deny the existence of one; or at least think of it with trembling dread, and doubting believe, believing doubt! They constrain themselves not to consider the human race as a nest of emmets, where the foot of a stranger, himself but a large emmet, crushes thousands, annihilates thousands in the midst of their little great undertakings, where lastly the two grand tyrants of the Earth, Time and Chance, sweep away the whole nest, destroying every trace of it's existence, and leaving the empty place for some other industrious community, to be obliterated hereafter in it's turn. Proud man refuses to contemplate his species as such vermin of the Earth, as a prey of all-destroying corruption: yet do not history and experience force this image upon his mind? What whole upon Earth is completed? What is a whole upon it? Is not Time ordained as well as Space? Are they not the twin offspring of one ruling power? That is full of wisdom; this, of apparent disorder: yet man is evidently formed to seek after order, to look beyond a point of time, and to build upon the past; for to this end is he furnished with memory and reflection. And does not this building of one age upon another render the whole of our species a deformed gigantic edifice, where one pulls down what another builds up, where what never should have been erected is left standing, and where in the course of time all becomes one heap of ruins, under which timid mortals dwell with a confidence proportionate to it's fragility?

I will pursue no farther this chain of doubts, and the contradiction of man with himself, with his fellows, and with all the rest of the creation: suffice it, that I have sought for *a philosophy of history* wherever I could seek it.

Whether I have found it, let this work, but not its first volume *, decide. This contains only the basis, partly in a general view of the place of our abode,

* The original is in four volumes 8vo, which in the present translation are included in one; the volumes, containing five books each, were published separately, and this preface was prefixed to the first. T.

partly

partly in an examination of the different organized beings, that enjoy with us the light of our Sun. No one, I hope, will think this courſe too long, or beginning at too remote a diſtance: for, as there can be no other, to read the fate of man in the book of the creation, it cannot be too carefully or too extenſively conſidered. He, who requires mere metaphyſical ſpeculations, may have them in a ſhorter way: but theſe, unconnected with experience and the analogy of nature, appear to me aerial flights, that ſeldom lead to any end. The ways of God in nature, the intentions which the eternal has actually diſplayed to us in the chain of his works, form the ſacred book, the letters of which I have endeavoured to ſpell, and ſhall ſtill continue to do ſo, with ſkill inferiour to that of a child it is true, but at leaſt with honeſty and zeal. Were I ſo happy as to impart only to one of my readers ſomewhat of that ſweet impreſſion of the eternal wiſdom and goodneſs of the inſcrutable creator in his operations, which I have felt with a confidence, for which I know not a name, this feeling of aſſurance would be a ſafe clew, with which in the ſubſequent part of the work we might venture into the labyrinth of human hiſtory. Every where the great analogies of nature have led me to religious truths, which, though I find it difficult, I muſt ſuppreſs, ſince I would not prematurely anticipate, but faithfully follow ſtep by ſtep that light, which every where beams upon me from the hidden preſence of the creator in his works. It will be ſo much the greater ſatisfaction both to my reader and to myſelf, if, as we proceed on our way, this obſcurely dawning light riſe upon us at length with the ſplendour of an unclouded ſun.

Let no one be miſled, therefore, by my occaſionally employing the term nature, perſonified. Nature is no real entity; but *God is all in his works:* this ſacred name, however, which no creature, that comes under the cognizance of our ſenſes, ought to pronounce without the profoundeſt reverence, I was deſirous at leaſt not to abuſe by employing it too frequently, ſince I could not introduce it with ſufficient ſolemnity on all occaſions. Let him, to whoſe mind the term nature has been degraded, and rendered unmeaning, by many writers of the preſent day, conceive inſtead of it that *almighty power, goodneſs, and wiſdom,* and mentally name that inviſible being, for whom no language upon Earth can find an expreſſion.

It is the ſame when I ſpeak of the *organic powers of the creation:* I do not imagine, that they will be conſidered as *occult qualities,* ſince their operations are apparent to us, and I know not how to give them a more preciſe and determinate name. At ſome future period I intend, to enter more fully into

theſe and other ſubjects, at which I muſt here give no more than a curſory glance.

In the mean time I rejoice, that this infantile attempt has been made in an age, when the hands of maſters have collected materials, and laboured in ſo many particular ſciences and branches of knowledge, to which it was neceſſary for me to have recourſe. Theſe, I am aſſured, will not deſpiſe the exoteric attempts of one uninitiated in their arts, but improve them; for I have conſtantly obſerved, that, the more real and firmly grounded a ſcience is, ſo much the leſs empty altercation occurs among them, who are attached to it and cultivate it. Verbal diſputes are left to thoſe, who are learned only in words. Moſt parts of my book ſhow, that a philoſophy of the hiſtory of man cannot yet be written, though it will probably before the end of this chiliad, if not in the preſent century.

Thus, great being, inviſible ſupreme diſpoſer of our race, I lay at thy feet the moſt imperfect work, that mortal ever wrote, in which he has ventured to trace and follow thy ſteps. It's leaves may decay, and it's characters vaniſh; forms after forms, too, in which I have diſcerned traces of thee, and endeavoured to exhibit them to my brethren, may moulder into duſt; but thy purpoſes will remain, and thou wilt gradually unfold them to thy creatures, and exhibit them in nobler forms. Happy, if then theſe leaves ſhall be ſwallowed up in the ſtream of oblivion, and in their ſtead clearer ideas riſe in the mind of man.

*HERDER.*

Weimar, April 23, 1784.

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PHILO-

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK I.

### CHAPTER I.

*Our Earth is a Star among Stars.*

IF our philoſophy of the hiſtory of man would in any meaſure deſerve that name, it muſt begin from Heaven. For as our place of abode, the Earth, is of itſelf nothing, but derives it's figure and conſtitution, it's faculty of forming organized beings, and preſerving them when formed, from thoſe heavenly powers, that pervade the whole univerſe; we muſt firſt conſider it not ſingly by itſelf, but as a member of that ſyſtem of worlds, in which it is placed. It is bound by eternal inviſible bonds to it's centre, the Sun; from which it derives light, heat, life, and vigour. Without this Sun, we can no more conceive our planetary ſyſtem, than a circle without a centre. With it, and that beneficial power of attraction, with which the eternal Being has endued it and all matter, we perceive the planets formed in it's domain, according to ſimple, beautiful, and maſterly laws, jocundly and inceſſantly revolving on their axes, and round one common centre, in ſpaces proportionate to their magnitudes and denſities; nay, by the ſame laws round ſome of them moons are formed to revolve. Nothing ſo much exalts the mind, as this contemplation of the grand ſtructure of the univerſe; and never, perhaps, did human thought attempt ſo bold a flight, and in part with ſucceſs, as when in Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, Huygens, and Kant*, it conceived and confirmed the ſimple, eternal, and perfect laws of the formation and motion of the planets.

* Kant's *Allgemeine Naturgeſchichte und Theorie des Himmels*, 'General Natural Hiſtory and Theory of the Heavens,' Kœnigſb. and Leipſ. 1755; a work much leſs known, than it deſerves. Lambert has expreſſed ſome ſimilar ideas in his Coſmological Letters, without being acquainted with the book; and Bode, in his *Kœnntniſs des Himmels*, 'Knowledge of the Heavens,' has introduced ſome of Kant's conjectures with reſpectful mention.

It is Hemſterhuis, if I remember right, who laments, that this ſublime ſyſtem has by no means had ſuch an effect on the circle of our ideas, as it would have had on the minds of mankind in general, had it been eſtabliſhed with mathematical accuracy in the times of the greeks. We, for the moſt part, content ourſelves with viewing the Earth as a grain of ſand moving in that great abyſs, where the Earth fulfils her courſe round the Sun, this Sun with thouſands more round their common centre, and probably yet many other ſuch ſyſtems of ſuns in ſeparate ſpaces of the heavens; till at length both the underſtanding and the imagination are loſt in this ſea of immenſity and eternal magnitude, and find neither exit nor end.

But this barren aſtoniſhment, in which we are abſorbed, is ſurely not to be reckoned the nobleſt or moſt durable effect. To Nature, in herſelf all-ſufficient, the grain of ſand is not of leſs value than an immeaſurable whole: ſhe determines the points of ſpace and of exiſtence, where worlds ſhall be formed; and in each of theſe points ſhe as wholly is, with the indiviſible fulneſs of her power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, as though no other point of creation, no other earthly atom exiſted. When I open the great book of the univerſe, and ſee before me that immenſe palace, which the Deity alone can fill in every part; I reaſon as cloſely as I can from the whole to it's parts, and from it's parts to the whole. It was one and the ſame power, that created the reſplendent Sun, and preſerves this grain of ſand in it's orbit; the ſame power, that cauſed a galaxy of ſuns to revolve probably round the Dog-ſtar, and that acts on this earthly ball in the laws of gravitation. When I perceive, that the place occupied by our Earth in this temple of ſuns, the path deſcribed by it in it's courſe, it's magnitude, it's maſs, and every thing thereon depending, are determined by laws, that act throughout infinity: I muſt not only be ſatisfied with the place allotted me, and rejoice, that I am ſo enabled to perform my part in the harmonious choir of beings innumerable, unleſs I would madly revolt againſt omnipotence; but it will be my nobleſt occupation, to inquire what in this allotted place I ought to be, and what in all probability I can be in it alone.

If, in what ſeems to me the moſt limited and inconſiſtent, I find not only traces of the great creative power, but an evident connexion of the minuteſt things with the plan of the creator in immenſity; the beſt quality of my reaſon, ſtriving to imitate God, will be to purſue this plan, and adapt itſelf to the divine mind. On the Earth therefore would I not ſeek an angel of Heaven, a creature mine eye has never ſeen; but I would find on it inhabitants of the Earth, human beings, and would with all ſatisfaction receive what our great mother

mother produces, ſupports, nouriſhes, endures, and finally receives into her boſom with affection. Other Earths, her ſiſters, may probably boaſt and enjoy ſuperiour creatures: ſuffice it there lives on them, what on them can live. My eye is framed to ſupport the beams of the Sun at this diſtance, and no other; my ear, for this atmoſphere; my body, for a globe of this denſity; all my ſenſes, from, and for, the organization of this Earth: to which alſo the actions of my mental faculties are adapted. Thus the whole ſpace and ſphere of action of my ſpecies is as preciſely determined and preſcribed, as the maſs and courſe of the Earth, on which my life is to be ſpent: and thence too in many languages man derives his name from his parent Earth.

The greater the ſphere of harmony, goodneſs, and wiſdom, to which my parent belongs; the more ſublime and fixed the laws, on which her being, and that of all other worlds, depend; the more I perceive, that in them all proceeds from one, and one ſubſerves all; the more firmly too find I my fate enchained, not to the duſt of this Earth, but to the inviſible laws by which this Earth is governed. The power, which thinks and acts in me, is, from it's nature, as eternal as that, which holds together the Sun and the ſtars: it's organs may wear out, and the ſphere of it's action may change, as earths wear away, and ſtars change their places; but the laws, through which it is where it is, and will again come in other forms, never alter. It's nature is as eternal as the mind of God; and the foundations of my being (not of my corporeal frame) are as fixed as the pillars of the univerſe. For all being is alike an indiviſible idea; in the greateſt, as well as in the leaſt, founded on the ſame laws. Thus the ſtructure of the univerſe confirms the eternity of the core of my being, of my intrinſic life. Wherever or whatever I may be, I ſhall be, as I now am, a power in the univerſal ſyſtem of powers, a being in the inconceivable harmony of ſome world of God.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Our Earth is one of the middle Planets.*

THE Earth has two planets, Mercury and Venus, below it; above it are Mars, perhaps another concealed from us beyond it, Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, and whatever others there may be, before the regular ſphere of action of the Sun is loſt, and the eccentric orbit of the laſt approaches the wild ellipſes of the comets. As in place, ſo in magnitude, and in the proportion and duration of it's revolution on its own axis and round the Sun, it is a being of a

middle kind; each extreme, the greateſt and the leaſt, the ſwifteſt and the ſloweſt, are remote from it on either ſide. Convenient as the ſituation of our Earth is, before that of other planets, for an aſtronomical view of the whole *, yet it would be highly gratifying, could we have a nearer inſpection but of a few of the members of this magnificent family of ſtars. A journey through Jupiter, Venus, or merely our own moon, would give us ſuch an inſight into the formation of our Earth, which ſprung from the ſame laws, into the relation the people of our Earth bear to the organized beings of other worlds, and, perhaps, into our future deſtination; that from the conſtruction of two or three links, we might more boldly infer the progreſs of the whole chain.

But Nature, by whom are fixed limits we are not to paſs, has denied us this near inſpection. We ſee the Moon, and contemplate it's vaſt mountains and caverns; we behold Jupiter, his eccentric revolutions, and his belts; we obſerve the ring of Saturn, the ruddy light of Mars, the ſofter beams of Venus; and thence we boldly conjecture, what right or wrong we fancy we perceive. In the diſtances of the planets we obſerve proportion; and we have formed probable concluſions of the denſities of their maſſes, with which we have ſought to make their movements and their revolutions accord. All this, however, we have done, as mathematicians merely, not as natural philoſophers; for we have no middle term of compariſon between them and our Earth. The proportion of their magnitudes, rotations, orbits, &c. to their ſolar diſtance, has not yet pointed out any formula capable of explaining their natures from one and the ſame law of coſmogony: ſtill leſs do we know how far each planet is advanced in it's formation; and leaſt of all have we any conception of the organization and circumſtances of it's inhabitants. The dreams of Kircher and Swedenborg, the pleaſantries of Fontenelle, the conjectures of Huygens, Lambert, and Kant, each marked with it's peculiar features, prove, that of theſe we can know nothing, we muſt know nothing. Whether we make our ſcale aſcending or deſcending; whether we place the more perfect beings near the Sun, or remote from it; all is but a dream, which our inability to enter into the varieties of the planets will ſtep by ſtep deſtroy, and ultimately reduce us to this concluſion; that every where, as here, ſimplicity and variety prevail; but that the limits of our underſtanding, and our point of view, afford us no meaſure, by which to eſtimate their advancement or retrogreſſion. We are not in the centre, but in the throng; like other worlds we float with the ſtream, and have no ſtandard of compariſon.

If, however, we venture, from our ſtation to form a ſcale aſcending to the

* Kæſtner's Eulogy of Aſtronomy, in the *Hamb. Magaz.* vol i, p. 206, and following.

Sun,

Sun, the ſource of light and life in our creation, and deſcending from it; to our Earth will belong the ambiguous golden lot of mediocrity, which for our conſolation at leaſt we may conſider as a happy mean. While Mercury revolves round his axis, and experiences the viciſſitude of day and night, in about ſix hours; completes his year in eighty-eight days; and is ſix times as ſtrongly enlightened by the Sun as our Earth: while Jupiter, on the other hand, takes eleven years and three hundred and thirteen days, to accompliſh his extenſive courſe round the Sun, though his day and night take up leſs than ten hours: while old Saturn, to whom the ſolar light is a hundred times weaker, ſcarcely performs his journey round the Sun in thirty years, yet revolves on his axis in about ſeven hours: we middle planets, Mars, Venus, and the Earth, are of a middle nature. Our days vary little from each other, though they are as different from thoſe of the reſt, as our years are in an oppoſite proportion. The day of Venus is about twenty-four hours long; that of Mars, not twenty-five. The year of the former conſiſts of two hundred and twenty four days; that of the latter, of ſix hundred and eighty ſeven, though he is three times and a half leſs than the Earth, and more than half as far again from the Sun. When we proceed to the reſt, the proportions of their magnitudes, revolutions, and diſtances, differ widely from each other.

Thus Nature has placed us on one of the three middle planets; in which, as a mean degree and more moderate proportion with reſpect to time and ſpace apparently prevail, a middle order of beings may be ſuppoſed to dwell. In us the relation of matter to mind is probably proportionate to the length of our days and nights. The celerity of our thoughts is probably as the revolutions of our planet round itſelf, and round the Sun, to thoſe of other ſtars: as our ſenſes are evidently adapted to the organization of our Earth. On each ſide, we may preſume, there are the greateſt divergencies. So long then as we live on this Earth, let us reckon only on the mean earthly underſtanding, and ſtill more equivocal human virtues. Could we behold the Sun with the eyes of Mercury, and fly on his wings: were the ſlow pace, and ample orbit of Saturn, or Jupiter, given us, with the ſame revolutionary ſwiftneſs: or, capable of enduring the utmoſt extremes of heat and cold, could we ride on the hair of a comet through the wide regions of Heaven: we might ſpeak of other minds and powers, than thoſe proportioned to the middle courſe of humankind. But now, being where and what we are, let us remain true to this middle courſe: it is probably adapted with preciſion to the term of our exiſtence.

It

It muſt fire the ſoul of the moſt indolent mortal, to conceive himſelf in any way enjoying the riches of creative nature now denied us: to imagine, that probably, after we have attained the ſummit of the organization of our planet, it may be our lot, it may be the progreſs of our fate, to traverſe others of the ſtars; or that it may be our ultimate deſtination, to aſſociate with all the perfected creatures of ſo many and ſo various kindred worlds. As our thoughts and faculties evidently ſpring only from our earthly organization, and ſtrive to change and improve themſelves, till they have attained all the purity and perfection, that our creation can impart; if we may preſume to reaſon from analogy, the ſame muſt take place in other ſtars: and who can conceive the glorious harmony, when beings ſo variouſly formed all tend to one point *, and impart to each other their experiences and perceptions? Our underſtanding is a terreſtrial underſtanding, gradually faſhioned by the things around us, that make themſelves perceptible to our ſenſes: ſo is it alſo with the impulſes and propenſities of our hearts: to another world their external helps and obſtacles are in all likelihood unknown. But will their reſults alſo be unknown? Certainly not! all the radii tend to the centre. The pure underſtanding muſt be every where underſtanding, from whatever ſenſible objects it has been deduced: the energies of the heart will every where have the ſame capacity, that is virtue, on whatever objects they may have been exerciſed. Thus here, too, probably the greateſt variety tends to uniformity, and all-comprehenſive nature will have one point, in which the nobleſt exertions of ſo many beauteous creatures unite, and the flowers of all worlds are collected into one garden. Why ſhould not that, which is phyſically united, be ſpiritually and morally united too? Since ſpirit and morals are alſo phyſical, and obey, only in a ſuperiour ſphere, the ſame laws, all of which ultimately depend on the ſolar ſyſtem. Might I be permitted, to compare the general conſtitutions of the ſeveral planets, in reſpect to their organization and the lives of their inhabitants, with the various colours of a ray of light, or the various notes of the gamut: I would ſay, that probably the light of the one Sun of truth and goodneſs ſtrikes differently on each planet. But while one Sun illumines them all, and they all revolve in one plane of creation; it is to be hoped, they will all approach nearer and nearer to perfection, each in his own way, till at length, after various changes they

* Of the ſun, as a probably habitable body, ſee Bode's Thoughts on the Nature of the Sun, in the Tranſactions of the Phyſical Society of Berlin, *Beſchæftig. der Berlinſchen Geſellſchaft Naturforſchender Freunde*, vol. ii, p. 225.

all

all unite in one ſchool of the good and beautiful. At preſent let us be only men; that is, one colour, one note, in the harmony of our ſtars. If the light we enjoy may be compared to the mild green colour, let us not conſider ourſelves as the pure light of the Sun, and take our underſtandings and wills for the ſupports of the univerſe: for we, with this our Earth, and every thing upon it, evidently form but a ſmall fragment of the great whole.

## CHAPTER III.

*Our Earth has undergone many Revolutions ere it became what it now is.*

THE truth of this propoſition is evident, from what appears on the ſurface of the Globe, and juſt beneath it; farther than which man has not yet penetrated. Water has overflowed it, and formed foſſile ſtrata, mountains, and valleys: fire has raged, burſt the ſhell of the Globe, raiſed up mountains, and thrown out the melted entrails of the Earth: air, encloſed in the Earth, has excavated it, and aſſiſted the eruption of the powerful element of fire: winds have exerciſed their fury on it's ſurface, and a ſtill more powerful cauſe has changed it's zones. Much of this has happened in times, when organized and living beings already exiſted: and indeed in many places more than once, at longer or ſhorter intervals; as petrified animals and plants almoſt every where, at the greateſt heights, and at extreme depths, ſufficiently prove.

Many of theſe revolutions preſume an Earth already formed, and may be deemed therefore, with probability, accidental: others appear eſſential to the Earth, and were the original cauſes of it's form. Of neither claſs of them, between which it is not eaſy to draw the line, have we yet a complete theory. We have little reaſon indeed to expect a theory of thoſe, which I have termed accidental; for they are as it were of an hiſtorical nature, and may depend on too many trifling local cauſes: but of the eſſential and primitive revolutions of our Earth I could wiſh the theory might be diſcovered before I die. I even hope it will: for though the obſervations made in different parts of the Globe are far from being ſufficiently accurate and comprehenſive; ſtill the principles eſtabliſhed, and remarks made by natural philoſophers, and the experiments of chemiſts and mineralogiſts, ſeem to me to approach the point, where ſome fortunate ken may unite different ſciences, and elucidate one by another. Buffon, with his bold hypotheſes, is certainly but the Des-Cartes of this branch of knowledge, whom ſoon a Kepler or a Newton will outſtrip and confute by

unſophiſticated concordant facts. The new diſcoveries, that have been made reſpecting heat, light, fire, and their various effects on the compoſition, reſolution, and conſtituent parts of terreſtrial ſubſtances; the ſimple principles, to which the electric matter, and in ſome meaſure the magnetic, are reduced; appear to me, if not near approximations, at leaſt conſiderable advances, which will in time enable ſome happy genius, by the aid of ſome connecting idea, to explain our geogony on principles as ſimple as thoſe, to which Kepler and Newton have reduced the ſolar ſyſtem. How great a ſtep would it be, could many powers of nature, hitherto deemed occult qualities, be thus referred to phyſical properties, the ſubjects of demonſtration!

Be this as it may, ſtill it is undeniable, that here too Nature purſues her grand courſe, and produces the greateſt variety from an infinitely progreſſive ſimplicity. Before our air, our water, our earth, could be produced, various reciprocally diſſolving and precipitating *ſtamina* were neceſſary: and how many ſolutions and converſions of one into another do the multifarious ſpecies of earths, ſtones, and cryſtallizations, and of organization in ſhells, plants, animals, and, laſtly, in man, preſuppoſe! as Nature ſtill every where produces all things from the fineſt and moſt minute; and, while ſhe reckons not by our eſtimation of time, imparts the moſt copious abundance with the ſtricteſt regard to economy; this ſeems, even according to the Moſaic tradition, to have been her courſe, when ſhe laid the firſt foundations of the creation, or rather of the formation and evolution of creatures. The maſs of active powers and elements, from which the Earth was formed, contained, probably, as a chaos, all that was to be, and could be, on it. At ſtated periods, air, fire, water, the earth, aroſe from theſe ſpiritual and material *ſtamina*. Various combinations of water, air, and light, muſt have taken place, before the ſeeds of the firſt vegetable organization, of moſs perhaps, could have appeared. Many plants muſt have ſprung up and died, before organized animals were produced; and among theſe, inſects and birds, aquatic and nocturnal animals, muſt have preceded the more perfect animals of the land and the day; till finally, to crown the organization of our Earth, Man, the MICROCOSM, aroſe. He, the ſon of all the elements and beings, their choiceſt ſummary and the flower of the creation, could not but be the laſt darling child of Nature; whoſe formation and reception various evolutions and changes muſt have preceded.

Still it was natural, that he ſhould ſee many; for as Nature never reſts from her work, and yet leſs neglects or poſtpones it in favour of a fondling; the drying up and faſhioning of the Earth, internal flame, external floods, and all their conſequences, muſt have occurred often, for a long time after man dwelt

on

on it's ſurface. Even our ancient written traditions ſpeak of ſuch revolutions; and we ſhall hereafter ſee the powerful effects, theſe fearful phenomena of old times have had on almoſt the whole of the human race. Such ſtupendous commotions are now more rare, as the Earth is perfected, or rather grown old: but never can we, or our habitation, be totally exempt from them. Very unlike the conduct of a philoſopher was the complaint made by Voltaire at the cataſtrophe of Liſbon, on account of which he almoſt blaſphemouſly arraigned the Deity himſelf. Are not we ourſelves, and all that belong to us, including even our habitation the Earth, indebted to the elements? And when theſe, agreeably to the ever-acting laws of nature, periodically rouſe and claim their own; when fire and water, air and wind, which have rendered our Earth habitable and fruitful, proceed on their courſe and deſtroy it; when the Sun, after having long warmed us with paternal care, foſtered all living beings, and linked them to his cheering viſage with golden bands, ultimately attracts into his fiery boſom the ſuperannuated powers of the Earth, which ſhe can no longer renovate and uphold; what more happens, than the eternal laws of wiſdom and order require? In a ſyſtem of changeable things, if there be progreſs, there muſt be deſtruction: apparent deſtruction, that is; or a change of figures and forms. But this never affects the interiour of nature, which, exalted above all deſtruction, continually riſes as a phenix from it's aſhes, and blooms with youthful vigour. The formation of this our abode, and all the ſubſtances it can produce, muſt have already prepared us for the frailty and mutability of the hiſtory of man; and the more cloſely we inſpect it, the more clearly do theſe unfold themſelves to our perception.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Our Earth is an orb, which revolves round it's own axis, and in an oblique direction towards the Sun.*

As a ſphere is the moſt perfect figure, containing the greateſt ſurface with the leaſt maſs, and including the greateſt variety in the moſt beautiful ſimplicity; our Earth, and all the planets and ſuns, have been projected by the hand of Nature as orbicular bodies, ſimple, yet full; abundant, without waſte. The multifarious variety, that actually exiſts on our Earth, is aſtoniſhing; but ſtill more aſtoniſhing is the unity, that pervades this inconceivable variety. It is a mark of the profound northern barbarity, in which we educate our children,

that we give them not from their infancy a deep impreſſion of this beauty, this uniformity and variety of our Earth. May my book go a little way toward the diſplay of this grand proſpect, which ſtruck me forcibly the moment I began to think for myſelf, and firſt launched me on the wide ocean of free inquiry. It will be ſacred to me as long as I behold the circumambient Heaven above me, and this all-including ſelf-encircling Earth beneath my feet.

It is inconceivable how men could ſo long ſee the ſhadow of their Earth in the Moon, without being deeply ſenſible, that every thing on it's circumference is wheel, is change. Who, that had ever ſeriouſly conſidered this figure, would have gone about to have converted a whole world to a verbal faith in philoſophy or religion, or to murder men for it with blind but holy zeal? Every thing on our Earth is the variation of a ſphere; no point reſembles another, neither hemiſphere is like the other; eaſt and weſt are as oppoſite as north and ſouth. It ſhows a narrowneſs of mind, to conſider this variation merely with reſpect to latitude, becauſe, perhaps, with regard to longitude it is leſs evident, and to divide the hiſtory of man into climates, according to an old ptolomean ſyſtem. To the ancients the Earth was leſs known; at preſent we are better acquainted with it, than to take a general view and eſtimation of it merely by north and ſouth parallels.

On the Earth all is change; it admits no ſections, none of the neceſſitous diviſions of a globe or a chart. While the ball revolves, heads revolve on it as climates, manners and religions as diſpoſitions and garments. In it there is unſpeakable wiſdom: not that every thing is ſo multifarious, but that every thing on this round ball is ſo in uniſon. In this law: to effect many things in one, and to combine the greateſt variety with an unconſtrained uniformity: conſiſts the height of beauty.

Nature has faſtened a gentle weight to our feet, to give us this uniformity and ſtability: in the material world it is called gravity, in the immaterial indolence. As every thing preſſes toward a centre, and nothing can leave this World, for it depends not on our will, even whether we ſhall live and die on it, or not; ſo Nature draws our minds from infancy with ſtrong chains, each to it's own, that is to it's Earth; for what have we at bottom, that is properly our own, but this? Every one loves his country, his manners, his language, his wife, his children; not becauſe they are the beſt in the World, but becauſe they are abſolutely his own, and he loves himſelf and his own labours in them. Thus men accuſtom themſelves to the moſt indifferent food, the hardeſt way of life, the rudeſt manners of the rudeſt climate, and find in them pleaſure and content. Even the birds of paſſage build their neſts in the places where they were

were born; and the wildeſt country has often the moſt attractive ties for the race of men, by which it is inhabited.

Aſk we then, where is the country of man? where the central point of the Earth? Every where, the anſwer may be: here, where thou ſtandeſt: be it near the icy pole, or directly under the burning Sun of the line. Wherever men can live, and they can live almoſt every where, there live men. As the great parent of all could not produce an eternal uniformity on our Earth; nothing remained, but to create the utmoſt variety, and form man of proper materials to endure it. Hereafter we ſhall perceive a beautiful ſcale, according to which, as the organization of a creature is more elaborate, it's capacity for ſupporting various ſtates, and adapting itſelf to each, is increaſed. Of all theſe changeable, modifiable, adaptable creatures, man is the moſt adaptable: the whole Earth is made for him; he for the whole Earth.

If, then, we would philoſophiſe on the hiſtory of our ſpecies, let us reject, as far as poſſible, all narrow modes of thinking, taken from the conſtitution of one region of the Earth, the doctrines of a ſingle ſchool. Let us conſider as the purpoſe of Nature, not what man is with us, or what, according to the notions of ſome dreamer, he ought to be; but what he is on the Earth in general, and at the ſame time in every region in particular; or to what the copious variety of circumſtances in the hand of Nature can any where faſhion him. We will not ſeek for him any favourite form, any favourite region; wherever he is, he is the lord and ſervant of Nature; her moſt beloved child, and at the ſame time perhaps her moſt rigidly ſubjugated ſlave. Advantages and diſadvantages, evils and diſeaſes, as well as new kinds of enjoyment and the fullneſs of bliſs, every where await him; and as the die turns up theſe circumſtances and conditions, ſo is he.

By an eaſy mean, though to us inexplicable, Nature has not only promoted this variety of creatures upon the Earth, but has fixed and limited it's extent. This mean is the obliquity of the Earth's axis to the Sun's equator: which ariſes not from the laws of rotatory motion; for Jupiter has it not, his axis ſtanding perpendicular to his orbit; Mars has it but in a ſmall degree; while Venus again has it very acute; and Saturn, with his ring and his moons, lies ſidelong to the Sun. What an infinite variety of ſeaſons and ſolar influences is thus occaſioned in our ſyſtem! Here too our Earth is a favoured child, a middle aſſociate: the angle in which ſhe is inclined is not yet four-and-twenty degrees. Whether this were always ſo, is not for us at preſent to inquire; ſuffice it, that ſo it now is. This unnatural, or at leaſt to us inexplicable angle, is become

proper to it, and has not changed for ſome thouſands of years *; thus it ſeems neceſſary to what the Earth, and the human ſpecies upon it, muſt now be. For this obliquity of the ecliptic conſtitutes changeable zones, which render the whole Earth habitable, from the pole to the equator, and from the equator to the pole. The Earth muſt have a regular inclination, that regions, which would otherwiſe lie in cimmerian cold and darkneſs, may behold the beams of the Sun, and be fitted for organization. As the hiſtory of the Earth from the remoteſt times informs us, that the difference of the zones has had conſiderable influence on all the revolutions of the human mind and it's operations; for neither from the torrid nor the frigid zones have thoſe effects ever been produced, to which the temperate zones have given birth: we ſee with what fine traits the finger of omnipotence has deſcribed and encircled all the changes and ſhades on the Globe. Had the Earth's inclination to the Sun differed but a little from what it is, every thing on it would have been different.

Thus here, too, ſuitable variety is the law of the plaſtic art of the Creator of the World. It was not ſufficient for him, that the Earth was divided into light and ſhade, and human life into day and night: the year of our exiſtence alſo was to vary, and only a few days were left for us in it's autumn and winter. Hence were determined the length or ſhortneſs of human life, the meaſure of our faculties, the revolutions of our different ages, the changes of our occupations, phenomena, and thoughts, the nullity or duration of our reſolves and acts: for all theſe, we ſhall find, are ultimately connected with the ſimple law of the viciſſitude of days and ſeaſons. Did man live longer, were the powers, the end, the enjoyment, of his life, leſs changeable and diffuſed, did not Nature urge him ſo periodically with all the phenomena of the ſeaſons; man's empire on the Earth would not be ſo extenſive; and ſtill leſs would the complicated ſcenes, that hiſtory now diſplays, be produced; but in a more circumſcribed habitation, our vital powers would probably operate more intimately, energetically, and firmly. At preſent the words of the Preacher are the ſymbol of our Earth: There is a time for all things; winter and ſummer, ſpring and fall, youth and age, labour and reſt. Under our oblique ſun every action of man reſembles the revolutions of the ſeaſons.

* From the obſervations of different aſtronomers, it has been inferred, that the obliquity of the ecliptic is regularly decreaſing, at leaſt ſince the time of Ptolomy, at the rate of about two minutes and half of a degree in a century. T.

## CHAPTER V.

*Our Earth is enveloped with an atmoſphere, and is in conflict with ſeveral of the celeſtial bodies.*

We are of ſuch a complicated ſtructure, a ſummary of almoſt every ſpecies of organization on the Earth, the primitive conſtituent parts of which were all probably precipitated from the ether, and paſſed from the inviſible to the viſible world, that we are incapable of breathing pure air. When our Earth firſt began to be, the air, in all likelihood, was the magazine, that contained the powers and materials, which formed it. And is it not ſo ſtill? How many things, heretofore unknown, have been diſcovered of late years, all of which act through the medium of the air! The electric matter, and the magnetic fluid; phlogiſton, and the acidifying principle; cold-engendering ſalts, and, perhaps, the particles of light, which the Sun may ſerve only to ſet in motion; all theſe are powerful inſtruments of Nature's operations on the Earth; and how many more yet remain to be diſcovered! The air fecundates and diſſolves; it abſorbs, ferments, and precipitates. Thus it ſeems to be the mother of terreſtrial creatures, as well as of the Earth itſelf; the general vehicle of things, which it receives into it's boſom, and again looſes from it's embrace.

It needs not to be demonſtrated, that the influence of the atmoſphere cooperates in the moſt ſpiritual determinations of all the creatures upon Earth: with the Sun it ſhares the government of this globe, which it formerly created. What an univerſal difference would have taken place, had our air poſſeſſed a different degree of elaſticity and gravity, of purity and denſity; had it precipitated another water, another earth; and had it otherwiſe influenced the organization of bodies! Undoubtedly this is the caſe with other planets, formed in other regions of the air: and thence all the notions we can form of their ſubſtances and phenomena from thoſe of our Earth muſt be altogether uncertain. Prometheus was creator here; he formed bodies from ſoft precipitated clay, and drew from above as many ſparks of light and intellectual power, as were attainable at this diſtance from the Sun, and in a maſs of this particular ſpecific gravity.

The difference between men too, as well as between all the other productions of the terreſtrial globe, muſt be regulated by the ſpecific difference of the medium, in which, as in the organ of the deity, we live. This reſpects not merely the diviſion of the zones according to heat and cold, or merely the lightneſs or

weight

weight of the atmoſphere, that preſſes on us; but infinitely more the various active immaterial powers, that operate in it, nay, probably conſtitute all it's qualities and phenomena. How the electric and magnetic ſtreams flow round our Earth; what vapours and exhalations aſcend in this place or in that; whether they tend; into what they are converted; what organizations they produce; how long they ſuſtain them; and how they diſſolve them; all evidently affect the conſtitution and hiſtory of every race of men: for man, like every thing elſe, is a nurſling of the air, and in the whole circle of his exiſtence is the brother of all the organized beings upon Earth.

It ſeems to me, we ſhould approach a new world of knowledge, if the obſervations, which Boyle, Boerhaave, Hales, S'Graveſande, Franklin, Prieſtley, Black, Crawford, Wilſon, Achard, and others, have made on heat and cold, on electricity, and on the different ſpecies of air, with other chemical principles; and if their influence in the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, and on men and animals, were collected into one natural ſyſtem. If in time theſe obſervations ſhould become as multifarious and general, as the increaſing knowledge of various regions and productions of the Earth would allow, till the growing ſtudy of nature ſhould eſtabliſh as it were an univerſally diffuſed free academy, which ſhould obſerve, with divided attention, but with one regard to truth, certainty, utility, and beauty, the influence of theſe principles in this place and that, on one ſubject and another; we ſhould ultimately obtain a geographical aerology, and ſee this great hothouſe of Nature operating a thouſand changes by the ſame fundamental laws. Thence would the formation of man, in body and in mind, be explained to us; and we ſhould be enabled to finiſh the picture, of which we have at preſent but a few, though clear, outlines.

But the Earth is not alone in the univerſe: other celeſtial beings, therefore, operate on it's atmoſphere, on this great repoſitory of active powers. That globe of eternal fire, the Sun, governs it with his beams. The Moon, that ponderous gravitative body, that probably hangs even within it's atmoſphere, preſſes on it at one time with her cold and dark ſurface, at another with her face warmed by the Sun. Now ſhe is before, then behind it: at one time ſhe is nearer the Sun, at another farther off. Other celeſtial bodies approach the Earth, preſs on it's orbit, and modify it's powers. The whole ſyſtem of the heavens is a ſtrife of ſimilar or diſſimilar orbs, propelled with great force toward each other; and nothing but the one great idea of omnipotence alone could balance theſe propelling powers, and uphold them in the conflict. Here too, in the wide labyrinth of contending powers, has the human underſtanding found a clew, and almoſt performed miracles; guided principally by the irregular Moon, propelled

by

by two oppoſite forces, and fortunately placed ſo near us. Were all theſe obſervations, and their reſults, once to be applied to our aerial orb, as they have already been to the ebb and flow of our ocean; were the induſtry of many years to proceed, in various places of the Earth, aſſiſted by delicate inſtruments, part of which are already invented, to reduce to order, and connect in one whole, the revolutions of this celeſtial ſea, according to time and place; I am of opinion, *aſtrology* would appear anew among our ſciences in the moſt reſpectable and uſeful form; and what Toaldo began, what De Luc, Lambert, Mayer, Beckmann, and others, have promoted by the eſtabliſhment of principles or collateral helps, probably a Gatterer would complete, and aſſuredly with a comprehenſive view of geography and the hiſtory of man.

Be this as it may, we are, and we grow, we wander and toil, under or in a ſea of celeſtial powers, part of which we have obſerved, and of part of which we have formed conjectures. Since air and weather have ſo much power over us, and the whole Earth; in all likelihood it was here an electrical ſpark, that ſhot more pure into this human being; there a portion of inflammable matter, more forcibly compreſſed into that; here a maſs of mere coldneſs and ſerenity; there a ſoft, mollifying, diffuſive eſſence; that determined and produced the greateſt epochs and revolutions of humankind. The omnipreſent eye, under which this clay alſo is faſhioned according to eternal laws, can alone point out to every elementary atom, every emitted ſpark, every ethereal ray, in this world of phyſical powers, it's place, it's time, and it's ſphere of action, to mix and qualify it with oppoſite powers.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *The planet we inhabit is an Earth of mountains, riſing above the ſurface of the waters.*

THIS is confirmed by a ſimple inſpection of a map of the World, which exhibits chains of mountains, not merely traverſing the dry land, but evidently appearing to conſtitute the ſkeleton, on which the land was formed. In America the mountains run along the weſtern coaſt through the iſthmus. They proceed obliquely, as does the land: where they penetrate more interiourly, the land grows wider, till they are loſt in the unknown regions of New-Mexico. It is likely, that here they not only proceed higher up to mount Elias, but are alſo laterally connected with others, particularly the Blue Mountains, as in South America, where the land

land is broader, and the mountains run northward and eaſtward] Thus America, even according to it's figure, is a ſtripe of earth appended to it's mountains, and formed more level, or more ſteep, according to their declivity.

The other three quarters of the Globe preſent a more complicated aſpect, as their great outline forms in fact but one whole; yet it requires no great exertion to perceive, that the protuberant ſpine of Aſia is the ſtem of the mountains, that ſpread over that quarter of the Globe, over Europe, and probably over Africa, or at leaſt it's ſuperiour part. Atlas is but a continuation of the aſiatic mountains, acquiring a greater height in the middle of the country, and in all likelihood connecting itſelf with the Mountains of the Moon, by means of the chains of mountains near the Nile. Whether theſe Mountains of the Moon be ſufficiently high and broad, to be deemed actually one of the ſpines of the Earth, futurity muſt determine. The extent of the country, and ſome imperfect accounts, give room for ſuch a conjecture; but the proportionate paucity and ſmallneſs of thoſe rivers of this quarter of the Globe, with which we are acquainted, prevent us from determining them to be a true girdle of the Earth, as the Ural of Aſia, or the Cordilleras of America. But it is enough for our purpoſe, that in theſe regions alſo the land is evidently faſhioned by the mountains. It is every where extended parallel to theſe; and wherever the mountains ſpread and branch out, there alſo ſpreads the land. This remark is equally valid in the promontory, the iſland, and the peninſula: the land ſtretches out it's arms and limbs, wherever the ſkeleton of mountains is ſtretched out; it is, therefore, only a diverſified maſs, formed on this ſkeleton in various ranges and layers, that ultimately became habitable.

Thus the production of the firſt mountains determined how the Earth ſhould exiſt as dry land. They ſeem as it were the ancient nuclei, or buttreſſes, of the Earth, on which the air and water only depoſited their burdens, till at length a place for vegetable organization was laid down, and ſpread out. Theſe moſt ancient chains of mountains are not capable of being explained by the rotation of the Globe: they are not in the region of the equator, where the orbicular motion is moſt powerful; they are not even parallel to it; indeed the american chain paſſes directly acroſs the equator. From theſe mathematical circles, therefore, we can ſeek no light; particularly as the loftieſt mountains and chains of mountains, compared with the moving maſs of the Globe, are reduced to an inſignificant nothing. I deem it, therefore, not fit, to ſubſtitute an analogy with the equator and meridians in the names of chains of mountains, as there is no true connexion between them, and it may tend to introduce erroneous ideas. It is from their original form, generation, and extenſion, from their

height and breadth, in ſhort from a *phyſical law of Nature*, that their formation, and with it the formation of the firm land, is to be explained. But whether ſuch a phyſical law of Nature be diſcoverable; whether they be as rays from one centre, as branches from one ſtem, or as angular horſeſhoes; and what rule of formation they had, when they protuberated as bare mountains, as the ſkeleton of the Earth; are important queſtions, that remain to be ſolved, and of which I much wiſh to ſee a ſatisfactory ſolution. I ſpeak not here of hills formed by alluvion, but of the firſt fundamental and primitive mountains of the Earth.

Suffice it, that the land ſtretched itſelf out, juſt as the mountains aroſe. Aſia was firſt habitable, as it poſſeſſed the higheſt and broadeſt chains of mountains, and on the ridge a plain, which the ſea never reached. Here too, in all likelihood, was, in ſome happy valley, at the foot of the emboſoming mountains, the firſt ſelect habitation of man. Thence his progeny extended ſouthwards in the pleaſant and fertile plains, that bordered the ſtreams; while northwards harder races were formed, who roved between the rivers and mountains, and in courſe of time ſpread themſelves weſtward even as far as Europe. Troop followed troop; one people preſſed forward another; till at length they arrived at a ſea, our Baltic, over which part croſſed, while another part turned off, and occupied the ſouth of Europe. But other colonies, other troops of people, proceeding from Aſia ſouthwards, had already ſettled themſelves here; and hence, by different and ſometimes oppoſite ſtreams of men, this corner of the Earth was peopled ſo thickly as we now ſee it. At length more than one people, being hardly preſſed, retired into the mountains, and relinquiſhed the plains and open country to their conquerors: hence, almoſt throughout the whole World, we meet with the moſt ancient remains of nations and languages, either on mountains, or in the nooks and corners of the land. There is ſcarce an iſland, ſcarce a country, where the plains are not occupied by a foreign people of more recent date, while the more ancient and uncultivated nation has concealed itſelf among the hills. From theſe hills, on which they have retained their ruder way of life, they have often, in later times, effected revolutions, involving the inhabitants of the plains to a greater or leſs extent. India, Perſia, China, and even the weſtern countries of Aſia, nay Europe itſelf, protected as it has been by it's arts and the diviſion of it's lands, have more than once felt the ſcourge of overwhelming armies deſcending from the mountains: and what has happened on the great ſtage of the World has been no leſs frequent in ſmaller circles. The mahrattas in the ſouth of Aſia, the wild mountaineers in many different iſlands, and here and there in Europe the remains of the ancient brave inhabitants of the hilly countries, have made various incurſions on the plains, and, when they could not

be conquerors, have become robbers. In ſhort, the great mountainous ridges of the Earth ſeem, as they were the firſt habitation of the human race, to be the grand repoſitories of the inſtruments of it's revolutions and conſervation. As they diſtribute water to the Earth, ſo alſo diſtribute they people: as from them fountains ariſe, ſo ſprings from them the ſpirit of bravery and freedom, when the gentler plains are ſunk beneath the yoke of laws, arts, and vices. The heights of Aſia are even now the rendezvous of people for the moſt part uncultivated: and who can tell what parts they are placed there to overwhelm and renovate in future ages?

Of Africa we know too little, to form a judgment of the preſſure and propulſion of it's people. The higher countries, as appears from the races that inhabit them, were certainly peopled from Aſia; and Egypt probably obtained it's cultivation from the ſame quarter, not from the higher ridges of it's own firm land. It has been overrun, however, by the ethiopians; and on many of it's coaſts, beyond which we know nothing of the country, we hear of irruptions of the ſavage people of the mountainous parts. The gagas or jages are famous as cannibals in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word; and the caffres, and the people beyond Monomotapa, are ſaid not to be inferiour to them in barbarity. Indeed here, ſimilarly to what we obſerve every where elſe, the primitive ſavage races appear to inhabit the Mountains of the Moon, which occupy the wideſt ſpace of the interiour country.

However old or recent the population of America may be, Peru, the moſt cultivated ſtate of this quarter of the Globe, is ſeated directly at the feet of the higheſt of the Cordilleras; but only at their feet, in the pleaſant and temperate vale of Quito. The wild nations ſtretch along the mountains of Chili to Patagonia. The other chains of mountains, and the interiour part of the country in general, are little known to us; yet enough to confirm the poſition, that upon and amidſt the mountains, ancient manners, original barbariſm, and freedom, dwell. Moſt of theſe people are yet unconquered by the ſpaniards, who are themſelves forced to give them the appellation of *los bravos*. The cold regions of North America, as well as of Aſia, are to be conſidered as a wide range of mountains, both with reſpect to climate, and the manners of their inhabitants.

Thus Nature ſtretched the rough but firm outline of the hiſtory of man and it's revolutions, with the lines of mountains ſhe drew, and the ſtreams ſhe let flow from them. How people here and there broke out, and diſcovered farther land; how they ſtretched along the ſtreams, and erected huts, villages, and towns, in fruitful places; how they intrenched themſelves as it were between

mountains

mountains and deſerts, a river, perhaps, in the midſt, and called the ſpot, ſeparated by nature and their occupancy, now their *own*; how hence, according to the circumſtances of the place, various modes of life, and ultimately kingdoms aroſe, till at length men reached the coaſt, and from the generally unfruitful ſhore invaded the ſea, and learned to procure from it their food; belongs as properly to the natural progreſs of the hiſtory of man, as to the phyſical hiſtory of the Earth. One height produced nations of hunters, thus cheriſhing and rendering neceſſary a ſavage ſtate: another, more extended and mild, afforded a field to the ſhepherd, and aſſociated with him inoffenſive animals: a third made agriculture eaſy and neceſſary: while a fourth led to fiſhing, to navigation, and at length to trade. The ſtructure of our Earth, in it's natural variety and diverſity, rendered all theſe diſtinguiſhing periods and ſtates of man unavoidable. Thus in many parts of the Earth manners and cuſtoms have remained unchanged ſome thouſands of years: in others they have altered, commonly from external cauſes, yet always according to the land from which the alteration came, and to that in which it happened, and on which it operated. Seas, mountains, and rivers, are the moſt natural boundaries of nations, manners, languages, and kingdoms, as well as of the land: and, even in the greateſt revolutions of human affairs, they have been the directing lines or limits of the hiſtory of the World. Had the mountains riſen, had the rivers flowed, or had the coaſt trended otherwiſe, how very differently would mankind have been ſcattered over this tilting-place of Nature!

I ſhall ſay but few words reſpecting the ſhores of the ſea: they form a ſtage as ample, as the aſpect of the firm land is great and diverſified. What has rendered Aſia ſo uniform in manners and prejudices, and peculiarly the firſt ſchool of nations, and the place where they were formed? Firſt, and chiefly, it's being ſuch a great extent of firm land, in which people not only ſpread themſelves with eaſe, but remain long, and ſtill connected with each other, whether they will or not. North and ſouth Aſia are ſeparated by great mountains; but no ſea divides their ample ſpace: the Caſpian alone remains at the foot of Caucaſus, a remnant of the primitive ocean. Here tradition eaſily found it's way, and might be ſtrengthened by new traditions from the ſame or other regions. Here every thing ſtruck a deep root; religion, filial reverence, deſpotiſm! The nearer we are to Aſia, the more are theſe, as ancient, eternal habits, at home; and notwithſtanding the variations between different countries, they are ſpread over the whole of the ſouth of Aſia. The north, which is ſeparated from this by lofty mountains, as by a wall, has formed it's many nations differently: yet in ſpite of all the varieties between the ſeveral people, a like degree of uniformity per-

vades the whole. Tatary, the moſt immenſe region of the Earth, ſwarms with nations of different pedigree, all of whom are nearly at the ſame degree of cultivation: for no ſea ſeparates them: they all wallow on one great north-inclining plain.

On the other hand, what a difference is produced by the Red Sea, ſmall as it is? The abyſſinians are an arabian race, the egyptians an aſiatic people: yet quite another world of manners and cuſtoms appears among them. The like is diſplayed in the lowermoſt corner of Aſia. What a difference does the narrow gulf of Baſſora make between the perſians and arabs! How diſtinct are the malays from the people of Cambodia, from whom they are ſeparated by the little gulf of Siam! The manners of the inhabitants of Africa evidently differ little, for they are ſeparated by no ſee or gulf, and probably by deſerts alone. Hence, too, foreign nations have been able to make leſs impreſſion on it; and to us, who have wormed ourſelves into almoſt every hole, this vaſt quarter of the Globe is little better than unknown; merely becauſe it is no where deeply indented by the ſea, and ſpreads itſelf as an inacceſſible gold-country in one broad patch.

America is ſo full of little nations, probably, becauſe it is ſo broken and interſected, north and ſouth, with rivers, lakes, and mountains. From it's ſituation, alſo, it is externally of all lands the moſt acceſſible, as it conſiſts of two peninſulas, connected only by a narrow iſthmus, where a deep bay forms an archipelago of iſlands. Thus it is all coaſt as it were; and hence the poſſeſſion of almoſt all the maritime powers of Europe, and in war the apple of contention. This ſituation was favourable for us european plunderers: while it's internal diviſions were unfavourable for the improvement of it's ancient inhabitants. They dwelt too much ſeparated from one another by lakes and rivers, abrupt heights and precipices, for the culture of one region, or *the old word* of the tradition of their fathers, to eſtabliſh and extend itſelf as in the wideſpread Aſia.

Why is Europe diſtinguiſhed by the variety of it's nations, it's multifarious manners and arts, but ſtill more by the influence it has had on all parts of the World? I know well there is a combination of cauſes, that we cannot here trace ſeparately: but phyſically it is inconteſtible, that it's interſected, multiform land has been one occaſional and contributive cauſe. As the people of Aſia migrated hither by various ways, and at various times, what bays and gulfs, what numerous rivers flowing in different courſes, and what alterations of little rows of mountains, found they not here! They might be together, yet ſeparate; act upon one another, and again live in peace: thus this ſmall multifidous part of the World was in miniature the market place, the throng, of all the people

upon

upon Earth. The Mediterranean alone has ſo much influenced the character of all Europe, that we may almoſt call it the medium and propagator of all the cultivation of antiquity and the middle age. The Baltic comes greatly behind it, as it lies far more to the north, between ruder nations and leſs fruitful lands, as a by-lane of the mart of the Earth: yet it is the eye of all the north of Europe. But for it, moſt of the adjacent lands would be barbarous, cold, and uninhabitable. The like effect has the gap between Spain and France, the channel between France and England, the figures of Britain, Italy, and ancient Greece. Change the outlines of theſe countries, here take away a ſtrait, there block up a channel; the formation and devaſtation of the World, the fate of whole regions and people, would proceed for centuries in a different courſe.

Secondly, If it be aſked, why, beſide our four quarters of the Globe, there is not a fifth, in that vaſt ocean, in which one had long been confidently preſumed to exiſt; the anſwer is pretty well determined by facts: in that deep ſea there is no primitive mountain high enough to create an extenſive firm land. The aſiatic mountains terminate in Ceylon with Adam's-Peak, and in Sumatra and Borneo with the ridges from Malacca and Siam; as do the african at the Cape of Good-Hope, and the american in Tierra del Fuego. Thence the granite, the fundamental pillar of the firm land, declines into the deep, and never more appears above the ſurface of the ſea in high ridges. Throughout the great extent of New Holland there is not a ſingle chain of mountains of the firſt order. The Philippines, the Moluccas, and the reſt of the ſcattered iſlands, are all of the volcanic kind only; and many of them have ſtill volcanoes. The ſulphurous pyrites may here have performed it's part, and contributed to the formation of the ſpice-gardens of the World, which it's ſubterranean heat probably continues to render Nature's hothouſe. The coral inſects alſo do what they can *, and produce, perhaps in ſome thouſands of years, the little iſles, that appear as points in the ocean: but the powers of this ſouthern region extend no farther. Nature has deſigned this vaſt ſpace for a great abyſs of water: which was eſſentially requiſite to the habitable land. If once the phyſical law of the formation of the primitive mountains of our Earth were diſcovered, and with it that of the form of our land, we ſhould perceive the reaſon, why the ſouth pole could have no ſuch mountains, and conſequently no fifth quarter of the Globe. Even were there one; muſt it not, from the preſent conſtitution of our atmoſphere, remain uninhabitable; and be, like the Sandwich Iſlands and ſhoals of ice, the hereditary domain of ſeals and penguins?

* See Forſter's Obſervations, *Bemerkungen, &c.*, p. 126 and following.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, ſince we are here contemplating the Earth as a theatre of the hiſtory of man, it is evidently far better, from what has been ſaid, that the Creator ſhould have eſtabliſhed ſome yet undiſcovered law for the formation of mountains, than to have made it dependent on the rotatory motion of the Earth. Had the equator, and the greater velocity of the Earth underneath it, given occaſion to the origin of mountains; the firm land would have ſtretched along it in it's extremeſt breadth, and occupied the torrid zone, which the ſea now in great meaſure cools. This too would have been the central point of the human ſpecies, directly in the region moſt debilitating both to the mental and corporal faculties; if indeed the preſent conſtitution of things in general on the Earth could have found place. Beneath the intenſe heat of the Sun, the moſt violent exploſions of electric matter, the winds, and all the jarring viciſſitudes of weather, would have driven men from the place of their birth and education, and compelled them to retire towards the cold ſouthern zone, cloſe bordering on the fervid region of the Earth, or towards the gelid north. But the father of the World choſe a more favourable ſpot for our origin. He placed the chief trunk of the mountains of the old world in the temperate zone, and the moſt cultivated nations dwell at it's foot. Here he gave mankind a milder climate, and with it a gentler nature, and a more variegated place of education: thence he let them wander by degrees, ſtrengthened and well inſtructed, into hotter and colder regions. There the primitive races could at firſt live in peace, then gradually draw off along the mountains and rivers, and become inured to ruder climates. Each cultivated it's little circle, and enjoyed it, as if it had been the univerſe. Neither fortune nor misfortune ſpread itſelf ſo irreſiſtibly wide, as if a probably higher chain of mountains under the equator had commanded the whole northern and ſouthern world. Thus the Creator of the World has ever ordained things better than we could have directed; and the irregular form of our Earth has effected an end, that greater regularity could never have accompliſhed.

## CHAPTER VII.

*The direction of the mountains renders our two hemiſpheres a theatre of the moſt ſingular variety and change.*

HERE alſo I continue to purſue the aſpect of the general map of the World. In Aſia the mountains ſtretch along the greateſt breadth of the land, and their root is nearly in it's middle: who would ſuppoſe, that in the oppoſite hemiſphere they would ſtretch juſt in a contrary direction through the greateſt length? Yet ſo it is. This alone renders the two diviſions of the World totally different. The high land of Siberia, not only expoſed to the cold north and north-eaſt winds, but cut off from the warming ſouth by the primitive mountains covered with eternal ſnow, muſt be as piercingly cold, even in many of it's ſouthern parts, particularly when the ſaline nature of it's ſoil in ſeveral places is conſidered, as we know from deſcription it is; except where other rows of theſe mountains could ſhelter it from the ſharper winds, and form more temperate vales. But what beautiful regions extend themſelves immediately beneath theſe mountains, in the midſt of Aſia! Theſe walls protect them from the benumbing winds of the north, and leave them only the cooling breeze. On this account Nature changed the courſe of the mountains to the ſouth, and let them run longitudinally through both the peninſulas of Hinduſtan, Malacca, Ceylon, &c. By giving the two ſides of this country oppoſite ſeaſons, and regular alternations, ſhe rendered them the fineſt diſtricts on the Earth. With the chains of mountains in the interiour part of Africa we are little acquainted: yet we know, that they interſect this quarter of the Globe alſo both in it's length and in it's breadth, and probably contribute much to cool it's middle.

In America again what difference! Northward the cold north and north-weſt winds blow a long way down the land, their courſe unbroken by a ſingle mountain. They come from the wide regions of ice, which have hitherto oppoſed every attempt to traverſe them, and which may with propriety be termed the ſtill unknown ice-nook of the World. Thence they ſtretch over extenſive tracts of frozen land, till the climate begins to grow temperate under the Blue Mountains: ſtill however with ſuch ſudden tranſitions from cold to heat, and from heat to cold, as in no other country; probably becauſe throughout the whole of this northern peninſula there is no firm connected wall of mountains, to fend off winds and ſtorms, and limit their dominion. In South America on the

other hand the winds blow from the ice of the ſouth pole, and find, inſtead of a ſcreen to break their force, a chain of mountains to guide them from ſouth to north. The inhabitants of the middle regions, pleaſant as they naturally are, muſt often ſink into laſſitude from the heat and wet produced by the two oppoſing powers, did not the gentle breeze from the mountains or the ſea cool and refreſh the land.

If now we contemplate the ſteep elevation of the land, and it's uniform mountainous ridge, the difference between the two hemiſpheres will be ſtill more ſtriking and perſpicuous. The Cordilleras are the loftieſt mountains in the world: the Alps of Switzerland are little more than half their height. At their feet the Sierras, themſelves high mountains compared with the ſurface of the ſea or the deep abyſs of the vales *, extend in long rows. Merely to traverſe them occaſions ſymptoms of nauſea and ſudden proſtration of ſtrength in men and beaſts, unknown in the higheſt mountains of the old world. At the feet of theſe the country properly begins: and this in moſt places how level, how abruptly parting from the mountains! At the eaſtern foot of the Cordilleras extends the great plain of the River of Amazons, ſingle in it's kind; as the peruvian chains of mountains, which likewiſe remain unfellowed. That river, which at length increaſes to a ſea, has not an inclination of two-fifths of an inch in the courſe of a thouſand feet; and a man may travel over a ſpace equal to the greateſt breadth of Germany, without being advanced a ſingle foot above the level of the ſea †. The mountains of Maldonado, on the River of Plate, are of no importance compared with the Cordilleras; ſo that the whole eaſtern part of South America is to be conſidered as a vaſt plain, which for thouſands of years muſt have been expoſed to inundations, moraſſes, and all the inconveniencies of the loweſt lands, and is ſtill in ſome meaſure liable to them. Here too the giant and the dwarf ſtand ſide by ſide, the wildeſt heights with the profoundeſt depths of which any country on Earth is capable. In the ſouthern part of North America it is preciſely the ſame. Louiſiana is as low as the ſea that leads to it; and this low flat extends far into the country. The great lakes, the ſtupendous cataracts, the piercing cold, of Canada and other places, evince, that the northern regions muſt be high; and that here alſo extremes meet, though in an inferiour degree. What effects all theſe circumſtances have on plants, animals, and men, the ſequel will ſhow.

* See Ulloa's *Nachrichten von Amerika*, 'Account of America,' Leipſic, 1780, with J. G. Schneider's valuable additions, which greatly enhance the worth of the book.

† See Leiſte's *Beſchreibung des Portugieſiſchen Amerika*, 'Deſcription of Portugueſe America,' by Cadena, Brunſwic, 1780; p. 79, 80.

On

On our hemiſphere, where ſhe intended to prepare the firſt abode of men and animals, Nature went otherwiſe to work. She extended the mountains one after another in length and breadth, and ſpread them out into various branches, ſo that all the three quarters of the Globe might be connected, and, notwithſtanding the difference between regions and countries, the tranſition from one to another might be gentle. No region here could remain inundated for ages: here thoſe ſwarms of inſects, amphibia, reptiles, and the reſt of the ſpawn of the waters, that peopled America, were incapable of being formed. The waſte of Kobi alone excepted, for of the Mountains of the Moon we yet know nothing, no ſuch wide expanded deſert heights penetrate the clouds, to produce and nouriſh monſters in their caverns. Here, from a drier, milder compounded region, the electric Sun could elicit finer aromatics, more lenient food, and a more perfect organization both in man, and in all other animals.

It would be highly gratifying, had we a map of mountains, or a mountain atlas, in which theſe pillars of the Earth were laid down, and depicted with every circumſtance, that the hiſtory of man requires. The direction and altitude of the mountains of many regions are pretty accurately determined: the elevation of the land above the level of the ſea, the ſtate of the ground on the ſurface, the flow of the rivers, the directions of the winds, the variation of the compaſs, and the degrees of heat and cold, have been obſerved in others; and ſome of theſe have already been noted on particular charts. If ſeveral of theſe remarks, now lying diſperſed in books of travels and other publications, were carefully collected, and transferred to a map; what a beautiful and inſtructive *phyſical geography of the Earth* would the inquirer into the hiſtory and natural philoſophy of man have before him at one view! the moſt precious ſupplement to the valuable works of Varenius, Lulof, and Bergmann. But here we are yet only at the threſhold: the rich harveſt of information gathered in particular places by Ferber, Pallas, Sauſſure, Soulavie, and others, will at ſome future period probably be reduced to certainty and form, through the means of the peruvian mountains, perhaps the moſt intereſting tract in the World in regard to the higher branches of natural hiſtory.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

*Our Earth is a grand manufactory, for the organization of very different beings.*

HOWEVER chaotic and fragmentary every thing within the bowels of the Earth appears to us, from our inability to contemplate the original conſtruction of the whole; yet we perceive, even in what we ſuppoſe the ſmalleſt and moſt unfiniſhed things, a truly fixed *being*, a *form* and *faſhion* dependent on eternal laws, which no will of man can alter. Theſe laws and forms we obſerve: but their intrinſic powers we know not; and what we expreſs by certain general terms, as coheſion, extenſion, affinity, and gravitation, for inſtance, convey to us ideas of extrinſic relations only, without carrying us one ſtep nearer the internal eſſence of things.

But what every kind of earth and ſtone poſſeſſes, is certainly a general law of all the creatures of our Earth: *conformation*, determinate *figure*, diſtinct *exiſtence*. From no being can theſe be taken; ſince on theſe all it's properties and operations depend. The immeaſurable chain deſcends from the creator down to the germe of a grain of ſand; for even this has it's determinate figure, in which it often approaches the moſt beautiful cryſtallizations. The moſt complicated beings alſo follow the ſame law in their parts: but while ſo many different powers operate in them, ultimately to compoſe a whole, ſo that with the moſt various component parts a general unity may prevail; tranſitions, intermixtures, and numerouſly diverging forms muſt occur.

As ſoon as granite, the nucleus of our Earth, exiſted, there was alſo light, which in the thick vapours of our chaos acted perhaps as fire; there was a more denſe and powerful air, than that we now enjoy, a more compound and ponderous water, to operate upon it. Penetrating acid diſſolved it, and transformed it into ſtones of other kinds: perhaps the immenſe ſands of our Earth are but the

aſhes of this mouldered ſubſtance. The inflammable matter of the air probably converted ſilex into calcareous earth, and in this the firſt living creatures of the ſea, ſhellfiſh, were formed: for throughout all nature the materials appear before the organized animated ſtructure. A ſtill more powerful and pure action of fire and of cold was requiſite to cryſtallization, which inclines not to the ſhelly form, exhibited by ſilex in it's fractures, but to geometrical angles. Theſe too vary according to the component parts of each individual, till they approach the ſemimetals, metals, and ultimately the germes of plants. Chemiſtry, ſo zealouſly purſued of late years, opens to the philoſopher a ſecond abundant creation, in the ſubterraneous realms of Nature: and theſe perhaps contain not merely the materials, but the fundamental principles, and the key, of every thing formed above the earth. Every where we perceive, that Nature muſt deſtroy, ſince ſhe reconſtructs; that ſhe muſt ſeparate, ſince ſhe recombines. From ſimple laws, as from ruder forms, ſhe proceeds to the more complex, artful, and delicate: and had we a ſenſe, enabling us to perceive the primitive forms and firſt germes of things, perhaps we ſhould diſcover in the ſmalleſt point the progreſs of all creation.

Conſiderations of this kind, however, are not to our preſent purpoſe: let us contemplate therefore ſingly the combination, which adapted our Earth to the organization of our plants, and alſo of animals and man. Had other metals been diſtributed over it, as iron now is, which we meet with every where, even in water, earths, plants, animals, and men; had petroleum, had ſulphur, been ſpread over the ſurface of the Globe in ſuch quantity as we now perceive ſand, clay, and fertile mould; how different muſt have been the creatures that dwelt on it! creatures in which a more acrimonious temperament would have prevailed. Inſtead of this the father of the World has made the conſtituent parts of the vegetables, that afford us nutriment, of milder ſalts and oils. From the looſe ſand, tenacious clay, and moſſy peat, theſe are gradually prepared: nay the rugged iron ore, and hard rock, muſt gradually adapt themſelves to theſe; mouldering in length of time, and making room for unſucculent trees, or at leaſt for ſapleſs moſs; iron being not only the wholſomeſt of metals, but the moſt eaſily convertible to the purpoſes of vegetation and nutriment. Air and dew, rain and ſnow, water and wind, naturally manure the earth: the alcaline calces mixed with it artificially promote it's fertility; and to theſe the death of plants and animals chiefly contributes. Salutary parent! how economical and reſtorative thy round! All death is new life: putreſcent corruption itſelf prepares health and freſh powers.

It is an old complaint, that man, inſtead of cultivating the ſurface of the Earth, has dived into it's bowels, and, to the deſtruction of his health and peace, has ſought there, amid peſtiferous vapours, the metals that ſubſerve his pride and vanity, his avarice and ambition. That much of this is true, the effects theſe have produced on the face of the Earth ſufficiently prove; as do ſtill more the pallid apparitions, that, like incarcerated mummies, dig in theſe realms of Pluto. Why is the air in theſe ſo different, that, while it nouriſhes metals, it is deadly to animals and man? why did not the creator pave the Earth with gold and jewels, inſtead of making it a law to all it's creatures, dead or living, to enrich themſelves from fertile mould? Undoubtedly becauſe we cannot eat gold; and becauſe the ſmalleſt edible plant is not only more uſeful to us, but more perfectly organized, and nobler in it's kind, than the moſt coſtly gem, whether we call it amethyſt or ſapphire, emerald or diamond.

Yet let us not carry this point too far. Among the various periods of human nature, which it's creator foreſaw, and which, from the ſtructure of our Earth, he appears to have promoted, are included thoſe ſtates, in which man ſhould learn to dig into it's bowels, and fly over it's ſurface. Thus the creator placed various metals in their pure ſtate almoſt before man's eyes: thus the rivers were deſtined to waſh the ſoil from the earth, and ſhow him it's treaſures. Even the moſt ſavage nations have diſcovered the utility of copper; and the uſe of iron, which with it's magnetic power ſeems to govern the whole Globe, has almoſt alone exalted our ſpecies from one ſtep of cultivation to another. If man be to make the beſt uſe of his habitation, he muſt learn to know it: and his governor has appointed him ſufficiently narrow limits, in which to inveſtigate, diſpoſe, faſhion, and alter it.

Still it is true, that we are principally deſtined to creep as worms on the ſurface of our Earth, on it to improve ourſelves, and ſpend our ſhort lives. However great man may be deemed, we perceive his littleneſs in the domains of Nature, from the thin ſtratum of fruitful mould, which alone is properly his territory. A few feet deeper he digs up things, on which nothing grows, and that require years and ages, to produce only meagre graſs. Still deeper, he often finds again, where he did not ſeek it, his fruitful ſoil, once the ſurface of the Earth, but which changing Nature ſpared not in her progreſſive periods. Muſcles and ſnails lie on mountains; aquatic and land animals are found petrified in ſtones; and foſſil wood, and impreſſions of flowers, are often diſcovered near fifteen hundred feet deep. Poor mortal! thou wandereſt not on the ſurface of thy Earth, but on a covering of thy houſe, which muſt have experienced many deluges, ere it could become

become what it is. There grow for thee a little graſs, a few trees; the parent of which has ſurrounded thee likewiſe with caſualties, and on which thou liveſt the worm of a day.

## CHAPTER II.

*The vegetable kingdom of our Earth conſidered with reſpect to the hiſtory of man.*

THE vegetable kingdom has a higher ſpecies of organization than any mineral production, and ſo ample an extent, that, while on the one hand it loſes itſelf in this, on the other it approaches the animal kingdom. Plants have a ſort of life, and ſucceſſion of ages; they have ſexes and generative powers; they are born and die. The ſurface of the earth was adapted to them, before it was fit for man or animals: every where they preſſed before theſe, and in the ſhape of graſs, of moſs, or of mucor, covered the bare rock, yet untrodden by the foot of any living creature. Where a ſingle grain of light earth could receive a ſeed, and a ray of the Sun warm it, a plant ſprung up, to die a prolific death, as it's duſt would conſtitute a better matrix for other plants. Thus were the rocks covered with herbs and flowers: thus in time moraſſes became wilds of plants and ſhrubs. The putrefaction of the native vegetable creation is Nature's inceſſantly operating hot-bed of organization, and the farther culture of the Earth.

It is obvious, that human life, as far as it is vegetation, has the fate of plants, As theſe, ſo man and animals are produced from ſeed; which too, like the germe of a future tree, requires a matrix. Plantlike it's firſt form is developed in the womb: and, out of it, does not the ſtructure of our fibres, in their firſt buds and powers, nearly reſemble that of the fibres of the ſenſitive plant? Our ages too are the ages of a plant: we ſpring up, grow, bloom, wither, and die. We are called forth without our conſent: no one is aſked of what ſex he will be; from what parents he will deſcend; on what ſpot he will be born to poverty or wealth; or by what internal or external cauſe he will at laſt be brought to his end. In all theſe man muſt obey ſuperiour laws, over which he has as little power as a plant; nay, which his ſtrongeſt propenſities follow almoſt againſt his will. As long as man is growing, and the ſap riſes in him, how ſpacious and pleaſant ſeems to him the World! He ſtretches out his branches, and fancies his head will reach the heavens. Thus Nature entices him forward in life; till with eager powers, and unwearied exertion, he has acquired all the capacity ſhe wiſhed to call forth in him, on that field, or in that garden,

in

in which he had been planted by her hand. After he has accompliſhed her purpoſe, ſhe gradually abandons him. In the bloom of ſpring, and of our youth, with what riches does nature every where abound! Man believes this world of flowers will produce the ſeeds of a new creation. Yet a few months, how changed the ſcene! Almoſt all the flowers are gone, and a few unripe fruits ſucceed. The tree labours to bring theſe to maturity; and immediately the leaves fade. He ſheds his withered locks on the beloved children, that have left him: leafleſs he ſtands: the ſtorm robs him of his dried branches: till at length he falls to the ground, and reſigns the little phlogiſton he contains to the ſoul of Nature.

Is it otherwiſe with man, conſidered as a plant? What vaſt hopes, proſpects, and motives of action, vividly or obſcurely fill his youthful mind! In every thing he confides: and while he confides he ſucceeds: for ſucceſs is the ſpouſe of youth. In a few years all around him is changed; merely becauſe he is no longer the ſame. Leaſt of all has he performed what he willed: and happy is it for him, if he be not now deſirous to perform what it is no longer time to execute, but ſuffer himſelf to grow old in peace. In the eye of a ſuperiour being, man's actions upon Earth may appear juſt as important, certainly at leaſt as determinate and circumſcribed, as the actions and enterpriſes of a tree. He developes all he can develope; and makes himſelf maſter of all, that it is in his power to poſſeſs. He puts forth buds and germes, produces fruits, and ſows young trees: but never quits he the place, which Nature has appointed him to occupy; never can he acquire a ſingle power, which Nature has not planted in him.

Particularly humiliating it is, in my opinion, to man, that in the ſweet impulſe he terms love, in which he places ſo much ſpontaneity, he obeys the laws of Nature almoſt as blindly as a plant. Even the thiſtle, man obſerves, is beauful when in flower: and we know, that in plants the time of flowering is the ſeaſon of love. The calyx is the bed, the corolla the curtain; the other parts of the flower are the organs of generation, which in theſe innocent beings Nature has expoſed to view, and adorned with all ſplendour. The flowercup of love ſhe has made like the bridal bed of Solomon, and a cup of pleaſure even for other creatures. Why did ſhe all this? and why interwove ſhe alſo in the band of human love the moſt pleaſing charms, that graced her own ceſtus? That her great end might be accompliſhed; not the little purpoſe of the ſenſual creature alone, which ſhe ſo elegantly adorned: this end is *the propagation, the continuance of the ſpecies.*

Nature employs germes, ſhe employs an infinite number of germes, becauſe in her

her grand progreſs ſhe promotes a thouſand ends at once. She muſt alſo calculate upon ſome loſs; as every thing is crowded, and nothing finds room completely to develope itſelf. But that, amid this apparent prodigality, the eſſential, and the firſt, freſh powers of life, with which ſhe muſt neceſſarily prevent all accidents in the courſe of beings ſo thronged, might never fail; ſhe made the ſeaſon of youth the ſeaſon of love, and kindled her torch with the moſt ſubtile and active fire between Earth and Heaven. Unknown inclinations awake, of which childhood was wholly inſenſible. The eye of the youth becomes animated, his voice changes, the cheek of the maiden glows: two creatures ſigh for each other, and know not for what they ſigh: they languiſh to become one, which dividing Nature has denied; and ſwim on a ſea of deception. Sweetly deceived creatures, enjoy your moments: yet know, ye accompliſh not your own little dreams, but, pleaſingly compelled, the grand purpoſe of Nature. In the firſt pair of a ſpecies ſhe would plant all, generation upon generation: ſhe choſe therefore the ſprouting germes from the moſt ſpirited moments of life, thoſe of mutual delight: and while ſtealing from a living being ſomething of his exiſtence, ſhe would at leaſt ſteal it from him in the gentleſt manner. As ſoon as ſhe has ſecured the ſpecies, ſhe ſuffers the individual gradually to decay. Scarcely is the ſeaſon of love over, when the ſtag loſes his proud antlers; the bird, it's ſong, and much of it's beauty; the fiſh, it's delicate flavour; and the plant, it's moſt beautiful colours. The butterfly loſes it's wings, and it's breath departs; while alone, and undebilitated, it might live half the year. So long as the young plant produces no flower, it can reſiſt the winter's cold: but that which bears too ſoon, ſooneſt decays. The american aloe frequently lives a hundred years: but when once it has bloſſomed, no proceſs, no art can prevent the ſuperb ſtalk from decaying the next year. In five and thirty years the great fan palm grows to the height of ſeventy feet; it then grows thirty feet higher in the ſpace of four months; when it bloſſoms, produces fruit, and the ſame year it dies. This is the courſe of nature, in the evolution of beings one out of another: the ſtream flows on, though one wave is loſt in the wave that ſucceeds.

In the diſſemination and degeneration of plants there is a ſimilitude obſervable, that will apply to beings of a ſuperiour order, and prepares us for the views and laws of Nature. Each plant requires it's proper climate; to which appertains not merely the conſtitution of the land and ſoil, but alſo the elevation of the country, the quality of the air and water, and the degree of temperature. Under the earth all things lie mingled together: and though every ſpecies of ſtone, cryſtal, or metal, derives it's qualities from the land in which it grows, and hence the moſt ſtriking varieties occur; we have by no means attained that *ge-*

*neral*

*neral-geographical view* of theſe realms of Pluto, and acquired that knowledge of their principles of arrangement, at which we have arrived in the beautiful domains of Flora. The *Philoſophy of Botany* *, which arranges plants according to the elevation and quality of the land, air, water, and temperature, is an obvious guide to a ſimilar philoſophy in the arrangement of animals and men.

All plants grow wild in ſome part or other of the World. Thoſe, which we cultivate with art, ſpring from the free lap of Nature, and arrive at much greater perfection, in their proper climes. With animals, and with man, it is the ſame: for every race of men, in it's proper region, is organized in the manner moſt natural to it. Every ſoil, every ſort of mountains, every ſimilar region of the atmoſphere, as well as a like degree of heat and cold, nouriſhes it's own plants. On the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the rocks of Lapland, notwithſtanding their diſtance, the ſame, or ſimilar, vegetables grow. North America and the expanded heights of Tatary produce the ſame offspring. On thoſe elevated places, where plants are rudely agitated by the winds, and the ſummer is of ſhort duration, they remain ſmall in ſtature indeed; but then they abound with ſeeds innumerable: when tranſplanted into gardens, they grow higher, and put forth larger leaves, while they bear leſs fruit. Every one muſt perceive the viſible ſimilarity to animals and men. All plants love the open air: in hothouſes they ſeek the region of light, even if they be obliged to creep through a hole to it. In a confined heat they run up more tall and ſlender, but paler, leſs fruitful, and, if they be too ſuddenly expoſed to the Sun, their leaves droop. Has not a forced and tender education the ſame effects on man and animals? Diverſity of region and air produces varieties in plants, as in animals and man: and the more they gain in reſpect to beauty, form of the leaf, or number of flowers, the more they loſe in point of fertility. Is it otherwiſe with man or animals, if we conſider the greater ſtrength of their multifarious nature? Plants, that in warm countries attain the height of trees, in cold ones become crippled dwarfs. One plant is calculated for the ſea, another for moraſſes, a third for rivers or lakes; one loves ſnow, another the deluging rains of the torrid zone: and all theſe their form and figure indicate. Does not this prepare us, to expect ſimilar varieties in the organic ſtructure of man, ſo far as he is a plant?

* The *Philoſophia botanica* of Linné is a claſſical pattern for other ſciences. Had we a *Philoſophia anthropologica* written with the ſame conciſeneſs and accuracy, it would be a clew, which every additional obſervation ſhould follow. The abbe Soulavie, in his *Hiſt. naturelle de la France meridionale*, 'Natural Hiſtory of the South of France,' Part II, Tome I, has given a ſketch of a general phyſical geography of the vegetable kingdom, and promiſed to extend it to animals and to man.

It

It is particularly pleaſing, to obſerve the ſingular manner, in which plants adjuſt themſelves to the ſeaſon of the year, nay to the hour of the day, and become inured only by degrees to a foreign climate. Near the pole they are later in growth, and ripen ſo much the quicker, as the ſummer arrives more late, and operates more forcibly. Plants, that grow in ſouthern countries, when brought to Europe ripen later the firſt year, as they wait for the ſun of their own clime: the following ſummers they arrive earlier and earlier at maturity, as they become habituated to their ſituation. In the artificial warmth of a hothouſe, each follows it's native ſeaſons; even if it have been fifty years in Europe. The plants of the Cape bloſſom in winter, as then arrives the ſummer of their native country. The marvel of Peru bloſſoms at night; probably, obſerves Linnè, becauſe it is then day in America, whence it originally came. Thus every one adheres to the time, even to the hour of the day, at which it has been wont to open and ſhut. 'Theſe circumſtances,' ſays the philoſophic botaniſt *, 'ſeem to indicate, that ſomething more than heat and water is requiſite to their growth:' and aſſuredly in the organic varieties of man, and his naturalizing himſelf to a foreign climate, ſomething more, ſomething different from heat and cold, is to be conſidered, particularly when we ſpeak of another hemiſphere.

Finally, what a field of obſervation is opened to us, in the aſſociation of plants with man, could we purſue it! Already has the pleaſing experiment been made †, that plants can no more live in pure air than we; but what they imbibe from the atmoſphere is preciſely that phlogiſtic part, which deſtroys animal life, and promotes putrefaction in all animal ſubſtances. It has been obſerved, that they perform this uſeful office of purifying the air, not by the aid of heat, but by that of light; for the chill beams of the Moon are ſufficient to effect the purpoſe. Salutary children of the Earth! what deſtroys us, what we expire contaminated, you inhale: the moſt delicate medium muſt combine it with you, and you render it us again pure. You maintain the health of thoſe creatures, that deſtroy you: and even in your deaths you are beneficent; for you improve the Earth, and fertilize it for new beings of your own ſpecies.

If plants ſerved for this alone, their ſilent exiſtence would conſtitute a beautiful intermixture among men and animals: but ſince they are at the ſame time the moſt abundant nutriment of the animal creation, and it is of particular importance in the hiſtory of the modes of life of man, to obſerve what plants and

* See the Tranſactions of the Swediſh Academy of Sciences, vol. I, p. 6, and following.
† Ingenhouſz's *Verſuche mit den Pflanzen*, 'Experiments on Plants,' Leipſic, 1780, p. 49.

animals, that might ſerve them for food, every people found in their native country, they preſent themſelves to us under various aſpects in conſidering the kingdoms of Nature.

Of beaſts the moſt quiet, and moſt humane, if we may uſe the expreſſion, feed on vegetables. Nations, that live principally at leaſt on the ſame food, have been remarked for the ſame ſalutary peaceableneſs, and careleſs ſerenity. All carnivorous beaſts are naturally more ſavage. Man, who ranks between the two, cannot be a carnivorous animal, to judge from the ſtructure of his teeth. There are yet nations, whoſe diet conſiſts chiefly of milk and vegetables; in earlier times there were more: and what abundance has Nature beſtowed on them in the pulps, juices, fruits, barks, and twigs, of her vegetable creation, where one tree frequently affords nouriſhment for a whole family! Wonderfully is every region appointed it's own, not merely in what it yields, but in what it attracts and removes. Thus while plants live on the phlogiſtic part of the atmoſphere, and in ſome meaſure on vapours moſt pernicious to us; their antidotal qualities are organized according to the peculiarities of each region, and they every where prepare ſuch medicaments for animal bodies, always prone to corruption, as are adapted to the diſeaſes of the country. Man, too, has little reaſon to complain, that Nature produces noxious vegetables; for theſe are in fact the excretory ducts of poiſons, ſo that they contribute greatly to the general ſalubrity of the region; at the ſame time that they are in his hands, as well as in thoſe of Nature, the moſt efficacious medicines. Seldom has man exterminated any ſpecies of plant or animal from a country, without ſoon perceiving the moſt palpable detriment to it's habitableneſs: and has not Nature beſtowed on every animal, and alſo on man, ſenſes and organs ſufficient to diſcover ſuch plants as are uſeful to them, and reject ſuch as are noxious?

What a pleaſing ramble among trees and plants would it afford, to purſue theſe great natural laws of their utility and effect in the animal and human kingdoms through the various regions of the Earth! We muſt content ourſelves as we go along to pluck occaſionally a few flowers in this immenſe field, and recommend to ſome one, particularly ſkilled in the ſcience, our wiſh for an *univerſal botanical geography for the hiſtory of man.*

## CHAPTER III.

*The animal Kingdom in relation to the Hiſtory of Man.*

BEASTS are the elder brethren of man. Before he was, they were. Every country the alien man found at his arrival already occupied, at leaſt in ſome of the elements: otherwiſe on what but vegetables could the ſtranger have fed? Thus every hiſtory of man, which conſiders him without this relation, muſt be partial and defective. The World, it is true, was given to man: but not to him alone, not to him firſt: animals in every element render his monarchy queſtionable. One ſpecies he muſt tame: with another he muſt long contend. Some eſcape his dominion: others wage with him eternal war. In ſhort, every ſpecies extends it's poſſeſſion of the Earth in proportion to it's capacity, cunning, ſtrength, or courage.

It is not here the queſtion, whether man have reaſon, and beaſts have none. If they have not, they have ſome other advantages: for aſſuredly Nature has left none of her offſpring unprotected. Were a creature neglected by her, from whom could it obtain ſuccour? ſince the whole creation is at war, and the moſt oppoſite powers are found ſo cloſe to each other. Here godlike man is annoyed by ſnakes, there by vermin: here a ſhark devours him, there a tiger. Each ſtrives with each, as each is preſſed upon; each muſt provide for his own ſubſiſtence, and defend his own life.

Why acts Nature thus? and why does ſhe thus crowd her creatures one upon another? Becauſe ſhe would produce the greateſt number and variety of living beings in the leaſt ſpace, ſo that one cruſhes another, and an equilibrium of powers can alone produce peace in the creation. Every ſpecies cares for itſelf, as if it were the only one in exiſtence: but by it's ſide ſtands another, which confines it within due bounds: and in this adjuſtment of oppoſing ſpecies creative Nature found the only mean of maintaining the whole. She weighed the powers, ſhe numbered the limbs, ſhe determined the inſtincts of the ſpecies toward each other; and left the Earth to produce what it was capable of producing.

I concern myſelf not, therefore, whether whole ſpecies of animals have periſhed from the face of the Earth. Has the mammoth diſappeared? ſo have giants. When theſe exiſted, the relations between the ſeveral creatures were different: as things at preſent are, we perceive an evident equilibrium, not only over the whole Earth, but in particular regions and countries. Agriculture may reſtrict beaſts

to narrower limits: but it cannot eaſily exterminate them. At leaſt it has not accompliſhed this in any extenſive region; and it has foſtered a greater number of tame animals, in lieu of the wild ones it has diminiſhed. Thus in the preſent conſtitution of our Earth no ſpecies of animals has been loſt: though I queſtion not but others may have exiſted, when it's conſtitution was different; and if at any future period Art or Nature ſhould completely change it, a different relation between living creatures would take place.

Man, in ſhort, entered an inhabited world. All the elements, rivers and moraſſes, earth and air, were filled or filling, with living creatures: and he had to make room for his dominion by his godlike qualities, ſkill and power. How he effected this conſtitutes the hiſtory of his cultivation, the moſt intereſting part of the hiſtory of man, which embraces even the rudeſt nations. I muſt here obſerve once for all, that man acquired chiefly from beaſts themſelves that information, which enabled him gradually to obtain his dominion over them. Theſe were the living ſparks of the divine underſtanding, the rays of which, as they related to food, habits of life, clothing, addreſs, arts, or inſtincts, he condenſed within himſelf, from a greater or ſmaller circle. The more, the clearer, he did this, the more artful the beaſts around him were, the more he familiarized himſelf with them, and the more ſecurely he dwelt with them in friendſhip or hoſtility; the more did he gain in point of improvement; ſo that the hiſtory of his cultivation is in great meaſure *zoological* and *geographical*.

Secondly: as the varieties of ſoil and climate, of ſtones and plants, on our Earth, are ſo great; how much greater are the varieties of it's properly living inhabitants! Let us not, however, confine theſe to the earth: for the air, the water, nay the internal parts of plants and animals, all ſwarm with life. Innumerable multitudes, for whom, as well as for man, the World was created! Moving ſurface of the Earth, on which all, as wide and as deep as the ſunbeams extend, is enjoyment, life, and action!

I mean not here to enter into the general propoſition, that every animal has it's element, it's climate, it's proper place of abode; that ſome ſpecies are little diffuſed, others more, and a few almoſt as widely as man himſelf; for on this point we have a profound work, compiled with ſcientific induſtry, Zimmermann's Geographical Hiſtory of Man, and univerſally-diſſeminated Quadrupeds*. What I ſhall here point out will be a few particular remarks, which we ſhall find confirmed by the hiſtory of man.

1. Thoſe ſpecies, that inhabit nearly all parts of the Globe, are differently

* *Geographiſche Geſchihte des Menſchen und der allgemein-verbreiteten vierfüſſigen Thiere:* Leipſic, 1778—83; in three volumes: with an elegant and accurate zoological map of the World.

formed

formed in almoſt every climate. In Lapland the dog is ſmall and ugly; in Siberia he is better ſhaped, but ſtill has pricked ears, and no conſiderable magnitude: in thoſe countries, ſays Buffon, where we meet with the handſomeſt races of men, we obſerve the handſomeſt and largeſt dogs: within the arctic and antarctic circles the dog loſes his voice, and in the wild ſtate he reſembles the jackal. In Madagaſcar the ox has a hump on his back weighing fifty pounds, which gradually diſappears in diſtant countries; and this animal varies greatly in colour, ſize, ſtrength, and courage, in almoſt every region of the Earth. An european ſheep acquires at the Cape of Good Hope a tail nineteen pounds in weight: in Iceland he puts out as many as five horns: in the county of Oxford, in England, he grows to the ſize of an aſs: and in Turkey his ſkin is variegated like a tiger's. Thus do all animals vary; and ſhall not man, who is alſo in the ſtructure of his nerves and muſcles an animal, change with the climate? According to the analogy of nature, it would be a miracle, did he remain unchanged.

2. All the tame animals we have were formerly wild; and of moſt the wild races, from which they are deſcended, are ſtill to be found, particularly in the aſiatic mountains: the very place which was probably the native country of man, at leaſt in our hemiſphere, and the ſource of his cultivation. The greater the diſtance from this region, particularly where the intercourſe with it is difficult, the fewer the ſpecies of tame animals, till at length, the ſwine, the dog, and the cat, are the ſole animal wealth of New Guinea, New Zealand, and the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean.

3. America has chiefly animals peculiar to it, perfectly adapted to it's climate, and ſuch as muſt naturally be produced from it's immenſe heights, and long inundated valleys. It had few large animals, and ſtill fewer tame or tameable ones: but then it had proportionally more ſpecies of bats, armadilloes, rats and mice, the unau, the ai, ſwarms of inſects, amphibia, toads, lizards, and the like. Any one may conceive what influence this muſt have on the hiſtory of man.

4. In regions where the powers of nature are moſt active, where the heat of the Sun is combined with regular winds, great inundations, violent exploſions of the electric fluid, and in ſhort with every thing in nature, that produces life, and is called vivifying; we find the ſtrongeſt, largeſt, boldeſt, and moſt perfect animals, as well as the moſt aromatic plants. Africa has it's herds of elephants, zebras, deer, apes, and buffaloes: in it the lion, the tiger, the crocodile, the hippopotamus, appear in full force: the loftieſt trees ſhoot up into the air, adorned with the richeſt, juicieſt, and moſt uſeful fruits. Every man knows

how Asia abounds in plants and animals: and they are most abundant where the electric power of the Sun, the air, the earth, is most copious. On the contrary, where this operates more feebly and irregularly, as in cold countries, or where it is repelled or confined in water, lixivious salts, or damp woods; those creatures, to the formation of which the free play of electricity is requisite, seem never to be developed. Sluggish heat combined with moisture produces swarms of insects and amphibia; not those wondrous forms of the old world, that glow with vivid fire. The muscular force of the lion, the spring and eye of the tiger, the acute sagacity of the elephant, the delicacy of the antelope, and the malicious cunning of the african or asiatic ape, are unknown to every beast of the new world. Among these one seems to have disengaged himself with difficulty from the warm slime, another wants teeth; of one the feet and claws are defective, of another the tail; and most are deficient in size, courage, and swiftness. Those that inhabit the mountains are more animated; but they equal not the beasts of the old world, and in the coriaceous or scaly frames of most the electric stream is evidently wanting.

5. Finally, it is probable, that there are still greater singularities to be observed in animals, than those we have already remarked in plants: their oft unnatural qualities, for instance, and slow familiarization to a foreign and antipodal climate. The american bear, described by Linnè *, observed the day and night of America even in Sweden. From midnight till noon he slept, and from noon till midnight he rambled, as if it were his american day: thus with his other instincts retaining his native division of time. Is not this remark applicable to others, from different regions of the Earth, from the eastern or southern hemispheres? and if this change hold good with respect to beasts, shall man, notwithstanding his peculiar character, be exempt from it?

## CHAPTER IV.

*Man is a Creature of a middle kind among terrestrial Animals.*

1. When Linnè reckoned 230 species of viviparous animals, among which he included such as are aquatic, he enumerated 946 of birds, 292 of amphibia, 404 of fishes, 3060 of insects, and 1205 of worms †. The beasts then were

* Transactions of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, vol. IX, p. 300.

† In the last edition of Linnè's *Systema Naturæ*, by Gmelin, there are 557 mammaliæ, 2,686 birds, 366 amphibia, 889 fishes, 10,896 insects, and 4,036 worms. These numbers, except with regard to the amphibia, coincide extremely well with Herder's observation and inference. T.

fewest

feweſt in number, and the amphibia, which moſt reſemble them, came next. In the air, in the water, in moraſſes, and in the ſandy deſerts, the genera and ſpecies increaſe; and I am perſuaded, the farther we extend our diſcoveries, we ſhall ſtill find them increaſe in nearly the ſame proportion. When, after the death of Linnè, the viviparous animals were carried to the number of 450, Buffon reckoned up 2,000 birds; and Forſter alone diſcovered, during a ſhort reſidence among ſome of the South Sea iſlands, 109 new ſpecies, though not a ſingle new quadruped was to be found. If the ſame proportion hold, and in future times more new inſects, birds, and reptiles, than perfectly new ſpecies of quadrupeds become known, however many there be in the yet unexplored regions of Africa; we may in all probability lay it down as a fact, that *the claſſes of creatures extend, the farther they differ from man; and the nearer they are to him, the fewer are the ſpecies of the more perfect animals as they are called.*

2. Now it is inconteſtable, that amid all the differences of earthly creatures a certain uniformity of ſtructure, and as it were a *ſtandard form*, appear to prevail, convertible into the moſt abundant variety. The ſimilitude of the bony frame of land animals is obvious: head, body, hands, and feet, are the chief parts in all; and even their principal limbs are faſhioned after one prototype, but infinitely diverſified. The internal ſtructure of beaſts renders the propoſition ſtill more evident; and many rude external figures ſtrongly reſemble man in the principal internal parts. Amphibia deviate more from this ſtandard: birds, fiſhes, inſects, and aquatic animals, the laſt of which are loſt in the vegetable or foſſil world, ſtill more. Farther our eyes cannot penetrate: but theſe tranſitions render it not improbable, that in marine productions, plants, and even inanimate things as they are called, one and the ſame groundwork of organization may prevail, though infinitely more rude and confuſed. In the eye of the eternal being, who views all things in one connected whole, perhaps the form of the icy particle as it is generated, and the flake of ſnow that grows from it, may have an analogous reſemblance to the formation of the embryo in the female womb. Accordingly we may admit the ſecond grand poſition: that, *the nearer they approach man, all creatures bear more or leſs reſemblance to him in their grand outline; and that Nature, amid the infinite variety ſhe loves, ſeems to have faſhioned all the living creatures on our Earth after one grand model of organization.*

3. Thus it is ſelf-evident, that, as this ſtandard form muſt be continually varying, according to the race, ſpecies, deſtination, and elements, *one copy illuſtrates another.* What Nature has given to one animal as acceſſory, ſhe has made fundamental in another; bringing it forward to the view, amplifying it, and making

ing the other parts, though ſtill in perfect harmony, ſubſervient to this. Elſewhere again theſe ſubſervient parts predominate; ſo that all the beings of the organic creation appear as *disjecti membra poetæ*. He who would ſtudy them muſt ſtudy one in another: where a part appears neglected or concealed, he recurs to another creature, in which Nature has finiſhed and diſplayed it. This poſition too is confirmed in all the phenomena of diverging beings.

4. To conclude: man ſeems to be among animals that excellent middle creature, in whom the moſt numerous and ſubtile rays of ſimilar forms are collected, as far as conſiſts with the peculiarity of his deſtination. He could not compriſe in himſelf all in like degree; ſo that to one animal he is inferiour in the acuteneſs of a particular ſenſe, to another in ſtrength of muſcles, to a third in elaſticity of fibre; but as much as could be united was united in him. He has the limbs, inſtincts, ſenſes, faculties, and arts, common to all quadrupeds; if not hereditary, at leaſt acquired; if not perfect, at leaſt in their rudiments. Were we to compare with him thoſe animals, that approach him neareſt, we might almoſt venture to ſay, they are divergent rays from his image, refracted through catoptric glaſſes. And thus we may admit the fourth poſition: *that man is a middle creature among animals, that is, the moſt perfect form, in which the features of all are collected in the moſt exquiſite ſummary.*

I hope the ſimilitude between man and beaſts, of which I ſpeak, will not be confounded with that ſport of the imagination, which has diſcovered reſemblances of the limbs of man in plants, and even ſtones, and on theſe built ſyſtems. Every rational man laughs at theſe fancies; for creative Nature covers and conceals internal ſimilarity of ſtructure under diſſimilitude of external form. How many beaſts, altogether unlike man in outward appearance, are internally, in the ſtructure of the ſkeleton, the principal parts of ſenſation and vitality, nay in the vital functions, ſtrikingly ſimilar to him! This will be evident to any one, who peruſes the diſſections of Daubenton, Perrault, Pallas, and other academicians. For children and youth natural hiſtory muſt content itſelf with ſome diſtinctions of outward form, to aſſiſt the eye and memory: the man and the philoſopher inveſtigate both the external and internal ſtructure of the animal, to compare them with his mode of life, and find his character and place. With reſpect to plants this has been called the natural method; and comparative anatomy is the guide, that muſt lead to it ſtep by ſtep in animals. This naturally gives man a clew to *himſelf*, which conducts him through the great labyrinth of the living creation: and if we can ſay of any method, that through it our underſtanding ventures to ſcrutinize the profound comprehenſive mind of God, it muſt be this. In every deviation from rule,

which

which the ſupreme artificer preſents to us as a law of the polyclete in man, we are referred to a cauſe: why did he here deviate? to what end formed he others in a different manner? and thus earth, air, and water, nay even the profoundeſt depths of the animate creation, are to us a repoſitory of his thoughts and inventions towards *a grand model of art and wiſdom.*

What a great and rich proſpect does this point of view give us of the hiſtory of beings ſimilar and diſſimilar to us! It divides the kingdoms of nature, and the claſſes of creatures, according to their elements, and connects them with each other. Even in the moſt remote the wide-extended radius may be ſeen proceeding from one and the ſame centre. From air and water, from heights and depths, I ſee the animals coming to man, as they came to the firſt father of our race, and ſtep by ſtep approaching his form. The bird flies in the air: every deviation of it's figure from the ſtructure of the quadruped is explicable from it's element: and no ſooner does it approach the earth in a hideous equivocal genus, as in the bat and vampire, but it reſembles the human ſkeleton. The fiſh ſwims in the water: it's feet and hands are transformed into tail and fins: it's limbs have few articulations. When, as in the manatee, it touches the earth, it's forefeet at leaſt are ſet free, and the female acquires breaſts. The ſeabear and ſealion have all their four feet perceptible, though they cannot uſe the hinder ones, the toes of which drag after them as ſhreds of fins. They creep about, however, ſlowly, as well as they can, to baſk themſelves in the beams of the Sun; and are raiſed at leaſt one ſhort ſtep above the ſtupid ſhapeleſs ſeadog. Thus from the ſlime of the worm, from the calcareous abode of the ſhellfiſh, from the web of the inſect, a better limbed and ſuperiour organization gradually riſes. Through the amphibia we aſcend to quadrupeds: and among theſe, even in the diſguſting unau, with his three fingers and two breaſts before, the nearer analogy to our form is already viſible. Now Nature ſports and exerciſes herſelf round man, in the greateſt variety of ſketches and organizations. She divides modes of life and inſtincts, and forms ſpecies inimical to each other: yet all theſe apparent contradictions lead to one end. Thus it is anatomically and phyſiologically true, that the analogy of *one organization* prevails through the whole animated creation of our Globe: only the farther from man, the more the vital element of the creature differs from his, and Nature, ever true to herſelf, muſt proportionally deviate from his ſtandard of organization: the nearer him, the cloſer has ſhe drawn together the claſſes and radii, to combine what ſhe could in him, the divine centre of the terreſtrial creation. Rejoice in thy ſituation, O man; and ſtudy thyſelf, thou noble middle creature, in all that lives around thee!

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

*The Structure of Plants and Animals compared with regard to the Organization of Man.*

THE firſt mark, that diſtinguiſhes an animal to our eyes, is the mouth. Still a plant is, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, all mouth: it ſucks with roots, leaves, and pores: like an infant it lies in the lap of it's mother, and at her breaſt. As ſoon as a creature attains the organization of an animal, a mouth is obſervable in it, even before any head can be diſtinguiſhed. The arms of the polypus are mouths: in worms, where few internal parts are diſcernible, an alimentary canal may be ſeen; and in many animals with ſhells the paſſage to this canal, as if it were ſtill a root, is ſituate at the inferiour part of the creature. Thus Nature forms this canal firſt in her animate beings, and retains it in thoſe that are of the moſt perfect organization. Inſects in the ſtate of larvæ are little more than mouth, ſtomach, and inteſtines: the form of amphibia and fiſhes, nay even of birds and of beaſts, is alſo adapted to this ſtructure, in the horizontality of their poſition. The higher we aſcend, however, the more complicated are the parts. The aperture diminiſhes, the ſtomach and inteſtines lie deeper: at length, with the erect poſition of man, externally the mouth, always the moſt prominent part in the head of the beaſt, recedes under the higher organization of the brow; nobler parts fill the breaſt, and the organs of nutrition ſink down to the lower regions. The nobler creature is not intended to be the ſlave of his belly alone, the dominion of which is ſo ample and extenſive among all the claſſes of his inferiour brethren, with regard both to the bodily parts, and vital functions.

Thus the firſt grand law, that the inſtinct of a living creature obeys, is *nutrition*. Beaſts have it in common with plants: for thoſe parts of their frame, by

which food is drawn in and concocted, prepare juices, and reſemble vegetables in their ſtructure. The more exquiſite organization, alone, in which Nature has placed theſe parts, and the ſuperiour combination, depuration, and elaboration of the vital juices, gradually contribute, according to the claſs and ſpecies, to the finer ſtream, that irrigates the nobler parts, the more Nature has circumſcribed thoſe of the inferiour order. Proud man, caſt thine eye back on the firſt neceſſitous ſituation of thy fellow creatures: thou beareſt it ſtill about thee: thou art an alimentary canal, like thine inferiour brethren.

Nature, however, has exalted us infinitely above them. The teeth, that in inſects and other beaſts muſt perform the office of hands, to hold and to tear their ſpoil; the jaws, that act with wonderful force in fiſhes, and beaſts of prey; are nobly ſet back in man, and their ſtill inherent ſtrength is moderated *. The many ſtomachs of inferiour creatures are united into one in him, and in ſome other animals, which internally approach his form; and his mouth is rendered divine by the faculty of ſpeech, the pureſt gift of the deity. Worms, inſects, fiſhes, and moſt amphibia, are perfectly dumb: the bird ſings only with his throat: each beaſt has but a few predominant ſounds, juſt ſufficient for the maintenance of the ſpecies: man alone poſſeſſes real organs of ſpeech, combined with thoſe of taſte and nutrition; the nobleſt in conjunction with marks of the loweſt neceſſity. That which prepares food for the meaner body prepares alſo in words the nutriment of his thoughts.

The ſecond vocation of the creature is *the propagation of the ſpecies*. The deſtination to this is evident even in the ſtructure of plants. To what are roots and ſtem, leaves and branches, ſubſervient? to what has Nature given the higheſt or moſt ſelect ſituation? To the *flower*, the *crown*; and we have already ſeen, that in this are the genital organs of plants. This then conſtitutes the principal and moſt beautiful part of the creature: the life, the functions, the pleaſure, of the plant, nay it's ſole motion that is in appearance voluntary, what we call *the ſleep of plants*, are contrived for the perfection of this. Thoſe plants, the ſeed-receptacles of which are ſufficiently ſecure, never ſleep: a plant after fructification ſleeps no more. Thus it cloſes only with *maternal* care, to protect the interiour parts of the flower from the ſeverity of the weather: ſo that in it every thing is calculated as well for fecundation and propagation, as for growth and nutrition: of another end of action it was not ſuſceptible.

Not ſo with animals. To them the genital organs are not made a crown; they are rather, conformably to the deſtination of the creature, ſubordinate to

* For the ſtrength of theſe parts ſee Haller's *Elementa Phyſiolog.*, 'Elements of Phyſiology,' vol. VI, p. 14, 15.

the nobler members. A few of the loweſt claſs only have them near the head. The heart and lungs occupy the breaſt: the head is appropriated to finer ſenſes: and in general, throughout the whole frame, the fibrous ſtructure, with it's juicy floral powers, is ſubordinate to the irritable elaſticity of the muſcles, and the ſuſceptibility of the nervous ſyſtem. The vital economy of animals evidently follows the ſpirit of their conformation. Voluntary motion, operative activity, perceptions and propenſities, conſtitute the chief buſineſs of an animal, in proportion as it's organization is exalted. In moſt kinds the ſexual appetite is confined to a ſhort period: the others live freer from this propenſity than many baſeminded men, who would fain ſink into the condition of plants. Theſe men have naturally the fate of plants: all nobler inclinations, the powers of the muſcles, the nerves, the will, and the underſtanding, are enfeebled; they live a vegetable life, and die a premature vegetable death.

Thoſe animals, that come neareſt to plants, remain true to the principle of formation above laid down, both in the economy of their ſtructure, and in the end of their deſtination. Theſe are zoophytes and inſects. The polypus is in ſtructure nothing more than a living organized ſtem of young polypi: the coral plant is an organized habitation of it's peculiar aquatic animal: finally the inſect, which ranks far above theſe, as it lives in a more ſubtile medium, ſhows it's near approach to the deſtination of plants, both in it's life and ſtructure. It's head is ſmall, and deſtitute of brain: not having room for a few neceſſary ſenſes, it carries them before it in it's feelers. It's breaſt is ſmall: on which account it is without lungs, and in many caſes we find in it nothing having the leaſt analogy to a heart. But then how large and ſpacious is the abdomen, with it's phytomorphic rings! It is the predominant part of the animal *; as nutrition and abundant multiplication of the ſpecies are it's chief purpoſes.

In animals of a nobler kind, Nature, as has been ſaid, places the organs of generation more deep, as if beginning to be aſhamed of them: ſhe gave to one part the moſt diſſimilar functions, and thus obtained room for nobler parts in the more ſpacious breaſt. She cauſed even the nerves, that lead to theſe parts, to ſpring from lower branches, far from the head; and withdrew them, with their muſcles and fibres, for the moſt part, from the control of the mind. The ſeminal fluids are here elaborated after the manner of vegetable juices, and the young fruit is nouriſhed as a plant. Plantlike firſt open the powers of theſe organs and inſtincts, when the heart perhaps beats ſtill quicker, and the head thinks more clearly. The growth of the human body, as Martinet has

* Many of theſe creatures reſpire through it: an artery runs through it inſtead of a heart: they transfix one another with it: &c.

acutely

acutely remarked *, is leſs in the upper than in the lower parts: as if man were a tree, which increaſed below in the trunk. In ſhort, intricate as the ſtructure of our bodies is, ſtill it is evident, that the parts, which ſerve merely for the nutrition and propagation of the animal, ought to be, and may be, even with reſpect to their organization, by no means the predominant parts, that mark the deſtination of a beaſt, not to ſay of a man.

Which then has Nature choſen for theſe? Let us examine their internal and external ſtructure.

Throughout the whole chain of living creatures it is eſtabliſhed, that

1. Animals with one auricle and one ventricle in the heart, as amphibia and fiſhes, have cold blood: that

2. Thoſe with one ventricle, without an auricle, have only a white fluid inſtead of blood, as inſects and worms: but that

3. Animals, the hearts of which have four cavities, have warm blood, as birds and the mammalia.

It is likewiſe remarked, that

1. In the firſt two claſſes lungs are wanting to reſpiration, and the circulation of the blood: but that

2. Animals with quadrifid hearts have lungs.

It is incredible what great difference in the exaltation of the creature ſprings from theſe ſimple diſtinctions.

Firſt. The formation of a heart, even in it's moſt imperfect ſtate, requires *an organized ſtructure of many internal parts*, to which no plant can attain. Even in inſects and worms we already perceive arteries and other ſecretory veſſels, and in ſome degree muſcles and nerves; the place of which we find ſupplied in plants by tubes, and in zoophytes by a ſimilar ſtructure. In the more perfect creatures there is *a ſuperiour elaboration of the juices on which they live*, at the ſame time promoting the warmth conducive to vitality. Thus riſes the tree of life from vegetability to the white fluid of exanguious animals, from this to red blood, and thence to the more perfect, warmblooded, organized beings. The higher this warmth riſes, the more complicated we perceive the internal organization, and the more extenſive the circuit, from the motion of which alone this internal warmth could probably originate. One only principle of life ſeems to prevail throughout all nature: this the *ethereal* or *electric ſtream*, which in the tubes of plants, in the arteries and muſcles of animals, and laſtly in the nervous ſyſtem, is ſtill more and more finely elaborated, till it produces all thoſe won-

* See Martinet's *Katechiſmus der Natur*, 'Catechiſm of Nature,' vol. I, p. 316, where the annual growth is pointed out by a plate.

derful

derful inſtincts and mental faculties, which excite our aſtoniſhment in men and beaſts. The growth of plants is promoted by electricity; though their vital juices are much more finely organized, than the electric power which diſplays itſelf in the inanimate parts of nature. On beaſts, and on man, too, the electric fluid operates; and not merely on the groſſer parts of the machine perhaps, but even where theſe moſt intimately border on the mind. The nerves, animated by an eſſence, the laws of which are almoſt above thoſe of matter, as it operates with a kind of ubiquity, are yet ſuſceptible of the electric power in the body. Nature, in ſhort, beſtowed on her living children what ſhe had beſt to beſtow, *an organic ſimilitude of her own creative power, animating warmth.* From inanimate vegetable life the creature produces by the means of certain organs living ſtimuli; and from the ſum of theſe, refined by more exquiſite ducts, the medium of perception. The reſult of ſtimuli is impulſe: the reſult of perception is thought: an eternal progreſs of the creative organization imparted to every living being. With it's organic warmth, not as perceptible externally to our rude inſtruments, the perfection of the ſpecies increaſes; and perhaps too it's capacity for a more delicate ſenſe of well-being, in the allpervading ſtream of which the allwarming, allquickening, allenjoying mother feels her own exiſtence.

Secondly. The more complicated the internal organization of the creature, to produce more pure vital warmth, the more we perceive it's capacity for *conceiving and producing living beings.* Another branch of the ſame great tree of life through all the races of creatures *.

It is well known, that moſt plants fecundate themſelves; and that, where the organs of generation are ſeparate, many androgyni and polygamiſts are found amongſt them. It is in like manner obſervable, that in the lower orders of animals, as zoophytes, ſnails, and inſects, either the animal organs of generation are wanting, and the creature ſeems only to germinate like a plant; or hermaphrodites, androgyni, and other anomalies occur, which this is not the place to enumerate. The more complex the organization of the animal is, the more ſtrikingly are the ſexes diſcriminated. Here Nature could no longer reſt ſatisfied with organized germes: the formation of a being ſo exuberant and multiform in it's parts would have ſucceeded badly, had it been left in the power of chance to ſport with organic forms. Our wiſe mother therefore ſeparated and diſtinguiſhed the ſexes. Yet ſhe knew how to frame an organization, by

* Let it not be objected, that polypi, ſome ſnails, and even leaflice produce living creatures; for in this way plants too produce a living offſpring, in putting forth buds. I ſpeak here of viviparous animals, that give ſuck.

means

means of which two creatures unite in one, and from their conjunction a third is formed, the ſtamp of both, at the inſtant of the moſt intimate organic vital warmth.

In this conceived, by this alone is the new being reared. Maternal warmth ſurrounds and faſhions it. It's lungs yet breathe not, and it's larger thymus gland abſorbs: even in the human embryon the right ventricle of the heart ſeems yet wanting, and inſtead of blood a whiter fluid circulates through it's veins. Still in proportion as it's internal heat is fanned by the mother's warmth, it's heart becomes more perfect, and the blood reddens, and acquires an energetic circulation, though it cannot yet come into contact with the lungs. With diſtinctly beating pulſe the creature moves; and at length comes into the world perfectly formed, endued with all the faculties of perception and voluntary motion, to which a living creature of this kind alone could be organized. Immediately air, milk, food, nay even pain, and every want, afford him occaſion of abſorbing warmth a thouſand ways, and elaborating it, by means of fibres, muſcles, and nerves, to an eſſence, that no inferiour organization could produce. It augments till thoſe years, when his ſuperabundant vital warmth ſtrives to propagate and multiply itſelf; and thus the circle of organic life begins again anew.

Thus Nature acted by thoſe creatures, to which ſhe could impart the capacity of producing a living offspring. But this all cannot. Cold blooded animals are incapable of this: the Sun muſt lend them aſſiſtance, and ſhare with them the maternal office. It hatches the embryon: a clear proof, that all organic warmth throughout the creation is the ſame, only more and more ſubtilely elaborated by numerous channels. Even birds, that have warmer blood than reptiles, are incapable of bringing forth living young, partly perhaps in conſequence of their colder element, partly on account of their way of life and general deſtination. Theſe light animals, intended for flight, Nature has exempted from the burden of carrying their young till they could be born alive, as ſhe has from the trouble of ſuckling them. When the bird, even in an ugly intermediate ſpecies, treads the earth, it gives ſuck: as ſoon as the aquatic animal has attained ſufficient organization and warmth of blood, to produce living young, the labour of ſuckling them is impoſed on it.

How much has Nature thus contributed to the perfection of the ſpecies! The bird, that flies, can only hatch her young: and from this little domeſtic economy what fine inſtincts ariſe in both ſexes! Nuptial love builds the neſt; maternal tenderneſs warms it; paternal affection alſo aſſiſts in this, and procures

food.

food. How eagerly does the mother bird defend her young! how chaſte is conjugal love in thoſe ſpecies, that are formed for the matrimonial tie!

Among thoſe animals that dwell on the earth, this bond, where it can take place, ſhould be ſtill ſtronger: therefore the mother is to nouriſh her liveborn offspring at her breaſt, with the moſt delicate part of herſelf. Nothing but a groſsly organized ſwine can devour it's own young: frigid amphibia alone entruſt their eggs to the ſand or the moraſs. All the ſpecies that give ſuck have a tender affection for their offspring: the love of the ape is become proverbial, and perhaps no other ſpecies is in this point inferiour to it. Even aquatic animals participate in this ſentiment, and the manatee has been repreſented even to a fable as a pattern of conjugal and maternal love. Affectionate ſuperintendant of the World, with ſuch ſimple organic ties haſt thou knit the moſt neceſſary relations, and fineſt inſtincts, of thy children! Owing to a ſingle cavity in the muſcle of the heart, to a ſingle pair of reſpiring lungs, the creature lives with ſtronger and purer warmth, produces and ſuckles living young, and is adapted to finer inſtincts than that of propagating the ſpecies, to domeſtic economy and affection for it's offspring, nay in ſome ſpecies to conjugal love. With the greater warmth of the blood, that ſtream of the univerſal ſoul of the World, lighteſt thou the torch, that excites the fineſt emotions of the human heart.

I ſhould laſtly ſpeak of the head, as the higheſt region of the animal form: but to this belong other conſiderations firſt, beſide thoſe of it's external figure and parts.

## CHAPTER II.

### *A Compariſon of the various Powers, that operate in Animals.*

The immortal Haller has diſcriminated the different powers, that diſplay themſelves phyſiologically in the animal body, as the elaſticity of the fibres, the irritability of the muſcles, and the ſenſibility of the nervous ſyſtem, with an accuracy, that will not only remain upon the whole incontrovertible, but promiſes the moſt valuable application to the phyſiology of mind, even in other than human bodies.

I ſhall not now examine, whether theſe three phenomena, different as they appear, may not ariſe at bottom from one and the ſame power, diſplaying itſelf in one manner in the fibres, in another in the muſcles, and in a third in the nerves.

nerves. As every thing in nature is connected, and theſe three effects are ſo intimately and multifariouſly combined in the living body, we can ſcarcely entertain a doubt of it. Elaſticity and irritability border on one another, as do fibres and muſcles. Since muſcles are but an artfully interwoven ſtructure of fibres; irritability is probably nothing more than elaſticity infinitely heightened and intimately combined, exalting itſelf, in this organic interlacement of numerous parts, from the inanimate fibrous ſenſation to the firſt ſtep of animal feeling. The ſenſibility of the nervous ſyſtem would then be a higher ſpecies of the ſame power, a reſult of all thoſe organic powers; ſince the circulation of the blood at large, and all the veſſels ſubſervient to it, ſeem contrived to humectate the brain, as the root of the nerves, with that ſubtile fluid, which, conſidered as the medium of perception, is ſo much exalted above the faculties of the fibres and muſcles.

Be this as it may, infinite is the wiſdom of the creator, which combined theſe powers with the different organic parts of the animal body, and rendered the lower ſtep by ſtep ſubſervient to the higher. Fibres conſtitute the foundation of every part even of our fabric. By theſe man grows. The lymphatic and chyliferous veſſels prepare juices for the whole machine. The muſcular powers move the muſcles, not merely to external exertion, but one muſcle, the heart, is the firſt propeller of the blood, a fluid compoſed of many other fluids, which not only warms the whole body, but aſcends to the head, and there ſtill farther elaborated animates the nerves. Like a celeſtial plant, theſe ſpread downwards, from their root placed aloft: and how do they ſpread? how delicate are they? to what parts are they allied? with what degree of irritability is this or that muſcle endued? what juices do the plantlike veſſels prepare? what temperature prevails through this ſyſtem, in compariſon with others? to what ſenſes does it pertain? to what kind of life does it conduce? in what frame, in what figure, is it organized?

If the accurate inveſtigation of theſe queſtions in particular animals, eſpecially thoſe which approach neareſt to man, do not give us an inſight into their characters and inſtincts, into the relations of the ſpecies to each other, and above all into the cauſes of the ſuperiority of man over beaſts; I know not whence we can derive phyſical information. And happily a Camper, a Wriſberg, a Wolf, a Sœmmering, and many other inquiſitive anatomiſts, purſue this judicious phyſiological mode of comparing various ſpecies, with reſpect to the power of their vital organs.

I ſhall now proceed to a few leading fundamental propoſitions ſuitable to my purpoſe, which may ſerve to introduce the ſubſequent reflections on the inherent organic powers of various beings, and finally of man: for without

theſe any view of human nature, in it's wants and perfections, muſt be very ſuperficial.

1. *Wherever an effect exiſts in nature, there muſt be an operating power: where irritability diſplays itſelf in effort, or in ſpaſm, a ſtimulus muſt be felt from within.* If theſe propoſitions be not valid, there is an end to all connexion in our remarks, to all analogy in nature.

2. *No man can draw a line diſcriminating where an apparent action ſhall be a proof of an inherent power, and where it ſhall ceaſe to be ſo.* We aſcribe feeling and thought to the animals that live with us, becauſe we ſee their daily practices before us, but we cannot deny them to others, becauſe we are not intimately enough acquainted with them, or think their performances too artful; for our ignorance, or want of art, is no abſolute ſtandard of all the mechanical ideas and feelings of the animate creation.

3. Thus, *where art is practiſed, a mechanical ſenſe exiſts and is exerciſed:* and where a creature ſhows by it's actions, that it foreſees natural occurrences, inaſmuch as it endeavours to provide for them; it muſt have an internal ſenſe, an organ, a medium of this foreſight; whether it be comprehenſible to us or not, for the powers of nature are not changed on this account.

4. *There may be many mediums in the creation, of which we have not the leaſt knowledge, becauſe we have no organ adapted to them:* nay there muſt be many, for we ſee in almoſt every creature actions, which we cannot explain from our organization.

5. That creation is infinitely greater, in which millions of creatures, of different ſenſes and inſtincts, enjoy each it's own world, purſue each it's own train; than a wilderneſs, to be perceived by inattentive man alone with his five dull ſenſes.

6. He who has any feeling of the grandeur and power of Nature, abounding in ſenſation, art, and vitality, will thankfully receive what his organization imparts; but he will not on this account deny to her very face the ſpirit of all her other works. The whole creation is to be throughout enjoyed, felt, and acted upon: on every new point, therefore, muſt be creatures to enjoy it, organs to perceive it, powers to act ſuitably to it. What have the crocodile and the humming-bird, the condor and the pipa in common? yet each is ſuitably organized, to live and move in it's element. No point of creation is without enjoyment, without organ, without inhabitant: *every creature, therefore, has it's own, a new world.*

Infinity envelopes me, Nature, when, ſurrounded with a thouſand proofs of this, and penetrated with theſe feelings, I enter thy ſacred fane. No creature haſt thou neglected: to every one thou haſt imparted thyſelf as fully, as

it's organization would admit. Each of thy works thou madeſt one, and perfect, and like only to itſelf. Thy mode of operating is from within to without; and where it was neceſſary thou ſhouldſt deny, thou haſt compenſated as the mother of all things could compenſate.

Let us now caſt a glance on the relative balance of the various acting powers in different kinds of organization; thus we ſhall clear our way to the phyſiological place of man.

1. Plants exiſt to vegetate, and bring forth fruit: a ſubordinate end, as it appears to us; yet, in the whole creation, the baſis of every other. This they completely fulfil; and labour at it ſo much the more inceſſantly, the leſs it is divided into other ends. Where they can, they exiſt, in the whole germe, and protrude new ſhoots and buds: a ſingle branch repreſents the whole tree. Here then we call to our aſſiſtance one of the preceding propoſitions, and are juſtified in ſaying, according to all natural analogy: *where effect is, there muſt be power; where new life is, a principle of new life muſt exiſt*; and in every phytomorphic creature this muſt be found in the greateſt activity. The theory of germes, which has been taken to explain vegetation, explains in reality nothing: for the germe is already a form; and where a form is, there muſt be an organic power, that formed it. No diſſecting knife has detected all future germes in the firſt created ſeed: they are not viſible to us, till the plant has acquired it's full powers, and all our experience gives us no right to aſcribe them to any thing but the organic power of the plant itſelf, operating on them with ſilent intenſity. Nature has beſtowed on this creature of her's all ſhe could beſtow, and compenſated for the much ſhe was forced to deny it, by the intenſity of the ſingle power that operates in it. Of what benefit would the faculty of animal motion be to a plant, which cannot ſtir from it's place? Why ſhould it be capable of knowing other plants around, ſince this knowledge muſt be to it a ſource of ſorrow? But the air, light, and the juices that nouriſh it, it attracts and enjoys after the manner of plants: and the propenſity to grow, to bloom, and to propagate it's ſpecies, it exerciſes more truly and inceſſantly than any other creature.

2. The tranſition from plants to the ſeveral zoophytes hitherto diſcovered repreſents this ſtill more clearly. In theſe the organs of nutrition are already ſeparated: they poſſeſs an analogous animal ſenſe, and voluntary motion: ſtill their principal *organic powers* are nutrition and propagation. The polypus is no magazine of germes, lying preformed in it, perchance for the cruel knife of the philoſopher: but as plants themſelves are *organic life*, ſo is it alſo. Like them it puts forth ſhoots, and the biſtoury of the anatomiſt can only excite, can only ſtimulate, this power. As a ſtimulated or divided muſcle diſplays more power,

ſo a tortured polypus exerts all it can, to repair and reſtore it's loſs. It puſhes forth limbs till it's powers are exhauſted, and the implements of art have wholly deſtroyed it's nature. In ſome parts, in ſome directions, when the portion is too ſmall, when it's powers are too languid, it can do this no more: which would not be the caſe, if a preformed germe lay ready in every point. In it we perceive energetic organic powers operating, as in the ſprouting of plants; nay ſtill lower, in feeble, obſcure beginnings.

3. Teſtaceous animals are organic creatures, endued with juſt as much life, as could be collected and organized in their element, and in their habitations. We muſt call it feeling, becauſe we have no other word: but it is ſnail-feeling, it is ſea-feeling, a chaos of the moſt obſcure vital powers, developed only in few members. Obſerve their fine feelers, the muſcle that ſupplies the place of optic nerves, the open mouth, the commencement of a pulſating heart, and their wonderful power of reproduction. The animal renovates head, horns, jaws, eyes: it not only forms it's artfully conſtructed ſhell, and again wears it away, but procreates living beings with ſimilar ſhells: and many of the ſpecies are both male and female at the ſame time. Thus in it there is a world of *organic powers*, by means of which the creature is capable of effecting, in it's low rank, what no one with more perfect limbs can perform, while in it the tough plaſtic mucus ſo much more intimately and inceſſantly works.

4. The inſect, ſo artful in it's actions, is equally artful in it's ſtructure: it's organic powers are conformable to this, even with reſpect to particular parts. Yet it has room for little brain, and extremely fine nerves only: it's muſcles are ſo delicate, that they required to be mailed without with a hard covering: and it's organization has no place for the circulation of greater animals. But conſider it's head, it's eyes, it's antennæ, it's feet, it's ſhield, it's wings; obſerve the vaſt burden carried by a chafer, a fly, an ant, or the force exerted by an enraged waſp; look at the five thouſand muſcles, which Lyonet has enumerated in the caterpillar of the willow moth, while mighty man poſſeſſes ſcarce four hundred and fifty; laſtly contemplate the works of art, which with their ſenſes and limbs they undertake; and thence infer an organic plenitude of powers, inherently operating in each of their parts. Who can behold the trembling avulſed leg of a ſpider, or a fly, without perceiving the force of vital irritability it retains, even when ſeparated from it's trunk? The head of the animal was too ſmall, to contain it all; abundant Nature has diſtributed it therefore throughout all it's limbs, even to the minuteſt. It's antennæ are ſenſes: it's ſlender legs are muſcles and arms: each nervous plexus is a ſmaller brain; each irritable veſſel, almoſt a pulſating heart: and thus the delicate operations are accompliſhed, for which many of theſe ſpecies are wholly contrived, and to which their organization

nization and neceſſities impel them. What exquiſite elaſticity has the thread of a ſpider, or a ſilkworm! and this the artiſt drew from herſelf; an evident proof, that ſhe is all elaſticity and irritability, and even in her inſtincts and operations a real artiſt, a miniature ſoul of the world acting in this organization.

5. In coldblooded animals the ſame *exceſs of irritability* is viſible. The tortoiſe moves a long time, and forcibly, after it has loſt it's head: the teeth of a viper inflict a mortal wound, three, eight, nay twelve days, after the head has been ſeparated from the body. If the jaws of a dead crocodile be pulled aſunder, they are capable of biting off the incautious finger: and among inſects the ſting of a bee attempts to wound after it is pulled out. Obſerve the frog in copulation; it's limbs may be torn off, before it will relinquiſh it's purpoſe. Behold the tortured ſalamander: fingers, hands, feet, legs can he loſe, and renew them again. So great and allſufficient are *organic vital powers* in theſe coldblooded animals: and in ſhort, the more crude an animal is, that is, the leſs the organic faculty has exalted it's irritability and muſcles to finer nervous power, and ſubjected them to the ſway of an ampler brain, the more do theſe diſplay themſelves in an extended, life ſupporting or repairing, *organic omnipotence.*

6. Even in warmblooded animals it has been obſerved, that their fleſh moves more dully in connexion with the nerves, and their inteſtines are more forcibly affected by ſtimuli when the animal is dead. In death the convulſions grow ſtronger in proportion as perceptivity diminiſhes; and a muſcle, that has loſt it's irritability, regains it, if it be cut in pieces. Thus the more a creature is rich in nerves, the more it ſeems to loſe of the delicate vital power, that with difficulty dies. The power of reproducing parts, not to mention ſuch complex members as the head, the hands, or the feet, is loſt in the more perfect animals as they are called: at certain ages ſcarcely can they reſtore a tooth, or heal a wound or a fracture. But then the ſenſations and perceptions of this claſs are remarkably exalted, till at length in man they are concentrated into reaſon, the fineſt and higheſt degree of terreſtrial organization.

Might we collect a few reſults from theſe inductions, which ſtill it would not be improper perhaps to reduce to one, it would be the following:

1. In every living creature the circle of organic powers ſeems to be whole and complete; only differently modified and diſtributed in each. In this it comes near *vegetation*, and is therefore ſo powerful in reproducing it's ſpecies, and reſtoring it's parts: in that theſe faculties decreaſe, in proportion as they

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are diſtributed among more artfully conſtructed members, and finer organs and ſenſes.

2. Beyond the ſphere of vegetation the ſyſtem of vital irritability commences. It is cloſely allied to the faculty of the growing, ſprouting, ſelf-renewing, animal fibrous ſtructure: only it appears in an artful condenſed form, and to a more limited determinate end of vital operation. Every muſcle already ſtands in reciprocal relation to many others: it will therefore diſplay not the powers of fibre alone, but it's own; living irritability in effective motion. The torpedo renews not it's limbs like the lizard, the frog, or the polypus: and thoſe animals, which poſſeſs the reproductive faculty, renew not the parts in which muſcular powers are condenſed, like thoſe which are as it were but ſprouts: the lobſter can puſh out new claws, but not a new tail. Thus in artfully combined motive powers the ſphere of vegetative organization gradually vaniſhes; or rather it is retained in a more elaborate form, and wholly applied to the purpoſes of a more complicated organization.

3. The farther the muſcular powers enter the ſphere of the nerves, the more are they impriſoned in this organization, and ſubdued to *the purpoſes of perception*. The more numerous and delicate the nerves of an animal; the more multifariouſly they are connected, artfully ſtrengthened, and allied to nobler parts and ſenſes; and laſtly the larger and more delicate the focus of all perception, the brain: the more intelligent and exquiſite is the kind of organization. On the contrary, in thoſe animals, in which irritability overpowers perceptivity, and the muſcular powers the nervous ſyſtem; where the latter is employed on mean functions and appetites, and particularly where the firſt and leaſt ſupportable of all appetites, hunger, is the moſt predominant; the ſpecies is, according to our ſtandard, partly leſs perfect in it's ſtructure, partly more groſs in it's manners.

Who would not rejoice, if ſome philoſophic anatomiſt* ſhould undertake, to give a comparative phyſiology of ſeveral animals, particularly of thoſe that approach neareſt to man, examining theſe powers, diſcriminated and eſtabliſhed by experiment, in relation to the whole organization of the creature? Nature exhibits to us her works, externally a maſked form, a covered recep-

* Beſide other known pieces, I find in the works of Alexander Monro, the elder, Edin. 1781, an Eſſay on Comparative Anatomy, which well deſerves a tranſlation; as the fine animal ſkeleton in Cheſelden's Oſteography, London, 1783, does to be copied, though the accuracy and beauty of the original would not eaſily be equalled in Germany.

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tacle of interiour powers. We see an animal's mode of life: from the physiognomy of it's visage, and the relation of it's parts, we guess perhaps at something of what exists within. But here within, the organs and mass of organic powers are themselves placed before us; and the nearer to man, the better means have we of comparison. Though I am no anatomist, I will venture to follow the observations of some anatomists of celebrity in one or two examples, which will prepare us for the structure and physiological nature of man.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Examples of the physiological Structure of some Animals.*

THE elephant *, shapeless as he seems, displays physiological grounds enough of his superiority to all other beasts, and resemblance to man. His brain indeed is not very large, in proportion to the size of the animal; but it's cavities, and it's whole structure, bear a striking resemblance to those of the human species. 'I was astonished,' says Camper, 'to find such a similarity between the *glandula pinealis, nates, and testes*, of the brain of this animal, and those of our brain: since, if a *common sensory* can exist, it must be sought for here.' The cranium is small in proportion to the head, as the nostrils extend far over the brain, and fill with air the cavities not only of the forehead, but of other parts †: for, to move the ponderous jaw, strong muscles are requisite, and an extensive surface, which our creative parent has filled with air, to spare the creature an insupportable burden. The *cerebrum* does not lie above the *cerebellum*, and press it by it's weight: the membrane, that separates them, stands perpendicular. The numerous nerves of the animal are principally spent on the organs of the finer senses, and his trunk alone receives as many as the whole bulk of his vast body. The muscles, that move the trunk, arise from the forehead: it is altogether without cartilage, the organ of a delicate feeling, an acute smell, and the freest motion. In it therefore many senses are combined, and assist each other. Thus the expressive eye of the elephant, which, like no other animal but man, is provided with hairs and a delicate muscular motion in the lower eyelid, has the finer senses for it's neighbours; and these are separated from the taste, which governs other beasts. The mouth, which in other quadrupeds, particularly of the carnivorous kinds, constitutes the predominant

* From Buffon, Daubenton, Camper, and in part Zimmermann's description of the fœtus of an elephant.

† The cavities and sinuses of the *processus mammillaris*, &c.

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part of the viſage, is here placed deep beneath the prominent forehead, and high trunk, ſo that it is almoſt concealed. His tongue is ſtill ſmaller: the weapons of defence, which he carries in his mouth, are diſtinct from the organs of nutrition: he is not formed, therefore, for ſavage voracity. Large as his bowels muſt neceſſarily be, his ſtomach is ſmall and ſimple: ſo that probably raging hunger cannot torment him, as it does beaſts of prey. Peaceably and cleanly he crops the herb; and, as his ſenſe of ſmell is ſeparate from his mouth, he employs in this more time and caution. For the ſame caution has Nature faſhioned him in drinking, and in every other function of his maſſy ſtructure, even to the propagation of his ſpecies. No ſexual appetite inflames him with rage: the female goes nine months with young, like woman, and ſuckles her offſpring at the breaſt. The periods of his life, during which he grows, is in vigour, and decays, reſemble thoſe of man. How nobly has nature converted his fangs into long tuſks! and how delicate muſt be his organ of hearing, that can underſtand human language in fine diſcriminations of the tones of command and of the paſſions! His ears are larger than thoſe of any other animal, thin, and extended on all ſides; their apertures ſtand high; and the whole of the ſmall occiput is a cave of echo, filled with air. Thus Nature has wiſely diminiſhed the weight of the animal, and united the ſtrongeſt muſcular force with the moſt refined nervous economy: a king of beaſts in ſagacious quiet, and intelligent purity of ſenſe.

How different a king of beaſts the lion *! Nature has eſtabliſhed his throne on muſcular force, not on mildneſs, and ſuperiority of intellect. She has made his brain ſmall; and his nerves ſo weak, that they are not even proportionate to thoſe of a cat: while ſhe framed his muſcles large and ſtrong, and fixed them to the bones in ſuch poſitions, as to produce the greateſt force, inſtead of diverſity and delicacy of motion. One great muſcle, that lifts the neck; a muſcle of the fore-foot, which ſerves to graſp; the joint of the foot cloſe to the claws; theſe large and curved, ſo that their points cannot be blunted, as they never touch the earth: ſuch were his gifts for the purpoſes of life. His ſtomach is long, and much curved: it's friction, and his hunger, therefore, muſt be fearful. His heart is ſmall; but it's cavities are delicate and broad; much longer and broader than in man. The parietes of his heart are twice as thin, and the aorta twice as ſmall; ſo that the blood of the lion, as ſoon

* Chiefly according to Wolf's excellent deſcription, in the *Nov. Commentar. Acad. Scient. Petrop.*, 'New Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Peterſburg,' vol. XV, and XVI. I wiſh we had anatomico-phyſiological deſcriptions of more animals, executed in the ſame manner.

as it quits the heart, flows with four times the velocity, and in the arterial branches of the fifteenth diviſion with a hundred times that of the human circulation. The heart of the elephant on the contrary beats ſlowly; almoſt as much ſo as in coldblooded animals. The gallbladder of the lion too is large, and the bile blackiſh. His broad tongue is rounded forwards, and furniſhed with prickles, an inch and half long, lying on the forepart, with their points directed backwards. Hence the danger of his licking the ſkin, which immediately fetches blood, and excites his thirſt of it; his raging thirſt, even after the blood of his friend and benefactor. A lion, that has once taſted human blood, quits not readily this prey, after which his furrowed palate luſts. The lioneſs produces ſeveral cubs, which grow but ſlowly: ſhe is obliged therefore to provide for them during a conſiderable period, and her maternal affection, joined to her own hunger, augments her ravenouſneſs. As the tongue of the lion taſtes acutely, and his fiery hunger is a kind of thirſt: it is natural, that he ſhould have no appetite for putrid carrion. To kill his own food, to ſuck the warm blood, is his royal taſte: and the aſtoniſhment of ſurpriſe is often the whole of his royal magnanimity. His ſleep is light, becauſe his blood is warm, and circulates quickly. When ſatiated he is cowardly; for he cannot uſe ſtale proviſion, therefore he thinks not of it, and is only excited to valour by preſent hunger. Benevolent Nature has blunted his ſenſes: his eye is afraid of fire, and cannot even bear the ſplendour of the Sun: his ſcent is not acute, the ſituation of his muſcles fitting him only for great ſprings, not for running, and nothing putrid excites him. His covered, wrinkled forehead is ſmall, compared with the inferiour part of his viſage, his ravenous jaws, and maſticating muſcles. His noſe is large and long; his neck and forelegs are of iron: his mane, and the muſcles of his tail, are ample: but his hinder parts are more feeble and ſlender. Nature had exhauſted her fearful powers, and made him in diſpoſition, when not tormented with the thirſt of blood, a gentle and noble beaſt. So phyſiological are thus alſo this creature's mind and character.

The ſloth, in appearance the laſt and moſt ſhapeleſs of quadrupeds, a maſs of mud that has riſen to animal organization, may ſerve us for a third example. His head is ſmall and round: all his limbs too are round, thick, ſhapeleſs, and like ſtuffed cuſhions. His neck is ſtiff, as if it were one piece with the head. The hair of it has a contrary direction to that of the back, as if Nature had formed the animal in two directions, uncertain which ſhe ſhould prefer. At laſt ſhe choſe for the principal parts the belly and poſteriours, to which, in place, form, and functions, the wretched head is ſubordinate. The

female carries her young in her poſteriours. The ſtomach and bowels fill the abdomen: the heart, lungs, and liver, are ſlightly formed: and the gallbladder ſeems wholly wanting. His blood is ſo cold as to border on that of amphibia: his heart and inteſtines palpitate long after being torn out: and the legs of the animal are agitated, after the heart is gone, as though he were in a ſlumber. Thus we perceive here the compenſation of Nature, who, where obliged to refuſe ſuſceptible nerves, and even active muſcular powers, has more intimately diffuſed and imparted exquiſite irritability. This ſingular animal therefore may be leſs unfortunate than he ſeems. He loves warmth: he loves the quiet of ſleep; and enjoys a ſlimelike wellbeing in each. When he wants warmth, he ſleeps: and as if even lying down were painful to him, he faſtens himſelf to a bough with his paws, and feeds himſelf with one of them, while, hanging from it like a bag, he enjoys in the warm ſunbeams his grublike exiſtence. Thus the misſhapen form of his feet is a benefit to him. From the peculiarity of their ſtructure the tender animal cannot ſupport himſelf on their balls, but only on the convexity of his claws, on which, as on the wheels of a waggon, he ſhoves himſelf ſlowly and commodiouſly along. His ſix and forty ribs, the like of which no other quadruped poſſeſſes, form a long vault for his ſtorehouſe of proviſion, and are, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the oſſified rings of a voracious leaf-bag, of a grub.

Of examples enough. It is obvious wherein the ideas of an animal mind and an animal inſtinct are to be placed, if we follow the guidance of phyſiology and experience. *That* is the *ſum and reſult of all the vital powers working in one organized ſyſtem: this* is the *direction, that Nature gave to thoſe collective powers, by placing them in a given temperament and no other, by organizing them to this and no other ſtructure.*

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Of the Inſtincts of Animals.*

We have an excellent work on the inſtincts of animals by the late Reimarus*, which, like his work on natural religion, will remain a laſting monument of his inquiſitive ſpirit, and profound love of truth. After learned and methodical remarks on the various inſtincts, which animals poſſeſs, he endeavours to explain them from the advantages of the mechaniſm, the ſenſes, and the internal feelings, with which they are endued: yet he is of opinion, that we muſt admit, eſpecially with regard to the inſtinctive arts, particular *determinate natural powers, and natural innate capacities*, which are ſuſceptible of no farther explication. In the latter part of his ſentiments I cannot acquieſce: for the compoſition of the whole machine from certain given powers, ſenſes, feelings, and conceptions, in ſhort, the *organization of the creature itſelf*, conſtitutes *the moſt ſure direction, the moſt perfect determination*, that Nature could impreſs upon her work.

As the creator formed plants, and beſtowed on them certain parts, and endued them with certain powers, to attract and aſſimilate light, air, and other ſubtile matters, with which they are abundantly ſupplied through the medium of the atmoſphere, or of water; and as he has placed them in their proper elements, where each part naturally exerts the powers eſſential to it: no new and blind inſtinct to vegetate ſeems to me neceſſary to have been imparted to them. Each part, with it's living powers, performs it's taſk; and thus in the general appearance becomes viſible the reſult of the powers, that could develope themſelves in a given organization. The active powers of Nature are all living, each in it's kind: they muſt poſſeſs a ſomething within, anſwerable to their effects without; as Leibnitz advanced, and as all analogy ſeems to inform us. That we have no name for this internal ſtate of plants, or the powers ſtill operating in them, is a defect of our language: for ſenſation is uſed only of the internal ſtate, communicated to us by the nervous ſyſtem. An obſcure analogy however may exiſt: and if it do not, a new inſtinct, a power of vegetation aſcribed to the whole, teaches us nothing.

* *Reimarus allgem. Betrachtungen über die Triebe der Thiere*, 'Reimarus's General Remarks on the Inſtincts of Animals,' Hamburg, 1773. Alſo *Angefangene Betrachtungen über die beſondern Arten der thieriſchen Kunſttriebe*, 'Sketches of Remarks on the particular Kinds of inſtinctive Arts in Animals:' to which is appended J. A. H. Reimarus's copious and elegant eſſay on the nature of zoophytes.

Two natural inſtincts are ſufficiently evident in plants, thoſe of nutrition and propagation; and the reſults of theſe are works of art, ſuch as the performances of a living inſect, however ſkilful, ſcarcely equals: they are the bud and the flower. When Nature makes a tranſition from a plant, or a ſtone, to the animal kingdom, does ſhe more clearly unfold to us the inſtincts of organic powers? The polypus appears to bloſſom like a plant, yet is an animal. Like an animal it ſeeks and digeſts it's food: it puſhes forth ſhoots, and theſe ſhoots are living animals: it renovates itſelf, as far as it enjoys the power of renovation—the greateſt work of art, that any creature performs. What is conſtructed with more art than the houſe of the ſnail? The cells of the bee muſt yield to it: the web of the caterpillar, of the ſilkworm, muſt give place to this artificial flower. And by what means has Nature accompliſhed this? By internal organic powers, which, little divided into limbs, lie in a lump, and the convolutions of which, following for the moſt part the progreſs of the Sun, formed this regular figure. Internal parts afforded the baſis, as the ſpider draws her web from her entrails, and the air could only ſupply the harder or groſſer parts. This tranſition ſeems to me ſufficiently to ſhow, whereon all the inſtincts, even the mechanical ones of the moſt ſkilful animal, depend: namely, *on organic powers, operating in a given manner, according to given limbs.* Whether this be effected with more or leſs ſenſation, depends on the nerves of the creature: but beſide theſe, there are active muſcular powers, and fibres fully imbued with growing and renovating vegetative life; which two kinds of powers, independent of the nerves, ſufficiently compenſate to the creature what it wants of nerves and brain.

Thus Nature herſelf leads us to the inſtinctive arts, which we are accuſtomed to attribute more eſpecially to certain inſects, for no other reaſon but becauſe their performances are ſeen by us in miniature, and we compare them with our own. The more diſtinct the organs of a creature, and the more lively and delicate it's irritability; the leſs ſurpriſing ſhould it be to us, to perceive operations, of which animals of coarſer ſtructure, and duller irritability of particular parts, are incapable, whatever other advantages they may poſſeſs. Even the ſmallneſs and delicacy of the creature conduce to art; which can be nothing elſe, but the reſult of all it's ſenſations, activities, and irritabilities.

Here too examples will ſpeak moſt forcibly: and the faithful induſtry of a Swammerdam, a Reaumur, a Lyonet, a Roeſel, and ſome others, have beautifully placed theſe examples before our eyes. When the caterpillar ſpins herſelf round with a web, what does ſhe more, than many other creatures perform, when they caſt their ſkins? The ſnake puts off her exuviæ, the bird moults her feathers, and many quadrupeds ſhed their hair: by theſe means they grow young

again, and renovate their powers. The caterpillar alſo grows young again, only in a more difficult, exquiſite, and artful manner: ſhe ſtrips off her briſtly caſe, which takes with it ſome of her feet, and by a ſlower or quicker tranſition appears in a perfectly new ſtate. The firſt period of her life, which ſhe employed as a caterpillar in the office of nutrition alone, afforded her powers for this: now muſt they alſo ſerve to propagate the ſpecies, and for this her rings are formed, and her limbs are produced. Thus, in the organization of this creature, Nature has only placed her periods of life and inſtincts farther from each other, and left them organically to prepare for a peculiar transformation—as involuntary on the part of the creature, as that of the ſnake when ſhe caſts her ſkin.

What is the web of the ſpider, but the *ſpider herſelf elongated*, to obtain her prey? As the polypus ſtretches out his arms to embrace it; as ſhe obtained fangs to hold it faſt; ſo for the purpoſe of catching her prey ſhe acquired the papillæ, between which her web is drawn out. Of the juice from which it is formed ſhe has about a ſufficient quantity to ſupply her with webs during her life; and if ſhe be unfortunate with them, ſhe muſt recur to forcible means, or die. The power that organized her whole body, and all it's inherent faculties, formed her thus *organically* to the fabrication of this web.

The ſame are we taught by the republic of bees. Each of the different ſpecies of theſe is faſhioned to it's particular purpoſe: and they aſſociate together, becauſe neither of the ſpecies could exiſt without the others. The working bees are organized for the gathering of honey, and the conſtruction of the cells. The honey they gather, as every animal ſeeks it's food: and ſince their mode of life requires it, they collect it orderly, and lay it up in ſtore. They conſtruct their cells as ſo many other animals build their habitations, each in it's own manner. Being of no ſex, they feed the young of the hive, as others feed their own offſpring; and kill the drones, as every animal kills another, that robs him of his proviſion, and is a burden to his family. Though all this cannot be done without ſenſe and feeling; yet it is but the ſenſe, the feeling, of a bee; neither the mere mechaniſm, to which Buffon refers it; nor the complicated, mathematical, political reaſon, which others aſcribe to the creature. It's mind is included in it's organization, and intimately interwoven with it. Thus it operates conformably to it; finely, and with art, but in a very narrow and confined circle. The beehive is it's world, and the creator has divided it's occupations into three parts by a threefold organization.

Neither muſt we ſuffer ourſelves to be miſled by the word *promptitude*, while we obſerve theſe organic arts in many animals immediately after their birth. Our promptitude ariſes from practice; their's does not. Is their

organization

organization completed? it's powers muſt be in full play. What in the World has the greateſt promptitude? The falling ſtone; the blooming flower. That falls, this blooms, *according to it's nature*. The cryſtal ſhoots with more promptitude and regularity, than the bee conſtructs it's comb, or the ſpider her web. In the ſtone it is only a blind organic inſtinct, that is infallible: in the inſect it is organized to the employment of ſeveral limbs and organs, and theſe may fail. The healthy, powerful conſent of theſe to one end conſtitutes promptitude, as ſoon as the perfect creature exiſts.

Thus we perceive why the higher creatures riſe, the more their inceſſant propenſity and infallible promptitude decreaſe. The more, namely, the one organic principle of nature, which we here term *plaſtic*, there *impulſive*, here *ſenſitive*, there *artful*, yet which is at bottom but one and the ſame organic power, is ſubdivided into ſeveral organs and various limbs; and the more it has in each of theſe a world of it's own, whence conſequently it is expoſed to particular errours and obſtacles: ſo much the weaker is it's propenſity, ſo much the more is it ſubject to the command of the will, and therefore of errour. The different ſenſations muſt be balanced againſt each other, and then reconciled together: hail, then, overpowering inſtinct, infallible guide! The obſcure irritation, that in a certain ſphere, ſecluded from all others, poſſeſſes in itſelf a kind of omniſcience and omnipotence, is now divided into twigs and branches. The teachable creature muſt learn, as he receives from Nature leſs knowledge: he muſt exerciſe his powers, becauſe he receives leſs power from Nature: but by his progreſſive advancement, by the refining and diviſion of his powers, he has obtained new means of operation, and more and finer organs, to diſcriminate his ſenſations, and to chooſe that which is beſt. What he wants in intenſity of impulſe, is ſupplied by it's extent and finer compoſition: he is capable of more pure ſelf-ſatisfaction, of a more free and diverſified uſe of his powers and limbs; and all, becauſe, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, his organic mind is more ſubtilely and multifariouſly diſtributed among it's organs.

Let us now conſider a few wonderful and wiſe laws of this gradual improvement of the creature; how the creator has accuſtomed him ſtep by ſtep to *a combination of many ideas*, or feelings, and to a *peculiar free employment of many ſenſes and limbs*.

## CHAPTER V.

*Advancement of the Creature to a combination of ſeveral Ideas, and to a particular freer uſe of the Senſes and Limbs.*

1. An obſcure but powerful propenſity is all, that inanimate nature poſſeſſes. The parts preſs together with internal energies: every creature ſeeks *to acquire form, and forms itſelf.* Every thing is yet included in this propenſity; but it indeſtructibly pervades the whole being. The ſmalleſt part of a cryſtal, or of a ſalt, is a ſalt or a cryſtal: the plaſtic power operates in the minuteſt particle, as in the whole; indiſcerptible from without, indeſtructible from within.

2. Plants divide themſelves into tubes and other parts: in theſe parts their propenſity begins to modify itſelf after it's own manner, though in the whole it ſtill operates uniformly. Root, ſtem, and branches, abſorb; but in different manners, by different conduits, and different ſubſtances. Thus the propenſity of the whole modifies itſelf with theſe, but ſtill remains in the whole one and the ſame: for *propagation is only the efflorescence of growth*, and both theſe propenſities are inſeparable from the nature of the creature.

3. In zoophytes Nature begins imperceptibly to ſeparate particular organs, with their inherent powers: the organs of nutrition become viſible: the fruit already looſens itſelf in the womb of the parent, though it continues to be nouriſhed in it as a plant. Many polypi ſprout from one ſtem: Nature has fixed them to a ſpot, and exempted them from locomotion. The ſnail has a broad foot, with which it faſtens itſelf to it's houſe. The ſenſes of this creature lie obſcurely and indiſtinct together: it's propenſity operates ſlowly and intimately: the copulation of the ſnail continues ſeveral days. Thus Nature has exempted this beginning of vital organization as much as ſhe could from diverſity, and therefore more deeply concealed and firmly bound variety in an obſcure ſimple movement. The tenacious life of the ſnail is almoſt indeſtructible.

4. As ſhe aſcended higher, ſhe obſerved the ſame wiſe precaution, gradually to inure the creature to a greater diſcrimination of diverſified ſenſe and inſtinct. The inſect cannot perform at once all it has to perform: therefore it muſt *change it's form and being*, firſt as a caterpillar to ſatisfy the propenſity of nutrition, next as a fly that of propagation: it was incapable of both in one form. *One ſpecies of bees* could not execute every thing requiſite to the enjoyment and propagation of the kind: Nature divided them therefore, and made one to work,

work, another to propagate, and a third to produce young; all by a ſlight change of organization, whence the powers of the creature acquired another direction. *What ſhe could not complete in one model, ſhe effected in three, fitted to each other as fragments of one whole.* Thus ſhe taught the bees their office in three ſpecies, as ſhe taught the butterfly, and other inſects, their occupations in two different forms.

5. In proportion as ſhe advanced, and thought fit to allow the uſe of ſeveral ſenſes, and with theſe of will, to accumulate; ſhe *removed unneceſſary limbs, and ſimplified the ſtructure within and without.* With the ſkin of the caterpillar feet are removed, for which the butterfly will have no occaſion: the many feet of inſects, their numerous and diverſified eyes, their antennæ, and many other little implements, are wanting in ſuperiour creatures. Of thoſe the head contains little brain: it lying far lower in the ſpinal marrow, and each ganglion of the nerves conſtituting a new centre of ſenſation. Thus the mind of the little artiſt is diſperſed throughout it's whole body. The more the creature ſhould increaſe in ſpontaneity, and the reſemblance of intelligence; the greater, and better furniſhed with brain, is it's head; and the three principal parts of the body are more proportionate to each other, which in inſects, worms, and the like, were totally deſtitute of proportion. What great and mighty tails do the amphibia drag on the ground, while their miſhapen legs ſtand unconnected! In quadrupeds Nature has exalted her work: the legs are longer, and approach nearer together. The tail, with it's portion of the vertebræ, ſhortens and diminiſhes: it loſes the groſs muſcular force of the crocodile's, and becomes more pliable and ſlender; till in more noble animals it is only a hairy ſwitch, and at length, as Nature approaches the erect form, it is totally rejected. The marrow of it is carried higher up, and expended on nobler parts.

6. While the creative artiſt found *the proportion of the quadruped* the beſt, wherein this creature learned *to exerciſe certain ſenſes and powers in combination, and to unite them in one form of thought and ſenſation:* ſhe changed the figure of each ſpecies according to it's mode of life and deſtination, and with the ſame parts and limbs produced it's own harmony of the whole, and therewith it's own organic mind, different from all others. At the ſame time ſhe retained a certain ſimilitude, and ſeemed to purſue one great end. This great end is evidently to approach that organic form, in which the greateſt combination of clear ideas, and the moſt diverſified and free uſe of various ſenſes and limbs, could take place: and this it is, that conſtitutes the greater or leſs humanity of beaſts. It is no ſport of the will: but a reſult of the diverſe forms, that could be no otherwiſe combined to that end, to which Nature would combine them;

them; namely to an employment of thoughts, ſenſes, powers, and deſires, in this proportion, to ſuch an end, and no other.

The parts of every animal are in the moſt exact proportion to each other, according to it's place; and I am perſuaded, that all the forms, in which a living creature can exiſt on our Earth, are exhauſted. The beaſt goes upon all fours: for he could not uſe his forefeet as human hands; but then, by this going on all fours, his ſtanding, running, leaping, and the uſe of his animal ſenſes, are rendered moſt eaſy to him. His head ſtill inclines towards the earth; as from the earth he ſeeks his food. In moſt the ſmell is acute; as it muſt awaken or guide their inſtinct. Of one the ear is quick, of another the eye: and thus Nature has choſen, not only in the general ſtructure of quadrupeds, but in the formation of each particular ſpecies, that particular proportion of powers and ſenſes, which could be beſt exerciſed in ſuch an organization. Conformably to this ſhe contracted or elongated the limbs, and increaſed or diminiſhed the ſtrength. Every creature is a numerator to the great denominator, which is Nature's ſelf: even man is only a fraction of the whole, a proportion of powers, which were to form themſelves into one whole, in this and no other organization, by the common aid of many limbs.

7. Neceſſarily, in a terreſtrial organization ſo deliberate, *no power muſt ſuppreſs another, no propenſity deſtroy another*; and infinitely admirable is the care, that Nature has employed for this purpoſe. Moſt animals have *their peculiar climate*, which is preciſely that, where they can be moſt eaſily fed and brought up. Had Nature faſhioned them more indeterminately, with a capacity for ſupporting various climes; to what wants and wildneſs would many ſpecies have been expoſed, till they had at length become extinct! We ſee this in the moſt tractable ſpecies, which have followed man into every country: each region has given them a different caſt, and the wild dog has become one of the moſt ſavage beaſts of prey, even as he has become wild. The *propenſity of propagation* muſt have bewildered the creature ſtill more, had it been left indeterminate: but this too the creative parent has fettered. It awakes only at a determinate period; when the organic warmth of the animal is at the higheſt: and as this is effected by phyſical revolutions of growth, of the ſeaſons, and of the richeſt food; and the good ſuperintendant has determined accordingly the time of geſtation; equal care is taken for both young and old. The young comes into the World, when it can proſper in it; or it paſſes through the ſevere ſeaſon in the ſtate of an egg, till rouſed by a more friendly Sun: the old feels the propenſity only when it counteracts no other. By this too is regulated the relation of the two ſpecies in the duration and force of this propenſity.

The beneficent maternal affection, with which Nature has in this way educated and effectually habituated every living creature to actions, thoughts, and virtues, ſuitable to the compaſs of it's organization, is above all expreſſion. She preconceived it, as ſhe placed theſe powers in a given organization, and neceſſitated the creature to ſee, to deſire, to act, in this organization, as ſhe had preconceived it, and gave it wants, powers, and place, within the limits of this organization.

There exiſts no virtue, no propenſity, in the human heart, which has not ſomewhere in the animal world it's ſimilitude, to which the forming mother has organically *habituated* the animal. It muſt provide for itſelf: it muſt learn to love it's offspring: neceſſity and the ſeaſons compel it into ſociety, if it be only to have companions in travel. Appetite impels this animal to love; neceſſity conſtrains that to marriage, to a ſort of republic, to ſocial order. However obſcurely all this takes place, however ſhortly much of it endures; ſtill it is imprinted in the nature of the animal, and we ſee it there ſtrongly, we ſee it return; nay it is irreſiſtible, it is indelible. By how much the more obſcurely and inwardly all this operates, the fewer thoughts are combined, and the leſs frequently the impulſe acts; ſo much the ſtronger is the propenſity, ſo much the more perfect it's effects. Thus every where occur prototypes of human modes of action, in which animals are exerciſed: and if there be a ſin againſt Nature, it is to reſolve ſtill to conſider them as machines, while we behold before our eyes their ſyſtem of nerves, their ſtructure reſembling ours, their wants and modes of life the ſame.

It is not to be wondered at therefore, that the more a ſpecies reſembles man, the more it's mechanic art decreaſes; for ſuch a ſpecies ſtands already in a practical circle of more humanlike thoughts. The beaver, which is ſtill a water-rat, builds with art. The fox, the fieldmouſe, and ſimilar animals, have their artificial ſubterranean ſtructures. The dog, the horſe, the camel, the elephant, want not theſe little arts: they have thoughts like thoſe of man; impelled by the plaſtic hand of Nature, they exerciſe themſelves in propenſities like his.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Organic Difference between Man and Beaſts.*

WITH great untruth has it been ſaid in praiſe of the human ſpecies, that all the powers and capacities of every other are found in the higheſt perfection in man. Such a commendation is not only without proof, but inconſiſtent: for evidently in ſuch a caſe one power would deſtroy another, and the creature would abſolutely have no enjoyment of his exiſtence. How could man at one and the ſame time bloom like the flower, feel like the ſpider, build like the bee, ſuck like the butterfly; and alſo poſſeſs the muſcular ſtrength of the lion, the proboſcis of the elephant, and the art of the beaver? Does he poſſeſs, nay does he comprehend, a ſingle one of theſe powers, with that intenſity, with which the animal enjoys and exerciſes it?

On the other hand, ſome have, I will not ſay degraded him to the rank of a beaſt, but altogether diveſted him of the character of his kind, and made him a degenerate animal, that, ſtriving after higher perfection, has totally loſt the originality of his ſpecies. This is palpably contrary to truth, and the evidence of his natural hiſtory: he has obviouſly qualities, which no other animal poſſeſſes; and has performed actions, of which the good and the bad are truly his own. No beaſt devours his fellow from epicuriſm: no beaſt murders his like in cold blood, at the command of a third. No beaſt has language, as man has; and ſtill leſs writings, traditions, religion, and arbitrary rights and laws. Finally no beaſt has the form, clothing, habitation, arts, unfettered mode of life, unreſtrained propenſities, and fluctuating opinions, which diſtinguiſh almoſt every individual of mankind. We inquire not whether all this be to the advantage or detriment of our ſpecies; ſuffice it, that of our ſpecies it is the character. As every beaſt remains true upon the whole to the qualities of his kind, and we alone have made a divinity of will, not of neceſſity; this difference muſt be inveſtigated as a fact, for ſuch it inconteſtibly is. The other queſtions: how man came by this difference: and whether this difference be original, or adventitious and acquired: are of another kind, hiſtorical merely: and here the perfectibility or corruptibility, in which no beaſt has hitherto imitated him, muſt have pertained to the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of his ſpecies. Laying aſide all metaphyſics, we confine ourſelves to phyſiology and experience.

1. *The form of man is upright: in this he is ſingular upon the earth.* For though the bear has equally a broad foot, and ſtands erect when he fights: though

the ape and the pigmy ſometimes walk or run in an erect poſture: ſtill to the human ſpecies alone is this poſition natural and conſtant. The foot of man is more firm and broad: he has a long great toe, while the ape has but a thumb: his heel too is on a level with the ſole of his foot. All the muſcles acting in this poſition are adapted to it. The calf of the leg is enlarged: the pelvis is drawn backward: the hips are ſpread outwards from each other: the ſpine is leſs curved: the breaſt is widened: the ſhoulders have clavicles: the hands have fingers endued with the ſenſe of feeling: to crown the ſtructure the receding head is exalted on the muſcles of the neck: man is ανθρωπος *, a creature looking far above and around him.

It muſt be granted, however, that this mode of going erect is not ſo eſſential to man, that it's oppoſite is as impoſſible for him as to fly. Not only is the contrary ſeen in children; but men, who have been brought up among beaſts, have proved it by experience. Eleven or twelve inſtances of this kind are known †; and though they have not all been ſufficiently obſerved and deſcribed, yet ſome of them ſhow clearly, that the gait moſt incommodious to man is not impracticable to his pliable nature. His head, as well as his abdomen, lies ſomewhat forwards: the body therefore can fall forwards, as the head ſinks in ſleep. No dead body can ſtand upright: it is only by the combined exertion of innumerable actions, that our artificial mode of ſtanding and going becomes poſſible.

Thus it may eaſily be conceived, that, in acquiring the gait of quadrupeds, many limbs of the human body muſt change their forms, and proportions to each other; as appears in the inſtances of wild men. The iriſh boy, deſcribed by Tulpius, had a flat forehead, the occiput heightened, a wide bleating throat, a thick tongue growing almoſt up to the palate, and the pit of the ſtomach drawn greatly inwards; juſt as going on all fours muſt occaſion. The flemiſh maiden, who walked erect, and ſtill retained ſo much of the feminine nature as to bedeck herſelf with a ſtraw apron, had a brown thick, hairy ſkin, and long thick hair. The maiden found at Songi in Champaign had a dark countenance, ſtrong fingers, and long nails; and her thumbs in particular were ſo ſtrong and elongated, that ſhe ſwung herſelf with them from tree to tree like a ſquirrel. Her quick pace was not walking, but a flying trip and gliding, in which the motions of the feet were ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed. The tone of her voice was weak and ſlender, her cry piercing and frightful. She had uncommon ſtrength and agility; and was ſo difficult to be weaned from her uſual aliment, of raw and bleed-

* *Uplooking:* the greek name for man, from ανω, upwards, and θωπτω, to look. T.

† See Linné's Natural Syſtem, Martini's ſupplement to Buffon, and other places.

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ing fleſh, fiſh, leaves, and fruit, that ſhe not only endeavoured to eſcape, but fell into a dangerous illneſs, from which ſhe could be recovered only by ſucking warm blood, that pervaded her veſſels like a balſam. Her teeth fell out, and her nails dropped off, as ſhe accuſtomed herſelf to our food: inſupportable pains contracted her ſtomach and bowels, particularly the œſophagus, which became parched and dried up. Strong proofs, how much the pliable nature of a human being, even though ſhe was born and for a time brought up among men, could habituate itſelf in a few years to the inferiour mode of life of the beaſts, among which ſhe was placed by ſome unfortunate miſchance.

How could I delineate the hateful viſion of what man muſt have been, had he been condemned to the fate of being formed a beſtial fœtus in the womb of a quadruped: what powers would thereby have been ſtrengthened, what weakened; what muſt have been the gait, the education, the way of life, the corporeal ſtructure, of the human beaſt!——But away unhallowed and horrible image! odious nonnature of natural man! In nature thou doſt not exiſt: my pen ſhall not delineate one of thy features. For

2. *The upright poſture of man is natural to him alone: nay it is the organiſm of the whole deſtination of the ſpecies, and it's moſt diſtinguiſhing character.*

No nation upon Earth has been found walking on all fours: the moſt ſavage, however cloſely many of them border on brute beaſts in their form and mode of living, walk erect. Even the men without feeling of Diodorus, with other fabulous beings of the ancient and middle writers, go upon two legs: and I cannot comprehend, how the human ſpecies, if it had poſſeſſed from Nature the abject horizontal poſition, could ever have raiſed itſelf to a poſture of ſo much art and conſtraint. How much trouble has it coſt, to habituate the wild men, who have been found, to our food and manner of living! yet theſe were not originally wild, but had become ſo only by being a few years among the brutes. The eſkimaux maiden had ſome ideas of her former ſtate, and remains of the language and inſtincts of her native country: yet her reaſon lay bound up in brutality; ſhe had no remembrance of her journey, or of the whole of her wild ſtate. The others were not only deſtitute of language, but were in ſome meaſure for ever loſt to human ſpeech.——And would the human beaſt, had he been ages of ages in this abject ſtate, and formed to it by totally different proportions a quadruped in his mother's womb, have left it of his own accord, and raiſed himſelf to an erect poſture? From the powers of a beaſt, eternally pulling him back, would he have made himſelf man, and, before he became a man, invented human ſpeech? Had man been a fourfooted animal, had he been ſo for thouſands of years, aſſuredly he would have remained ſo ſtill; and nothing

nothing but a miracle of new creation could have made him what he now is, and what alone all hiſtory and experience repreſents him to us.

Why then ſhould we embrace unproved, nay totally inconſiſtent, paradoxes, when the ſtructure of man, the hiſtory of his ſpecies, and, as I conceive, the whole analogy of terreſtrial organization, lead us to ſomething elſe? No creature, that we know, has departed from it's original organization, and accommodated itſelf to another repugnant to it: it can operate only with the powers inherent in it's organization, and nature is acquainted with ſufficient means, to chain down every living creature to that ſtate, which ſhe has aſſigned it. In man every thing is adapted to the form he now bears: from this every thing in his hiſtory is explicable; without it nothing is capable of explanation: and ſince all the forms of the animal creation ſeem to converge to this, as to the exalted image of divinity, and the moſt elaborate and prime beauty of the Earth; without which, as without the domination of man, our world would be deſtitute of it's ſupreme ornament and crown: why ſhould we humble in the duſt this diadem of our deſtination, and obſtinately ſhut our eyes to that central point, in which all the radii of the circle ſeem to unite?

When our creative parent had fulfilled her labours, and exhauſted all the forms, that were poſſible on our Earth, ſhe pauſed, and ſurveyed her works: and as ſhe ſaw, that the Earth ſtill wanted it's principal ornament, it's regent, and ſecond creator; ſhe took counſel with herſelf, combined together her forms, and out of all faſhioned her chief figure, human beauty. With maternal affection ſhe ſtretched forth her hand to the laſt creature of her art, and ſaid: 'ſtand up on the earth! Left to thyſelf, thou hadſt been a beaſt, like unto other beaſts: but through my eſpecial aid and love, *walk erect*, and be of beaſts the god.'

With grateful eyes let us contemplate, in this hallowed act, the benefit, through which our race became a human ſpecies: with wonder ſhall we perceive, what new organiſm of powers commenced in the erect poſition of mankind, and how by it alone man was made a *man*.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK IV.

### CHAPTER I.

*Man is organized to a Capacity of Reaſoning.*

INTERNALLY and externally the ourang-outang reſembles man. It's brain has the form of ours: it has a broad cheſt, flat ſhoulders, a ſimilar viſage, and a ſkull of the ſame ſhape: it's heart, lungs, liver, ſpleen, ſtomach, and inteſtines, are like thoſe of man. Tyſon * has pointed out forty-eight parts, in which it reſembles our ſpecies more than the ape; and the actions related of it, even it's vices and follies, and probably too it's menſtruation, give it a ſimilitude to the human ſpecies.

Unqueſtionably, therefore, in it's interiour, in the operations of it's mind, it muſt have ſome reſemblance to man; and thoſe philoſophers, who would debaſe it to the level of the little mechanic animals, ſeem to me, to want the mean of compariſon. The beaver builds; but inſtinctively: it's whole mechaniſm is conſtructed for this; but it can do nothing farther; it is incapable of aſſociating with man, of taking part in his thoughts and paſſions. The ape, on the contrary, has no determinate inſtinct: it's mode of thinking ſtands cloſe on the brink of reaſon, the brink of imitation. It imitates every thing, and therefore it's brain muſt be fitted for a thouſand combinations of ſenſitive ideas, of which no other brute is capable: for neither the wiſe elephant, nor the ſagacious dog, is capable of doing what the ape can perform: *it would perfect itſelf.* But this it cannot: the door is ſhut againſt it: it's brain is incapable of combining with it's own ideas thoſe of others, and making what it imitates as it were it's own. The female ape, deſcribed by Bontius, poſſeſſed a ſenſe of modeſty, and covered herſelf with her hand when a ſtranger entered: ſhe ſighed, wept, and ſeemed to perform human actions. The apes, deſcribed by Battel, go out

* Tyſon's Anatomy of a Pygmy compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man. Lond. 1751. Pag. 92—4.

in companies, arm themſelves with clubs, and hunt the elephants from their precincts: they attack the negroes, and ſit round their fires; but they have not ſenſe to keep them up. The ape, which de la Broſſe placed at table, uſed a knife and fork, and was ſuſceptible of anger, confidence, and all the human paſſions. The love of the mothers to their children; their education and initiation into the arts and tricks of an ape's life; the regulations of their commonwealth on a march; the puniſhments they inflict on their malefactors; even their droll artifices and maliciouſneſs; with a number of inconteſtible traits; are ſufficient proofs, that they are creatures reſembling man interiourly, as much as their exteriour indicates. Buffon waſtes the ſtream of his eloquence in vain, when he takes occaſion from theſe animals, to combat the ſimilitude of the internal organiſm of nature to the external: the facts, that he himſelf has collected, ſufficiently refute him; and the uniformity of nature's organiſm within and without, if rightly defined, remains impoſſible to be miſtaken through all the forms of animate being.

What then wants the manlike creature, that it is not man? Is it, perhaps, language alone? But men have taken pains to bring up ſeveral; and had this animal, which imitates every thing, been capable of ſpeech, it certainly would have imitated this firſt, and waited for no inſtruction. Or does it depend ſolely on it's organs? Certainly not: for though it comprehends the meaning of a man's ſpeech, and is for ever geſticulating, yet no ape has acquired the faculty of converſing pantomimically with it's maſter, and diſcourſing by geſtures. It muſt be owing to ſomething elſe, therefore, that the door of human reaſon is ſhut againſt the poor creature, leaving it perhaps an obſcure perception, that it is ſo near, yet cannot enter.

What is this ſomething? It is ſingular, that almoſt all the difference appearing on diſſection ſhould ſeem to conſiſt in *the parts appropriate to walking*. The ape is ſo formed, as to be able to walk erect, and is therein more ſimilar to man than it's brethren: but it is not formed wholly for this, and this difference ſeems to deprive it of every thing. Let us follow this glimpſe, and Nature herſelf will guide us to the path, in which we muſt ſeek the firſt grounds of man's ſuperiority.

The ourang outang* has long arms, large hands, ſhort legs, and large feet

* See Camper's *Kort Berigt wegens de Ontleeding van verſchiedene Orang Outangs*, 'Short Account of the Diſſection of ſome Ourang Outangs,' Amſterdam, 1780. I know this account only from the copious extract in the *Göttingiſchen gelehrten Anzeigen*, 'Gottingen literary Review,' *Zugabe, St.* 29, 1780; and it is hoped, that it, and the eſſay on the organs of ſpeech in apes in the Tranſactions, will be inſerted in the collection of tracts of this celebrated anatomiſt, Leipſic, 1781.

with

with long toes; but the thumb of it's hand, and the great toe of it's foot, are ſmall: Buffon, and Tyſon before him, on this account termed the ape ſpecies quadrimanous; and with theſe ſmall members evidently the baſis is wanting, which enables man to ſtand firm. The hind part of it's body is ſlender; it's knee broader than in man, and not ſo low; the muſcles that move the knee ariſe from the thighbone lower than in man, ſo that the animal can never ſtand perfectly upright, but with bent knees, ſeems as it were learning to ſtand. The head of the thigh bone hangs in it's ſocket without a ligament: the bones of the pelvis ſtand like thoſe of quadrupeds: the laſt five vertebræ of the neck have long pointed proceſſes, which prevent the head from being carried backwards: thus the creature is not formed to ſtand erect, and ſad are the conſequences thence enſuing. It's neck is ſhort and the clavicles are long, ſo that the head ſeems ſtuck betwixt the ſhoulders *. Thence it's forepart is enlarged, it has prominent jaws, and a flat noſe: the eyes ſtand near together; the ball of the eye is ſmall, ſo that none of the white is ſeen. The mouth on the other hand is large, the belly thick, the breaſt long, and the back feeble. The ears project like thoſe of brutes. The orbits of the eyes approach each other; the head is articulated poſteriourly, as in brutes, not centrically, as in man. The upper jaw is protruded forwards, and the inſertion of a proper intermaxillary bone cuts off the laſt mark of reſemblance of the human viſage in the ape †. Now from this formation of the head, the lower part projecting forward, the hinder puſhed back; from this collocation of it on the neck; from the whole appearance of the vertebræ of the back ſuitable to theſe; the ape remains ſtill but a brute, however great it's reſemblance to man.

To prepare ourſelves for this concluſion, let us conſider human countenances appearing to border on thoſe of brutes, however diſtantly. What renders them brutal? what gives them this baſe, diſgraceful aſpect? The protruding jaws; the head puſhed back; in ſhort the remoteſt reſemblance to the quadrupedal organization. The moment the centre of gravity, on which the human ſkull reſts it's exalted arch, is changed, the head ſeems fixed to the ſpine, the frame of the teeth projects forward, and the noſe aſſumes the breadth and flatneſs of the brute's. Above, the orbits of the eyes approach nearer together: the forehead recedes backwards, and receives on each ſide the fatal depreſſion of the ſkull of the ape. The head terminates in a point above and behind; the cavity of the

* See a front and back view of it's wretched figure in Tyſon.

† See a delineation of this bone in Blumenbach *de Generis Humani Varietate nativa*, 'On the natural Variety of the Human Species,' *Tab. I, fig.* 2. Yet all apes do not appear to have this *os intermaxillare* in the ſame degree, as Tyſon, in his account of the diſſection, plainly ſays it was not found.

ſkull is more narrow—and all this becauſe the direction of the figure, the beautiful free formation of the head for the upright poſture of man, is changed.

Let this point be otherwiſe diſpoſed, beautiful and noble will be the whole form. The forehead will advance forward big with thought, and the ſkull ſwell into an arch with calm exalted dignity. The broad brutal noſe will contract, and aſſume a higher and more delicate figure: the retreating mouth will be more beautifully covered, and thus will be formed the lips of man, which are wanting to the moſt cunning of the apes. The chin will ſink to round the fine perpendicular oval: the cheeks ſoftly ſwell: and the eye look out from beneath the projecting forehead, as from the ſacred temple of mind. And whence all this? From the formation of the head to the erect poſition: from it's being internally and externally organized to a perpendicular centre of gravitation *. Let him, who doubts this, ſurvey the ſkulls of the ape and the man; and no ſhadow of his doubt can remain.

Every external form in Nature is an index of her internal operations: and thus, great mother of all, we approach the moſt ſacred of thy ſublunary works, the laboratory of the human underſtanding.

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Men have taken much pains to compare the magnitude of the human brain with that of the brains of other animals, and for this purpoſe have weighed the brains and the animals againſt each other. But this mode of weighing and calculating can give no accurate reſult for three reaſons.

1. Becauſe one member of the compariſon, the maſs of the body, is too indeterminate, and bears no certain proportion to the other nicely determined member, the brain itſelf. How different the nature of the things, that occaſion the weight of a body! and how different may be the proportions aſſigned them! The heavy body of the elephant, and even his ponderous head, are lightened by means of air: and though his brain be not overlarge, he is the wiſeſt of brutes. What weighs moſt in the body of an animal? The bones: but to theſe the brain is not immediately proportioned.

2. It is unqueſtionably of much importance, to what purpoſes of the body the brain is employed, and to what functions it lends nerves. If therefore the brain and nerves were weighed againſt each other, they would give a nicer proportion, though by no means accurate: for the weight of both would indicate neither the fineneſs of the nerves, nor the purpoſes of their courſe.

* I have not yet read Daubenton's eſſay on the ſituation of the great occipital foramen in man and animals, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Paris, for 1764, which I find quoted by Blumenbach: of courſe I know not how far, or to what concluſions, his thoughts are carried. My ideas are taken from the ſkulls of men and animals lying before me.

3. Thus

3. Thus ultimately all depends on the *more fine elaboration*, the *more nicely proportioned ſituation of the parts with reſpect to each other*, and ſtill more eſpecially, as it ſhould ſeem, on the *free and ſpacious field* for combining the impreſſions and perceptions of all the nerves with the greateſt force, with the moſt rigid truth, with the moſt unreſtrained play of variation, and uniting them with energy in the unknown divine entity, that we term *thought*; concerning which the magnitude of the brain gives us no information.

Still theſe arithmetical calculations * are valuable, and afford us ſome inſtructive and introductory inferences, though not ultimate concluſions. Some of theſe I ſhall here mention, to ſhow the aſcending uniformity of Nature's courſe.

1. In the ſmaller animals, in which the circulation and organic warmth are but imperfect, we find a ſmaller brain and fewer nerves. Nature, as we have already remarked, has made up to them in an intimate or fine expanded irritability, what ſhe was obliged to deny them in ſenſation: for probably the elaborating organiſm of theſe creatures could neither produce nor ſupport a larger brain.

2. In warm blooded animals the maſs of the brain increaſes in proportion as their organization is more elaborate: but here other conſiderations ſupervene, which ſeem more particularly governed by the proportions the nervous and muſcular powers bear to each other. In beaſts of prey the brain is ſmaller: in theſe predominate the muſcular powers, to which, and animal irritability, the nerves are for the moſt part ſubſervient. In peaceable graminivorous animals the brain is larger: though even in theſe it ſeems principally employed in nerves of ſenſe. Birds have much brain: for in their colder element warmer blood is neceſſary. The circulation, too, is confined within a ſmaller ſphere in their bodies, which are generally ſmall. In the amorous ſparrow the brain fills the whole head, and is equal in weight to one fifth of the body.

3. In young creatures the brain is larger than in thoſe that are full grown: evidently becauſe it is more ſoft and tender, and therefore occupies conſiderable ſpace, but is not on this account more weighty. In it, too, is the proviſion of that delicate humectation for all the vital functions, and internal operations, by which the creature is in it's younger years to acquire capacities, and on which much is conſequently to be expended. With increaſing years the brain

* We find a copious collection of theſe in Haller's greater work on Phyſiology; and it is much to be wiſhed, that prof. Wriſberg had made known his numerous experiments, to which he refers in his remarks on Haller's ſmaller work on phyſiology; for we ſhall ſoon ſee, that the ſpecific gravity of the brain, which he has inveſtigated, is a nicer ſtandard than that employed in preceding calculations.

grows more firm and dry: for capacities then are acquired, and the animal, whether man or brute, is no longer ſuſceptible of ſuch light, agreeable, fugacious impreſſions. In ſhort, the magnitude of the brain ſeems to be a neceſſary condition, though not the primary one, of greater capacity and exerciſe of the underſtanding. Of all animals man, as the ancients themſelves knew, has proportionally the largeſt brain: yet in this point the ape is not inferiour to him, and the aſs is even ſuperiour to the horſe.

The finer thinking powers of the creature muſt phyſiologically require ſomething more than this: and according to the ſcale of organization, which Nature has placed before our eyes, what elſe can it be than the *ſtructure of the brain* itſelf, the more perfect *elaboration* of it's parts and juices, and it's more apt *ſituation and proportion* for the reception of the moſt ſpiritual perceptions and ideas in the moſt ſalutary vital warmth? Let us then turn over the leaves of Nature's book, and examine the fineſt ſhe ever compoſed, the tablet of the brain itſelf: for as the ends of her organiſm are the ſenſation, the wellbeing, the happineſs of a creature, the *head* muſt be the repoſitory, in which we may look for her thoughts with the greateſt expectation of ſucceſs.

1. In creatures, of which the brain is but juſt in it's commencement, it appears yet very ſimple: it is as a bud, or a pair of buds, of the ſprouting ſpinal marrow, and affords nerves only to the moſt neceſſary ſenſes. In birds and fiſhes, the brains of which, according to the remark of Willis, have a ſimilar ſtructure, the number of protuberances increaſes to five or upwards, and they are alſo more diſtinct. Finally, in warmblooded animals the cerebrum and cerebellum are evidently diſtinguiſhable: the lobes of the former, ſuitably to the organization of the animal, ſpread from each other, and the particular parts proportionally purſue the ſame courſe. Thus Nature, as in the whole formation of her ſpecies, ſo in it's ſummary and term, the brain, has only one *prototype*; which ſhe has employed in the meaneſt worm and inſect, and almoſt imperceptibly changed in every ſpecies, according to the variety of their external organization; yet advancing, enlarging, and improving, as ſhe changed, till it was ultimately perfected in man. The cerebellum was finiſhed ſooner than the brain itſelf; being more cloſely allied to the ſpinal marrow, nearer to which it originates: it is more ſimilar, too, in many ſpecies, in which the figure of the brain is ſtill very different. And this needs not excite our wonder, ſince nerves of great importance to the animal economy riſe from the cerebellum: ſo that Nature, in faſhioning the nobleſt powers of thought, could not but take her courſe forwards from the ſpine.

2. The lobes of the cerebrum appear in many reſpects more finiſhed in their

nobler

nobler parts. Not only are their convolutions more deeply and accurately marked, more numerous and more diverſified, in man, than in any other animal: not only is the cortical part of the human brain it's ſofteſt and moſt delicate portion, ſo that it may be reduced to a twenty-fifth part of it's original weight by exſiccation: but the treaſure, which is covered and interlaced with this cortical part, the medulla, is more diſtinct, more determinate, and comparatively greater, in the nobler animals, eſpecially in man, than in all other creatures. In man the cerebrum far outweighs the cerebellum; and it's ſuperior weight clearly indicates it's internal fulneſs, and greater elaboration.

3. All the experiments hitherto collected by Haller, the moſt learned phyſiologiſt any nation has yet produced, ſhow how futile it would be to ſeek *the indiviſible work of the formation of ideas* in ſubſtance and diſtributed among the material parts of the brain: nay, I am perſuaded, did none of theſe experiments exiſt, the very manner, in which ideas are formed, muſt have led to the ſame concluſion. Why is it, that we name the powers of thought, according to their different relations, imagination and memory, wit and judgment? that we diſtinguiſh the impulſe of deſire from mere will, and the power of ſenſation from that of motion? The leaſt calm reflection tells us, that theſe faculties are not locally ſeparated, as if judgment reſided in one part of the brain, memory and imagination in another, the paſſions and ſenſitive powers in a third; for the thought of our mind is undivided, and each of theſe effects is the fruit of thought. It would be in ſome meaſure abſurd therefore, to attempt to diſſect abſtract relations, as if they were bodies, and to ſcatter the mind, as Medea did the limbs of her brother. If the material of ſenſation, which is quite diſtinct from the nervous fluid, if ſuch a fluid there be, eſcape our obſervation in the groſſeſt ſenſes; how much more muſt we be incapable of detecting the ſpiritual connection between all the ſenſes and our perceptions, ſo as not only to ſee and feel them, but to be able to excite them at will in the different parts of the brain, as eaſily as we could finger the keys of a harpſichord! Of ſuch an expectation I am far from entertaining the remoteſt thought.

4. Still farther is it from me, when I contemplate the ſtructure of the brain and nerves. How different here is the economy of Nature, from what our abſtract pſychology of the ſenſes and faculties of the mind would ſuppoſe! Who would infer from metaphyſics, that the nerves originate, divide, and unite, in the manner in which we perceive they do? yet theſe are the only parts of the brain, the organic purpoſes of which we know, as their effects are placed before our eyes. Nothing remains for us then, but to conſider this ſacred laboratory of ideas, the internal brain, where the ſenſes converge together, as the womb in which the

the embryon thought is faſhioned inviſibly and undivided. If that womb be ſound and healthy, and afford the embryon not merely due mental and vital warmth, but that amplitude of ſpace, that fitneſs of ſituation, in which the inviſible organic power, that here pervades every thing, can embrace the perceptions of the ſenſes and of the whole body, and combine them, if I may be allowed the metaphor, in that *luminous point*, which approaches *ſentiment*, the finely organized creature becomes capable of reaſon, if aided by external circumſtances of inſtruction and the developement of ideas. If the reverſe of this take place; if the brain be deficient in finer fluids, or eſſential parts; if groſſer ſenſes occupy it; or if it be thruſt into a confined ſituation: what is the conſequence? As that ſubtile converging radiation of ideas is wanting, the creature remains a child of the ſenſes.

5. The conſtruction of the brains of various animals ſeems evidently to prove this: and even from this conſtruction, compared with the external organization and way of life of the animal, may we perceive why Nature, following generally one model, could not always reach it, but was neceſſitated to vary from it, here in one way, there in another. Of many animals the chief ſenſe is that of ſmell: it is the moſt neceſſary to their ſupport, and the guide of their inſtinct. Obſerve how the noſe projects in the viſage of theſe animals: in like manner in their brains the olfactory nerves project, as if the forepart of the head were made for them alone. They proceed forwards broad, hollow, and pithy, ſo that they appear like continuations of the ventricles of the brain: and in many ſpecies the frontal ſinuſes extend very high, probably to ſtrengthen the ſenſe of ſmell: ſo that, if I may uſe the expreſſion, a greater part of the animal mind is olfactory. The optic nerves follow next in order; the ſenſe of ſight being moſt neceſſary to the animal, after that of ſmell. Theſe appertain more to the middle region of the brain, and they ſubſerve a finer ſenſe. The other nerves, which I will not here enumerate, follow in proportion as the external and internal organization require a connection of parts; ſo that, for example, the nerves and muſcles of the occiput ſupport and animate the mouth, the chin, and the reſt. Thus they finiſh as it were the countenance, and frame the external figure to ſuch a whole, as the internal is rendered by the proportion of the internal powers. In this comparative view, however, we muſt not confine ourſelves to the viſage alone, but take in the whole body. It is pleaſing to go through the different proportions of different forms, comparing them together, and contemplating the internal ſprings, by which Nature has ſet each creature in motion. For what ſhe was obliged to withhold, ſhe has made compenſation: and what ſhe was obliged to render complex, ſhe has wiſely complicated: that is, ſhe has formed

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the external organization of the creature in harmony with it's general way of life. Yet ſtill ſhe had her model ever in view, and deviated from it unwillingly; as a certain *analogical perception and underſtanding* conſtituted the great end, to which ſhe ſought to faſhion all terreſtrial organized being. In the moſt various inhabitants of earth, of ſea, and of air, this may be ſhown in one progreſſive analogy.

6. Thus we come to the ſuperiority of man in the ſtructure of his brain. And on what does this depend? Evidently on his *more perfect organization in the whole*, and ultimately on his *erect poſture*. The brain of every animal is faſhioned after the ſhape of it's head: or the propoſition might with more propriety be reverſed, as Nature works from within to without. To whatever gait, to whatever proportion of parts, to whatever *habits*, ſhe deſtined the creature; for theſe ſhe compounded, to theſe ſhe adapted, it's organic powers. According to theſe powers, and to the proportion in which they operated on each other, the brain was made large or ſmall, narrow or extenſive, light or ponderous, ſimple or complicated. According to this the ſenſes of the creature became feeble or powerful, paramount or ſubſervient. The cavities and muſcles of the forepart of the head and of the occiput faſhioned themſelves, according as the lymph gravitated, in ſhort, according to the *angle of the organic direction of the head*. Of numerous proofs in ſupport of this, that might be adduced from various genera and ſpecies, I ſhall mention only two or three. What produces the organic difference between the head of man and the head of an ape? The angle of direction. The ape has every part of the brain that man poſſeſſes: but it has them thruſt backward in ſituation according to the figure of it's ſkull, and this becauſe it's head is formed under a different angle, and it was not deſigned to walk erect. Hence all the organic powers operated in a different manner: the head was not ſo high, ſo broad, or ſo long, as that of man: the inferiour ſenſes predominated with the lower part of the viſage, which was the viſage of a beaſt, as it's back-ſhoved brain muſt ever continue the brain of a brute. Thus, though it has all the parts of the human brain, it has them in a different ſituation, in a different proportion. The pariſian anatomiſts found in the apes they diſſected the foreparts ſimilar to thoſe of man; but the internal, from the cerebellum, proportionally deeper. The pineal gland was conical, with it's point turned toward the hindhead, &c. Thus there is a manifeſt relation between the angle of direction of the head, and the mode of walking, figure, and way of life of the animal. The ape diſſected by Blumenbach * had ſtill more of the brute; being probably of an inferiour

* Blumenbach, *de Varietat. nativ. Gen. hum.* p. 32.

ſpecies,

ſpecies, whence aroſe it's larger cerebellum, and the defectiveneſs of the more important regions. Theſe differences do not exiſt in the ourang-outang, the head of which is leſs bent backward, and the brain not ſo much preſſed toward the hind part, though ſufficiently ſo when compared with the high, round, and bold curve of the human brain, the only beautiful apartment for the formation of rational ideas. Why has not the horſe the *rete mirabile* as well as other brutes? Becauſe it's head ſtands erect, and the carotid artery riſes in ſome meaſure like that of a man, without having occaſion for this contrivance to impede the courſe of the blood, as in brutes that have depending heads. Accordingly it is a nobler, fiery, courageous animal, of much warmth, and ſleeping little. On the contrary, in creatures with heads hanging down, Nature had many precautions to take, in the conſtruction of the brain, even ſeparating the principal parts by a bony partition. Thus every thing depends on the direction in which the head was formed, to adapt it to the organization of the whole frame. I ſhall not proceed to any other examples, hoping, that inquiſitive anatomiſts will turn their attention, particularly in diſſecting animals that reſemble man, to this intimate relation of the parts *to their ſituation with reſpect to each other, and to the direction of the head as it forms a part of the whole.* Here, I believe, lies the difference, that produces this or that inſtinct, that elaborates a brutal or a human mind: for every creature is in all it's parts one living cooperating whole.

7. Even what may be termed a good or bad ſhape of the human head itſelf appears determinable from this ſimple and general law of it's adaptation to the erect poſture. For as this ſhape of the head, this expanſion of the brain into it's beautiful wide hemiſpheres, with it's internal formation to rationality and freedom, were conſiſtent only with the erect form; as the proportion and gravitation of the parts themſelves, the degree of warmth they poſſeſs, and the manner in which the blood circulates through them, clearly ſhow; no other than the ſuperiour human form could reſult from this internal proportion. Why does the crown of the grecian head incline ſo pleaſingly forward? Becauſe it contains the ampleſt ſpace for an unconfined brain, and indicates fine ſound concavities in the frontal bone, ſo that it may be conſidered as the temple of *clear and youthfully beautiful thought.* The hind head on the contrary is ſmall, that the animal cerebellum might not preponderate So it is with the other parts of the face: as organs of ſenſe they indicate the fineſt proportion of the ſenſitive faculties of the brain, and every deviation from this proportion is an approach to thebrute. I am perſuaded, that on the agreement of theſe parts will be erected a valuable ſcience, to which phyſiognomy proceeding on conjecture would not eaſily attain. The grounds of the external form lie within;

for every thing has been faſhioned by the organic powers operating from within to without, and Nature has made every being ſuch a complete whole, as if ſhe had never created any thing elſe.

Look up to Heaven, then, O man! and tremblingly rejoice at thy vaſt ſuperiority, which the creator of the world has connected with ſuch a ſimple principle, thy upright form. Didſt thou walk prone like a brute; were thy head gluttonouſly formed for the mouth and noſe, and the ſtructure of thy limbs anſwerable; where would be thy higher powers of mind? to what would not the image of the divinity in thee be degraded? The wretch who ranks with the brutes has loſt it: as his head is miſhapen, his internal faculties are debaſed, and the groſſer ſenſes drag the creature down to the earth. But the faſhioning thy limbs to an erect poſture has given thy head it's beautiful outline and poſition, whence the brain, that delicate ethereal germe of Heaven, has full room to extend itſelf and ſend out it's branches. The forehead ſwells rich in thought; the animal organs recede; it is the form of a man. As the ſkull riſes higher, the ear is ſeated lower; it becomes more cloſely connected with the eye, and the two ſenſes have more intimate acceſs to the ſacred apartment in which ideas are formed. The cerebellum, the marrow ſhooting down the ſpine, and the vital powers of ſenſe, which are paramount in the brute, are in a ſubordinate proportion to the brain. The rays of the wonderfully beautiful corpora ſtriata are more diſtinct and delicate in man: an indication of the infinitely finer light concentrated in this region, and beaming from it. Thus, if I may ſpeak figuratively, is the flower formed, that merely ſhoots forth a ſprout in the elongated ſpinal marrow, but rounds itſelf forward into a plant full of ethereal powers, which could be generated only in this aſpiring tree.

Farther: the general proportion of the organic powers of the brute is not favourable to reaſon. In it's organization muſcular ſtrength and ſenſual irritability prevail, which are diſtributed in each particular frame according to the end of the creature, and form the predominant inſtinct of each ſpecies. With man's erect figure ariſes a tree, the faculties of which are ſo proportioned as to ſend the fineſt and richeſt fluids to the brain, as the flower that crowns the whole. Every pulſation of the heart ſends more than a ſixth part of the blood contained in the human body to the head alone. The grand ſtream riſes upwards, then takes a gentle curve, and divides itſelf gradually, ſo that even the remoteſt parts of the head derive warmth and nouriſhment from it and it's ſiſter ſtreams. Nature has employed all her art to ſtrengthen the veſſels that convey the ſtream, to weaken and moderate the force of the current, to retain it long in the brain, and to conduct it back gently from the head

when it has performed it's office. It ſprings from trunks, which, being near the heart, act with all the force of the primitive movement: and, from the commencement of life, the whole power of the young heart acts on this, the nobleſt and moſt ſenſible part. The extremities remain yet unformed, while the head and internal parts are fabricated in the moſt delicate manner. We ſee with aſtoniſhment not only the overproportion of theſe, but their fine ſtructure in the particular ſenſes of the embryo, as if the great artiſt intended to create it for the brain alone and the power of internal motion, till at length ſhe gradually ſupplies the other members alſo, as organs and productions of the inner parts. Thus man is faſhioned even in his mother's womb to an erect poſture, and every thing that depends on it. He is not born in the pendulous womb of a brute: a more artful cavity, reſting on it's baſis, was prepared for his formation. There ſits the little ſleeper, and the blood crowds to his head, till this head ſinks by it's own gravity. In ſhort, man is what he was deſigned to be, and to this end all the parts co-operate; a riſing tree, crowned with the moſt beautiful flower, the ſeat of refined thought.

## CHAPTER II.

*Retroſpect from the Organization of the human Head to inferiour Creatures, the Heads of which approach it in Form.*

If we have advanced thus far in the right path, the ſame analogy in the relation the head bears to the general ſtructure muſt prevail in the inferiour creatures, ſince Nature is uniform in her operations: and this analogy does moſt evidently prevail. As the plant labours to put forth that elaborate production the flower, ſo in living creatures the whole frame exerts it's powers to nouriſh the head as it's crown. It might be ſaid, that Nature employs the whole organization of creatures, according to their rank, to prepare a brain increaſing in magnitude and perfection, and to procure the creature a leſs confined central point for the collection of it's perceptions and thoughts. The farther ſhe advances, the more too ſhe urges her point: at leaſt as much as may be without rendering the head of the creature too heavy, and injuring the corporal faculties. Let us examine a few links of this aſcending chain of organic perception, in the external form and direction of the head.

1. In animals where the head lies horizontally with the body the brain is leaſt elaborated: Nature has diffuſed their irritability and inſtincts more generally

nerally over the whole. Such are worms and zoophytes, inſects, fiſhes, and amphibious animals. In the lower links of the organic chain a head is ſcarcely perceptible: in others it is a projecting point. In inſects it is ſmall: in fiſhes the head and body are united in one: and in amphibious animals the head is for the moſt part horizontal, with a crawling body. In proportion as the head riſes, and is diſtinct, the creature is rouſed from it's brutal ſtupidity: the mouth at the ſame time recedes, and no longer ſeems to occupy the whole power of the forepart of the horizontal frame. If we compare the ſhark, that appears all mouth and throat, or the creeping voracious crocodile, with creatures more finely organized, we ſhall be led by numerous examples to the propoſition, that, *the nearer the head and body of an animal approach one undivided horizontal line, the leſs room it has for an exalted brain, and the more are it's prominent gaping jaws the principal part of it's frame.*

The more perfect the animal, the more it riſes above the ſurface of the ground: it's legs are lengthened, the bones of the neck are articulated in a manner adapted to the general organization, and the head takes a poſition and direction ſuited to the whole. Here too compare the armadillo and opoſſum, the porcupine, the rat, the glutton, and other inferiour ſpecies, with the nobler animals. In the former the legs are ſhort, the head is ſtuck between the ſhoulders, the jaws are long and project forward: in the latter the gait is more free, the head lighter, the neck more moveable, the jaws ſhorter; and hence the brain naturally obtains a higher ſituation and ampler ſpace. Thus we may admit the ſecond propoſition, that, *the more the body endeavours to raiſe itſelf, and the head to mount upwards freely from the ſkeleton, the more perfect is the creature's form.* This propoſition, however, as well as the former, muſt be underſtood with reference to the general proportion and ſtructure of the animal, not to particular members.

3. The more the lower part of the viſage diminiſhes, or recedes, in the elevated head, the nobler it's outline, and the more intelligent it's brow. Compare the wolf and the dog, the cat and the lion, the rhinoceros and the elephant, the horſe and the hippopotamus. On the other hand, the broader and heavier the lower parts of the viſage are, and the greater their inclination downward, the leſs is the ſkull, and the ſmaller the forehead. In this reſpect not only do the different ſpecies of animals differ, but even animals of the ſame ſpecies in different climates. Conſider the white bear of the arctic regions, and the bear of warmer climes; or the different varieties of dogs, harts, and roes. In ſhort, *the leſs the animal has of jaws, and the more of ſkull, the nearer it approaches the rational form.* To render this view of the ſubject more clear, let

lines be drawn from the laſt cervical vertebra of the ſkeleton to the ſummit of the ſkull, the foremoſt part of the frontal bone, and the extreme point of the upper jaw: we ſhall then ſee the great variety in the ſeveral angles formed in different genera and ſpecies, and at the ſame time perceive, that it all originally proceeds from the more or leſs horizontal poſition of the animal in walking, and is ſubſervient to this.

My remarks here coincide with the acute obſervations Camper has made on the figures of apes, other animals, and men of different races; for he draws a ſtraight line from the aperture of the ear to the under part of the noſe, and another from the utmoſt projection of the frontal bone to the moſt prominent part of the upper jaw *. In this angle he profeſſes to diſcover not only the difference between various kinds of animals, but that which diſtinguiſhes nations from each other; and ſuppoſes, that Nature has employed this angle to diſcriminate all the varieties of the brute creation, and gradually aſcend to the moſt perfect form of beauty in man. Birds deſcribe the ſmalleſt angle, and the angle enlarges in proportion as the brute approaches the human form. The heads of apes reach from 42° to 50°: thoſe with the latter angle coming near to man. The negro and calmuc have 70°, the european 80°, and the greeks carried their ideal beauty as far as 90° and even 100°. Whatever exceeds this becomes monſtrous; and accordingly it is the higheſt point, to which the ancients carried the beauty of their heads. As the juſtice of this remark is ſtriking, it gives me much pleaſure to trace it, as I believe I have done, to it's phyſical principle; which is *the tendency of the creature to the horizontal or perpendicular poſition and form of the head*, on which the happy ſituation of the brain, and the beauty and proportion of all the features, ultimately depend. If therefore we would render the theory of Camper complete, and at the ſame time diſplay it's fundamental principle, we need only take the laſt cervical vertebra as the central point, inſtead of the ear, and from it draw lines to the hindmoſt point of the occiput, the higheſt of the crown of the head, the moſt projecting of the forehead, and the moſt prominent of the upper jaw: thus we ſhall not only render evident the variety of figure in the head, but alſo it's principle, that *every circumſtance in the form and direction of this part depends on the erect or prone gait of the creature*, and conſequently on it's general habit, ſo that, according to a ſimple principle of formation, unity may be produced amid the greateſt variety.

* See Prof. Camper's Works on the Connexion between Anatomy and the Arts of Drawing, &c. [which have been tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Cogan.]

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O that a ſecond Galen would reſtore in theſe days the book of the ancient on the parts of the human body, with a particular view of diſplaying the perfection of our form, as adapted to the erect poſture in all it's proportions and movements! that he would purſue the compariſon of man with the animals approaching neareſt to him, from the firſt moment of his appearance, through his mental and corporal functions, in the finer proportions of the parts to each other, and throughout the whole of the branching tree to it's ſummit the brain, and ſhow by the compariſon, that ſuch a brain could be generated in man alone! The erect figure is the moſt beautiful and natural for all the plants on the Earth. As the tree ſhoots upward, as the plant flowers at the top, we might conjecture, that every nobler creature ſhould have this growth, this poſition, and not crawl like a ſkeleton ſtretched out upon four props. But in theſe earlier periods of his debaſement the creature muſt improve his animal faculties, and learn to exerciſe his ſenſes and inſtincts, before he can attain our moſt free and perfect poſition. This he approaches by degrees. The crawling worm raiſes it's head as much as poſſible from the duſt of the ground, and the amphibia creep with bent bodies on the ſhore. The proud ſtag and the noble horſe ſtand with uplifted neck, and the inſtincts of the domeſticated animal are deadened: his mind is fed with ideas beyond it, which it is true he cannot yet comprehend, but which he takes upon credit, and blindly habituates himſelf to them. A glimpſe of progreſſive Nature in her inviſible organic empire occaſions the depreſſed body of the brute to raiſe itſelf: the ſpinal tree ſhoots more ſtraight, and flowers more finely; the breaſt is rounded, the haunches cloſed, the neck raiſed; the ſenſes are more perfect, and concentrate in a clearer conſciouſneſs, nay even in divine thought. And whence all this, but probably, when the organic powers are ſufficiently exerciſed, by the energetic word of creation, *creature ariſe from the earth?*

## CHAPTER III.

### *Man is organized for more perfect Senſes, for the exerciſe of Art, and the uſe of Language.*

HAD man been nearer to the ground, all his ſenſes would have been circumſcribed within a narrower circle, and the ſuperiour ones depreſſed by the predominancy of thoſe of the inferiour order, as the inſtances of wild men ſhow. Smell and taſte, as in the brute, would have been his leading guides. Raiſed above the earth and plants, ſmell no longer bears the ſway, but ſight. This has a wider

a wider field, and is exerciſed from infancy in the fineſt geometry of lines and colours. The ear, placed deep beneath the projecting ſkull, reaches nearer to the internal receptacle of ideas; while in the brute it ſtands out as it were on the watch, and in many is as acute in it's faculty as in it's external form.

With the erect gait man becomes a creature endued with art: for by this, the firſt and moſt difficult art that man learns, he is initiated into the practice of learning, and becomes as it were a living art. Look at the brute: he has fingers in ſome meaſure like thoſe of man; but here they are confined in a hoof, there in a paw, or in ſome other form, and ſpoiled by ſwelling. Man, by being formed to walk erect, acquired free and ſkilful hands, the inſtruments of the moſt delicate operations, and of an inceſſant feeling after new and clear ideas. Helvetius was right in ſaying, that the hands are great aſſiſtants to man's reaſon: for how much does the elephant acquire by means of his trunk! Nay this delicate feeling of the hand is diffuſed through the body, and men deprived of their arms have performed works of art with their toes, which fingers were wanting to execute. The thumb, the great toe, which are ſo particularly faſhioned in their muſcular ſtructure, though they appear to us contemptible limbs, are the moſt neceſſary helps to us in ſtanding, walking, graſping, and all the performances of the art-exerciſing mind.

It has often been ſaid, that man was created defenceleſs, and that one of his diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics was to be capable of nothing. But this is not true: he has weapons for defence like all other creatures. Even the ape handles the club, and defends himſelf with dirt and ſtones: he climbs trees, and eſcapes from the ſnake, his wilieſt enemy: he uncovers houſes, and can even kill men. The wild maid of Songi knocked her companion on the head with a club, and ſupplied by climbing and running what ſhe wanted in ſtrength. Thus man in a wild ſtate is not by the nature of his organization defenceleſs: and when erect, cultivated, what animal has the multifarious implements of art, which he poſſeſſes in his arms, his hands, the mobility of his body, and all his faculties? Art is the moſt powerful weapon; and man is all art, he is altogether one organized weapon of defence. He wants claws and teeth for attack, indeed; but he was deſigned to be a mild peaceable creature: he was not intended to be a cannibal.

What extenſive capacities lie hidden in each of the human ſenſes, which neceſſity, want, diſeaſe, the defect of ſome other ſenſe, monſtrous conformation, or accident, occaſionally diſcloſe! thus giving us room to conjecture, that other ſenſes may be concealed in us, not to be unfolded in this world. If ſome blind men have raiſed their ſenſe of feeling or hearing, the memory, or the power of

calculation, to a degree that appears fabulous to men of ordinary faculties, undiscovered worlds of variety and perfection may lie asleep in other senses, not yet developed in our complex machine. What delicacy of perception has man already attained in the eye and ear! and surely this will extend still farther in a superiour state, since, as Berkeley observes, light is the language of divinity, which our finest sense does but continually spell in a thousand forms and colours. Melody, which the human ear perceives, and art only developes, is the purest mathematics, which the mind obscurely practises through the instrumentality of the senses; as it does the nicest geometry by means of the eye acted upon by the rays of light. How infinite would be our astonishment, if, standing one step higher, we could clearly view all that we darkly perform in our complicated divine machine with our senses and faculties, and in which the brute seems preparatorily exercising himself in a manner suitable to his organization.

Still all these implements of art, brain, senses, and hands, would have remained ineffective even in the upright form, if the creator had not given us a spring to set them all in motion, *the divine gift of speech*. Speech alone awakens slumbering reason: or rather, the bare capacity of reason, that of itself would have remained eternally dead, acquires through speech vital power and efficacy. By speech alone the eye and ear, nay the feelings of all the senses, are united in one, and centre in commanding thought, to which the hands and other members are only obedient instruments. The example of those who are born deaf and dumb shows how far a man without speech is from attaining rational ideas even among other men, and in what a brutal state all his propensities remain. He imitates whatever his eye sees, whether good or bad: and he imitates it less perfectly than the ape, because he wants the internal criterion of discrimination, and even sympathy with his own species. We have more than one instance * of a person born deaf and dumb, who murdered his brother in consequence of having seen a pig killed, and tore out his bowels with tranquil pleasure, merely in imitation of what he saw: a dreadful proof how little man's boasted understanding, and the feelings of the species, can effect of themselves. The delicate organs of speech, therefore, must be considered as the rudder of our reason, and speech as the heavenly spark, that gradually kindles our thoughts and senses to a flame.

In animals we perceive preparations for speech; and here too Nature ascends in her operations, ultimately to perfect this art in man. The function of breathing requires the whole breast, with it's bones, ligaments and muscles, the diaphragm, part of the abdomen, the neck, and the shoulders: Nature has con-

* I remember such a case is related in *Sack's vertheidigtem Glauben der Christen*, 'Sack's Christian Faith defended;' and I recollect having seen more in other works.

structed

ſtructed the whole ſpinal column, with it's ligaments and ribs, it's muſcles and veſſels, for this great work: ſhe has given the parts of the thorax that degree of ſtability and motion which are requiſite to it, and gradually aſcended from the inferiour creatures to form more perfect lungs and trachea. The newborn animal greedily inhales the firſt breath; nay is anxious after it, as ſomething it could not expect. Numberleſs parts are provided for this office; for almoſt all parts of the body require air for acting with efficacy. Yet, greedy as all creatures are for this divine breath of life, every one is not endowed with voice and ſpeech, which are ultimately produced by thoſe ſmall inſtruments, the head of the trachea, a few cartilages and muſcles, and that ſimple member the tongue. This multifarious artiſt of all divine thoughts and words appears in the ſimpleſt form; and has not only ſet in motion the whole ſphere of human ideas, but effected every thing, that man has performed upon Earth, by means of a little air paſſing through a narrow chink. It is infinitely beautiful to obſerve the gradation by which Nature has gradually led her creatures up to ſound and voice, from the mute fiſh, worm, and inſect. The bird enjoys it's ſong, as the moſt artful occupation, and nobleſt excellence, beſtowed on it by the creator. The beaſt that has a voice recurs to it's aid, when it feels any propenſity, and is deſirous to expreſs it's feelings, whether of joy or ſorrow. It geſticulates little, and thoſe only ſpeak by ſigns, which are comparatively denied an animated voice. The tongue of ſome is ſo formed, as even to be capable of pronouncing human words, the ſignification of which they do not underſtand: the external organization, particularly when tutored by man, runs before the internal capacity. But here the door is ſhut, and the manlike ape is viſibly and forcibly deprived of ſpeech by the pouches Nature has placed at the ſides of the windpipe *.

Why has the father of human ſpeech done this? Why would he not permit the all-imitative ape to imitate preciſely this criterion of human kind, inexorably cloſing the way to it by peculiar obſtacles. Viſit an hoſpital of lunatics, and attend to their diſcourſe; liſten to the jabbering of monſters and idiots; and you need not be told the cauſe. How painful to us is the utterance of theſe! How do we lament to hear the gift of language ſo profaned by thoſe! and how much more would it be profaned in the mouth of the groſs, laſcivious, brutal ape, could he imitate human words with the half-human underſtanding, which I have no doubt he poſſeſſes! diſguſting tiſſue of ſounds reſembling thoſe of man combined with the thoughts of an ape—no: the divine faculty of ſpeech was not to be thus debaſed, and therefore the ape is

* See Camper's Eſſay on the Organs of Speech in Apes: Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1779, Part I.

dumb;

dumb; more dumb than his fellow-brutes, each of which, down to the frog and the lizard, has his own peculiar voice.

But Nature has constructed man for the use of language: for this he is framed erect, and his vaulted breast is placed on a column. Men, who have been accidentally brought up among beasts, not only lose the use of speech, but in some measure the power of acquiring it: an evident proof, that their throats are deformed, and that human speech is consistent only with an erect gait. For though several brutes have organs of speech resembling those of men, no one is capable of that *continued* stream of voice, that issues from the free, exalted, human breast, and man's narrow, artfully closed mouth. Man, on the contrary, is not only able to imitate all their sounds and tones, so that, as Monboddo says, he is the *mock-bird* of terrestrial creatures; but a deity has taught him the art to imprint ideas on tones, depict figure with sound, and rule the Earth by the words of his mouth. His reason and improvement begin from speech: for by this alone does he govern himself also, and exercise that reflection and choice, of which his organization renders him alone capable. There may, there must be superiour creatures, whose reason looks through the eye, a visible character being sufficient for them to form and discriminate ideas: but the man of this world is a pupil of the ear, which first teaches him gradually to understand the language of the eye. The difference of things must first be imprinted on his mind by the voice of another; and then he learns to impart his own thoughts, first perhaps by gentle and forcible expirations, next by vocal sound and chant. The eastern nations have an expressive name for beasts, which they call *the dumb ones of the Earth:* it was in being organized with a capacity for speech, that man received the breath of the divinity, the seed of reason and eternal perfection, an echo of that creative voice to rule the Earth, in a word *the divine art of ideas*, the mother of all arts.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Man is organized to finer Instincts, and in consequence to Freedom of Action.*

MEN repeat after one another, that man is void of instinct, and that this is the distinguishing character of the species: but he has every instinct, that any of the animals around him possess; only, in conformity to his organization, he has them softened down to a more delicate proportion.

The infant in the mother's womb seems under a necessity of going through every state, that is proper to a terrestrial creature. He swims in water: he

lies prone with open mouth: his jaws are large, before the lips, which are not formed till late, can cover them: no ſooner does he come into the world than he gaſps after air, and ſucking is the firſt act he performs untaught. The whole proceſs of digeſtion and nutrition, of hunger and thirſt, proceeds inſtinctively, or by ſome ſtill more obſcure impulſe. The muſcular and procreative powers ſtrive in like manner to develope themſelves; and if ſome paſſion or diſeaſe deprive a man of his reaſon, all the animal inſtincts will be obſervable in him. Danger and neceſſity unfold in a man, nay in whole nations, that lead a ſavage life, the capacities, ſenſes, and powers of beaſts.

Man therefore is not properly deprived of inſtincts; but they are *repreſſed* in him, and made *ſubordinate* to the dominion of the nerves and finer ſenſes. Without them the creature, who is ſtill in great meaſure an animal, could not live.

But how are they repreſſed? how does nature bring them under the dominion of the nerves? Let us contemplate their progreſs from infancy; and this will ſhow us what men have often ſo fooliſhly lamented as human weakneſs in a very different light.

The young of the human ſpecies comes into the world weaker than that of any other animal: and for an obvious reaſon; becauſe it is formed to receive a figure that cannot be faſhioned in the womb. The fourfooted beaſt acquires the quadruped figure in the matrix: and though at firſt it's head is equally diſproportionate with that of man, it ultimately attains it's due proportions. Such, indeed, as abound in nerves bring forth their young feeble: yet ſtill the equilibrium of their powers is eſtabliſhed in a few days or weeks. Man alone remains a long time weak: for his limbs are yet to be faſhioned to the head, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, which was formed diſproportionately large in the womb, and ſo comes into the world. The other limbs, which require earthly nutriment, air, and motion, for their growth, are long before they overtake it; though during the whole period of childhood and youth they are growing up to a juſt proportion with it, while the head does not grow equally with them. The feeble child, therefore, is an invalide, as I may ſay, in it's ſuperiour powers, and Nature is earlieſt improving theſe, and continues inceſſantly to improve them. Before the child learns to walk, it learns to ſee, to hear, to feel, and to practiſe the delicate mechaniſm and geometry of theſe ſenſes. It exerciſes theſe in the ſame inſtinctive manner as the brute, only in a nicer degree. Not by innate art and ability: for all the qualities of brutes are the conſequence of groſs ſtimuli; and if theſe were predominant from infancy, the man would remain a brute; being able to do every thing before he learned, he would learn

learn nothing pertaining to man. Either reaſon muſt be born with him as an inſtinct, which appears a contradiction in terms, or he muſt come into the world feeble as he does, *that he may learn reaſon.*

This he learns from his infancy; being formed to it, to freedom, and to human ſpeech, by art, as he is to his artificial mode of walking. The ſuckling at the mother's breaſt repoſes on her heart: the fruit of her womb is the pupil of her embrace. His fineſt ſenſes, the eye and ear, firſt awake, and are led forward by ſound and figure: happy for him, if they be fortunately led! His ſenſe of ſeeing gradually unfolds itſelf, and attentively watches the eyes of thoſe around, as his ear is attentive to their language, and by their help he learns to diſtinguiſh his firſt ideas. In the ſame manner his hand learns gradually to feel: and then his limbs firſt ſtrive after their proper exerciſe. He is firſt a pupil of the two fineſt ſenſes: for the artful inſtinct to be formed in him is *reaſon, humanity, the mode of life peculiar to man,* which no brute poſſeſſes or learns. Domeſticated animals acquire ſome things from man; but it is as brutes: they do not become men.

Hence it appears what human reaſon is: a word ſo often miſuſed in modern writings to imply an innate automaton, in which ſenſe it can lead only to errour. Theoretically and practically reaſon is nothing more than ſomething *underſtood*; an acquired knowledge of the proportions and directions of the ideas and faculties, to which man is formed by his organization and mode of life. An angelic reaſon we know not, any more than we are capable of having a clear perception of the internal ſtate of a creature beneath us: the reaſon of man is human reaſon. From his infancy he compares the ideas and impreſſions of his finer ſenſes, according to the delicacy and accuracy, with which they perceive them, the number he receives, and the internal promptitude, with which he learns to bring them together. The one whole hence ariſing is his thought; and the various combinations of theſe thoughts and perceptions to judge of what is true or falſe, good or bad, conducive to happineſs or productive of miſery, are his reaſon, the progreſſive work of the appearances of human life. This is not innate in man, but acquired: and according to the impreſſions he has received, the ideas he has formed, and the internal power and energy, with which he has aſſimilated theſe various impreſſions with his mental faculties, his reaſon is rich or poor, ſound or diſeaſed, ſtunted or well-grown, as is his body. If Nature deceived us by falſe perceptions of the ſenſes, we muſt ſuffer ourſelves to be deceived in her way; and as many men as poſſeſſed the ſame ſenſes would be deceived in the ſame manner. If men deceive us, and we have not organs or faculties to perceive the deception, and reduce the impreſſions to a more ac-

curate ſtandard, our reaſon is crippled, and frequently remains ſo all our lives. As man muſt learn every thing, it being his inſtinct and deſtination to learn all, even to his mode of walking, he is taught to go only by means of falls, and frequently attains truth only through the help of errour: the brute on the contrary moves ſecurely on his four feet, for the more ſtrongly imprinted proportions of his ſenſes and impulſes are his guides. Man enjoys the royal prerogative of ſeeing far and wide with head erect: yet it muſt be confeſſed he ſees much obſcurely and falſely, nay often forgets his ſteps, and is reminded by ſtumbling on what a narrow baſis reſts the whole frame of his ideas and judgments, the offſpring of his head and heart. Still he remains, conformably to his high *rational deſtination*, what no other creature upon Earth is, a ſon of God, a ſovereign of the World.

In order to be ſenſible of the preeminence of this deſtination, let us conſider what is included in the great gifts of *reaſon* and *liberty*, and how much Nature heſitated as it were, before ſhe entruſted them to ſuch a feeble, complicated, earthly creature as man. Brutes are but ſtooping ſlaves; though ſome of the nobler ſpecies carry the head erect, or at leaſt ſtrive after liberty with uplifted neck. Their minds, not yet ripened into reaſon, muſt be ſubſervient to the impulſes of neceſſity, and in this ſervice are firſt remotely prepared for the proper uſe of the ſenſes and appetites. Man is the firſt of the creation left free: he ſtands erect. He holds the balance of good and evil, of truth and falſehood: he can examine, and is to chooſe. As Nature has given him two free hands as inſtruments, and an inſpecting eye to guide him, ſhe has given him the power, not only of placing the weights in the balance, but of being, as I may ſay, himſelf a weight in the ſcale. He can gloſs over the moſt deluſive errours, and be voluntarily deceived: he can learn in time to love the chains with which he is unnaturally fettered, and adorn them with various flowers. As it is with deceived reaſon, ſo is it with abuſed or ſhackled liberty: in moſt men it is ſuch a proportion of powers and propenſities, as habit or convenience has eſtabliſhed. Man ſeldom looks beyond theſe; and is capable of becoming worſe than a brute, when fettered by mean propenſities and execrable habits.

Still in right of his liberty, even when he moſt deteſtably abuſes it, is he a king. He may ſtill chooſe, even though he chooſes the worſt: he is obedient to his own commands, even when he directs himſelf by his own will to that which is moſt contemptible. Before the omniſcient, who conferred on him theſe powers, it is true both his liberty and reaſon are limited: and they are happily limited; for he, who created their ſources, muſt have known and foreſeen every channel, in which they could flow, and underſtood how to give them ſuch directions,

that the ſtream moſt diſorderly in it's courſe could never eſcape the reach of his hand. This, however, makes no alteration in the thing itſelf, or in the nature of man. He is, and remains, with regard to himſelf, a free creature, though all-comprehending Goodneſs embraces him even in his follies, and turns theſe both to his own and the general good. As the bullet ſhot from the cannon's mouth cannot eſcape from the atmoſphere, and, when it falls, falls by one uniform law of nature: ſo man, in errour and in truth, in riſing and in falling, is ſtill man; feeble indeed, but free-born; if not yet rational, yet capable of ſuperiour reaſon; if not yet formed to humanity, yet endued with the power of attaining it. The New-Zealand cannibal and a Fenelon, a Newton and the wretched peſheray, are all creatures of one and the ſame ſpecies.

It ſeems, indeed, as if every poſſible variety in the uſe of theſe gifts were to be found upon our Earth; and there is evidently a progreſſive ſcale, from the man who borders on the brute to the pureſt genius in human form. At this we ought not to wonder, as we ſee the great gradation of animals below us, and the long courſe Nature has been obliged to take organically to prepare the little germinating flower of reaſon and liberty in us. It appears, that every thing poſſible to be on our Earth was actually to exiſt on it: and then only ſhall we be able ſufficiently to explain the order and wiſdom of this copious plenitude, when, advanced a ſtep farther, we perceive the end for which ſuch variety was ordained to ſpring up in the great garden of Nature. Here we ſee little more than the laws of neceſſity prevail: for the whole earth was to be inhabited, even in it's remoteſt wilderneſſes; and only he, who ſtretched it out ſo far, knows the reaſons, why he left on this his world both peſherays and new-zealanders. The greateſt contemner of the human race cannot deny, that the noble plants of reaſon and liberty have produced beautiful fruits, when warmed by the celeſtial beams of the Sun, notwithſtanding the many wild branches they have ſhot forth among the children of men. It would be almoſt incredible, did not hiſtory confirm it, to what heights human *reaſon* has ventured, endeavouring not merely to trace out, but alſo to imitate, the creating and ſuſtaining deity. In the chaos of beings, which the ſenſes point out to him, he has ſought and diſcovered unity and intelligence, order and beauty. The moſt ſecret powers, with the internal ſprings of which he is unacquainted, he has obſerved in their external appearances, and traced motion, number, meaſure, life, and being, wherever he has perceived their effects, either in Heaven or upon Earth. All his eſſays, even when erroneous or viſionary, are proofs of his majeſty, of divine power and elevation. The being, who created all things, has indeed placed a ray of his light, a ſtamp of his peculiar power, in our feeble frame; and low as man is, he can ſay to himſelf,

himſelf, 'I have ſomething in common with God: I poſſeſs faculties, that the ſupreme, whom I know in his works, muſt alſo poſſeſs: for he has diſplayed them in the things around me.' Apparently *this ſimilitude with himſelf* was the ſum of all his works upon Earth. He could produce nothing higher on this theatre; but he neglected not to aſcend thus high, and to carry the ſeries of his organized beings up to this extreme point. Hence is the progreſs to it ſo uniform, through all the variety of figure that occurs.

In like manner *liberty* has produced noble fruits in man, and diſplayed it's merits, as well in what it has rejected, as in what it has purſued. That men have renounced the unſteady reins of blind appetite, and voluntarily aſſumed *the bonds of matrimony*, of ſocial friendſhip, ſuccour, and fidelity, in life and death; that they have given up their own wills, and choſen to be governed by laws, ſo as to eſtabliſh and defend with their life's blood *the rule of men over men*, though it ſtill remains far from perfection; that nobleminded mortals have ſacrificed themſelves for their *country*, and not only loſt their lives in a tumultuous moment, but, what is far more magnanimous, night and day, for months and years, have thought nothing of the uninterrupted labour of a whole life, to confer peace and happineſs, at leaſt in their opinion, on a blind ungrateful multitude; that divine philoſophers have voluntarily ſubmitted to ſlander and perſecution, poverty and want, from a glorious thirſt for promoting *truth*, *freedom*, and *happineſs* among the human ſpecies, and cheriſhed the idea, that they had conferred on their brethren the higheſt boon of which they were capable; muſt ſurely have ariſen from great human virtue, and the moſt powerful exertions of that *ſelf-government*, which is inherent in us; or I know not to what it is to be aſcribed. It is true the number of thoſe, who have thus diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the multitude, and as phyſicians ſalutarily compelled them to what they would not of themſelves have choſen, has ever been but ſmall: yet theſe few have been the flower of the ſpecies, the free immortal ſons of God upon Earth. The name of one ſuch outweighs thoſe of millions.

## CHAPTER V.

*Man is organized to the moſt delicate State of Health, yet at the ſame time to the longeſt Durability, and to ſpread over the Earth.*

MAN with his erect poſture acquired a delicacy, warmth, and ſtrength, that no brute can attain. In the ſavage ſtate he was in great meaſure covered with hair, particularly on the back; and for the deprivation of this coat the elder Pliny has loudly complained againſt Nature. The benevolent mother of all has given man a more beautiful covering in his ſkin, which, with all it's delicacy, is capable of ſupporting the changes of ſeaſon, and the temperature of every climate, when aided by a ſmall portion of art, which to him is ſecond nature.

To this art he is led not ſolely by naked neceſſity, but by ſomething more lovely and more appropriate to man. Whatever ſome philoſophers may aſſert, modeſty is natural to the human ſpecies; and indeed ſomething bearing an obſcure analogy to it is ſo to a few of the brutes; for the female ape covers herſelf, and the elephant retires to ſome thick unfrequented wood, to propagate his ſpecies. We know ſcarcely any nation upon Earth * ſo brutal, that the women do not ſeek ſome kind of veil, from the period when the paſſions begin to awake: at the ſame time the tender ſenſibility of the parts in queſtion, and other circumſtances, require a covering. Even before man ſought to protect his other limbs againſt the fury of the elements, or the ſtings of inſects, by clothes or unctions, a kind of ſenſual economy led him to guard the moſt vehement and neceſſary of his appetites. Among all the nobler animals the female does not offer herſelf, but will be ſought. In this ſhe unconſciouſly fulfils the purpoſes of Nature: and in the human ſpecies, the delicate woman is the prudent guardian of charming modeſty, which, in conſequence of the erect poſture, cannot fail to be developed at an early period.

Thus man was led to clothe himſelf: and no ſooner had he acquired this and a few other arts, but he was capable of enduring any climate, and taking poſſeſſion of every part of the Earth. Few animals, ſcarcely any indeed except the dog, have been able to follow him into every region: and then how greatly

* We are told but of two completely naked nations, and they live in a manner like brutes; the peſherays, at the extreme point of South America; and a ſavage people between Arracan and Pegu: though I cannot implicitly credit the exiſtence of the latter in ſuch a region of the world, notwithſtanding it is confirmed by one of our lateſt travellers: ſee Mackintoſh's Travels: Vol. I, p. 341: London, 1782.

has

has the form of theſe been changed! how much has their native conſtitution been altered! Man alone has but little varied, and this in no eſſential part. It is aſtoniſhing how uniformly he has retained his nature, when we contemplate the variations, that have taken place in other migrating animals. His delicate nature is ſo fixed, ſo perfectly organized, that it ſtands on the higheſt point, and he is capable of few varieties, none of which are to be termed anomalies.

Whence comes all this? From his upright form: and from nothing elſe. Did we walk on all fours, like the bear and the ape, there is no doubt but the different ſpecies of the genus man, if I may be allowed the ignoble expreſſion, would have their more limited regions, which they would never quit. The bear man would love his cold clime, the ape man his warm: even as we now perceive, that, the more brutal a nation is, the more firmly is it enchained, body and mind, to it's country and climate.

As Nature exalted man, ſhe exalted him to rule over the Earth. His upright form gave him, with a more finely organized ſtructure, a more elaborate circulation of the blood, a more multifarious mixture of the vital fluids, and that *more intrinſic and fixed temperature of vital warmth*, which alone could enable him to be an inhabitant of Siberia and of the torrid zone. Nothing but his erect, more artificial, organic ſtructure renders him capable of bearing the two extremes of heat and cold, which no other creature upon earth can undergo, and which notwithſtanding alter him in a very ſmall degree.

It muſt be confeſſed, this delicate ſtructure, and all the conſequences ariſing from it, have opened the door to a ſeries of diſeaſes, with which no brute is acquainted, and which Moſkati * has eloquently enumerated. The blood that carries on it's circulation in a perpendicular machine, the heart preſſed into an oblique poſition, and the bowels that perform their functions in an upright ſituation, muſt be expoſed to more danger of being deranged, than they are in the body of a brute. The female ſex in particular, it would ſeem, muſt pay dearer than we for it's greater delicacy——Yet the beneficence of Nature compenſates and mitigates this in a thouſand ways. Our health, our well-being, all our perceptions and excitements, are finer and more ſpiritual. No brute enjoys for a moment the health and happineſs of man: no one taſtes a drop of the nectarine ſtream, that man drinks. Nay, conſidered merely with reſpect to the body, the diſeaſes of the brute are fewer, it is true, becauſe his corporal ſtructure is more groſs; but then they are the more obſtinate, and the more conſtant in their effects. His cellular membrane, the coats of his nerves, his arteries, bones,

* *Vom kœrperlichen weſentlichen Unterſchiede der Thiere und Menſchen*, 'On the eſſential bodily Differences between Men and Brutes': Gottingen, 1771.

and

and even brain, are harder than ours: whence all the quadrupeds man ſees around him, the elephant alone perhaps excepted, whoſe period of life approaches his, live a ſhorter time, and die a natural death, the death of indurating age, much ſooner than he. Accordingly Nature has appointed man the longeſt life, and at the ſame time the healthieſt and happieſt, compatible with a terreſtrial frame. Nothing can ſuccour itſelf more eaſily, or in more various ways, than man's complicated nature: and it is owing to the exceſſes of madneſs and vice, of which indeed no brute is capable, that our frame is ſo enfeebled and deteriorated as it is in many inſtances. Nature has benevolently beſtowed on every climate the plants, that heal the diſeaſes, to which it is ſubject; and nothing but the confounding of all climates could have converted Europe into that ſink of evils, which no people living according to the dictates of Nature can experience. Still for theſe ſelf-acquired evils it has given us a ſelf-acquired good, the only one we deſerve, *phyſicians*, who aſſiſt Nature, when they follow her ſteps, and when they cannot, or dare not follow her, at leaſt ſend the patient to reſt according to art.

O what maternal care and wiſdom of the divine economy determined the ſtages of our lives, and the duration of our exiſtence! All living creatures here upon Earth, that have ſoon to attain perfection, grow as quickly: they are early ripe, and ſoon reach the goal of death. Man, planted upright as a tree of Heaven, grows ſlowly. Like the elephant he remains longeſt in the womb: the years of his youth are many, far more than thoſe of any brute. Nature has ſpun out as long as ſhe could the moſt favourable time for learning, growing, feeling the happineſs of life, and enjoying it in the moſt innocent manner. Many animals are full grown in a few years, or days; nay even almoſt at the inſtant they are born: but they are ſo much the more imperfect, and die the earlier. Man muſt longeſt learn, becauſe he has moſt to acquire: every thing in him depends on ſelf-taught ability, reaſon, and art. If his life be afterward ſhortened by the innumerable multitude of dangers and accidents, to which he is expoſed: yet he has enjoyed a long youth free from care, while with the growth of his body and mind the world grew around him, while with his ſlowly riſing, ſtill extending ſphere of viſion the circle of his hopes enlarged, and his youthfully noble heart learned to beat more ardently in eager curioſity, in impatient enthuſiaſm, for every thing that is great, and good, and beautiful. The flower of ſexual appetite blooms later in a ſound unirritated man, than in any other animal: for he is intended to live long, and not diſſipate too early the nobleſt fluid of his mental and corporal powers. The inſect, that ſoon enjoys the pleaſures of love, dies ſpeedily. All chaſte monogamous animals live longer, than thoſe that do not

enter into the connubial bonds. The luſtful cock dies early: the conſtant ſtock-dove may attain the age of fifty years. Marriage, therefore, is ordained for Nature's favourite here below; and he ſhould ſpend his firſt years of vigour as the unopened bud, innocence itſelf. Hence follow long years of manly and ardent powers, in which his reaſon ripens; and this, as well as the prolific faculty, continues to flouriſh in a green old age unknown to any brute; till at length a gentle death ſteals on, and releaſes the falling duſt, as well as the included ſpirit, from an unſuitable alliance. Thus Nature has aſſociated with the fragile ſhell of the human body all the arts, that a creature of this Earth can attain: and, even in what ſhortens and enfeebles life, ſhe has compenſated the brevity of enjoyment with it's acuteneſs, the deſtroying power with intenſity of ſenſation.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Man is formed for Humanity and Religion.*

I wish I could extend the ſignification of the word *humanity*, ſo as to compriſe in it every thing I have thus far ſaid on the noble conformation of man to reaſon and liberty, to finer ſenſes and appetites, to the moſt delicate yet ſtrong health, to the population and rule of the Earth: for man has not a more dignified word for his deſtination, than what expreſſes himſelf, in whom the image of the creator lives imprinted as viſibly as it can be here. We need only delineate his form, to develope his nobleſt duties.

All the appetites of a living being may be traced to the *ſupport of ſelf*, and to a *participation with others*: the organic ſtructure of man, if a ſuperiour direction be added to it, gives to theſe appetites the niceſt order. While a right line poſſeſſes the moſt ſtability, man has alſo for his protection the ſmalleſt circumference without, and the moſt varied velocity within. He ſtands on the narroweſt baſis, and therefore can moſt eaſily cover his limbs. His centre of gravity falls between the ſuppleſt and ſtrongeſt haunches, that any creature upon Earth can boaſt; and no brute diſplays in theſe parts the mobility and ſtrength of man. His flattened, ſteely cheſt, and the poſition of his arms, give him the moſt extenſive ſphere of defence above, to protect his heart, and guard his nobleſt vital parts from the head to the knee. It is no fable, that men have encountered lions, and overcome them: the african, when he combines prudence and addreſs with ſtrength, is a match for more than one. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that man's ſtructure is leſs calculated for attack than defence:

fence: in that he needs the aſſiſtance of art; in this he is by nature the moſt powerful creature upon Earth. Thus his very form teaches him to live in *peace*, not to addict himſelf to deeds of blood and rapine; and this conſtitutes the firſt characteriſtic of humanity.

2. Among the appetites, that have reference to others, the deſire of propagating the ſpecies is the moſt powerful: and this in man is ſubordinate to the promotion of humanity. What with fourfooted beaſts, even with the modeſt elephant, is copulation, with him, in conſequence of his ſtructure, is kiſſing and embracing. No brute has human lips, the delicate rim of which is the laſt part of the face formed in the womb: the beautiful and intelligent cloſing of theſe lips is, as it were, the laſt mark of the finger of love. The modeſt expreſſion of ancient languages, that he knew his wife, is applicable to no brute. Ancient fables ſay, that the two ſexes at firſt formed an hermaphrodite, as in flowers, but were afterwards ſeparated. This and other expreſſive fictions were intended, to convey the ſecret meaning of the ſuperiority of human over brutal love. That this deſire in man is not ſubject to the control of ſeaſons, as in brutes, though no accurate obſervations on the revolutions in the human body in this reſpect have yet been made, evidently ſhows, that it is not dependent on neceſſity, but on the incitement of love, remains under the dominion of reaſon, and was deſignedly left to voluntary temperance, like every thing pertaining to man. Thus love in man was to be *human*; and with this view Nature appointed, excluſive of his form, the later developement, duration, and ſtate of deſire, in both ſexes: nay ſhe brought it under the law of a *voluntary ſocial alliance*, and the moſt friendly communion between two beings, who feel themſelves united in one for life.

3. As all the tender affections, except imparting and receiving love, are ſatisfied with participation; Nature has formed man moſt of all living creatures for participating in the fate of others, having framed him as it were out of all the reſt, and organized him ſimilarly to every part of the creation in ſuch a degree, that he can feel with each. The ſtructure of his fibres is ſo fine, delicate, and elaſtic, his nerves are ſo diffuſed over every part of his vibrating frame, that, like an image of the allſentient deity, he can put himſelf almoſt in the place of every creature, and can ſhare it's feelings in the degree neceſſary to the creature, and which his own frame will bear without being diſordered; nay even at the hazard of diſordering it. Accordingly our machine, ſo far as it is a growing, flouriſhing tree, feels even with trees; and there are men, who cannot bear to ſee a young green tree cut down or deſtroyed. We regret it's blighted top: we lament the withering of a favourite flower. A feeling man views not the writh-

ing of a bruiſed worm with indifference: and the more perfect a creature is, the nearer it's organization approaches our own, the more ſympathy is excited in us by it's ſufferings. He muſt poſſeſs rigid nerves, who can open a living creature, and watch it's convulſive movements: nothing but an inſatiate thirſt for fame and ſcience can gradually deaden his organic ſenſibility. More delicate women cannot bear even the diſſection of a dead body: they feel pain in each limb, as their eyes follow the courſe of the knife; and this pain is more acute in proportion to the nobleneſs and ſenſibility of the part. To ſee the bowels torn out excites diſguſt and horrour: when the heart is pierced, the lungs divided, the brain cut to pieces, we feel the keen edge of the inſtrument in our own. We ſympathize with the corpſe of a dead friend, even in the grave: we feel the cold pit, which he feels not: and ſhudder when we touch his bones. The common mother, who has taken all things from herſelf, and feels with the moſt intimate ſympathy for all, has thus ſympathetically compounded the human frame. It's vibrating fibres, it's ſympathiſing nerves, need not the call of Reaſon: they run before her, they often diſobediently and forcibly oppoſe her. Intercourſe with mad people, for whom we feel, excites madneſs; and the ſooner, the more we apprehend it.

It is ſingular, that the ear ſhould excite and ſtrengthen compaſſion ſo much more powerfully than the eye. The ſigh of a brute, the cry forced from him by bodily ſufferance, bring about him all his fellows, who, as often has been obſerved, ſtand mournfully round the ſufferer, and would willingly lend him aſſiſtance. Man, too, at the ſight of ſuffering, is more apt to be impreſſed with fear and tremor, than with tender compaſſion: but no ſooner does the voice of the ſufferer reach him, than the ſpell is diſſolved, and he haſtens to him: he is pierced to the heart. Is it that the ſound converts the picture in the eye into a living being, and recalls and concentres in one point our recollection of our own and another's feelings? Or is there, as I am inclined to believe, a ſtill deeper organic cauſe? Suffice it, that the fact is true, and it ſhows that ſound and language are the principal ſources of man's compaſſion. We ſympathize leſs with a creature that cannot ſigh; as it is deſtitute of lungs, more imperfect, and leſs reſembling ourſelves in it's organization. Some, who have been born deaf and dumb, have given the moſt horrible examples of want of compaſſion and ſympathy with men and beaſts; and inſtances enough may be obſerved among ſavage nations. Yet even among theſe the law of Nature is perceivable. Fathers, who are compelled by hunger and want to ſacrifice their children, devote them to death in the womb, before they have beheld their eyes, before they have heard the ſound of their voices; and many infanticides have confeſſed,

that

that nothing was ſo painful to them, nothing took ſuch faſt hold of their memory, as the firſt feeble voice, the ſuppliant cry of their child.

4. Beautiful is the chain, by which the allſentient mother connects the reciprocal feeling of her children, and faſhions it ſtep by ſtep. Where the creature is rude and inſenſible, ſo as ſcarcely to care for itſelf, it is not entruſted with the care of it's offſpring. The feathered inhabitants of the air, hatch and bring up their young with maternal love: the ſtupid oſtrich, on the contrary, commits her eggs to the ſand. 'She forgets,' ſays an ancient book, 'that a foot may tread upon them, or a wild beaſt deſtroy them: for God has deprived her of wiſdom, and imparted to her no underſtanding.' From one and the ſame organic cauſe, whence a creature derives more brain, it alſo acquires more warmth, brings forth or hatches living young, gives ſuck, and is ſuſceptible of parental affection. The creature, that comes into the world alive, is as it were a plexus of it's mother's own nerves: the child brought up at it's parent's breaſt is a branch of the mother-plant, which ſhe nouriſhes as a part of herſelf.—On this moſt intimate reciprocal feeling are founded all the tender affections in the economy of the animal, to which Nature could exalt it's ſpecies.

In the human ſpecies maternal love is of a higher kind: a branch of the humanity of the upright form. The ſuckling lies beneath his mother's eye on her boſom, and drinks the ſofteſt and moſt delicate fluid. It is a brutal cuſtom, and even tending to deform the body, for women to ſuckle their children at their backs, which in ſome countries they are compelled to do by neceſſity. Parental and domeſtic love ſoften the greateſt ſavages: even the lioneſs is affectionate to her young. The firſt ſociety aroſe in the paternal habitation, being cemented by the ties of blood, of confidence, and love. Thus to deſtroy the wildneſs of men, and habituate them to domeſtic intercourſe, it was requiſite, that the infancy of the ſpecies ſhould continue ſome years: Nature kept them together by tender bands, that they might not ſeparate and forget each other like the brutes, that ſoon arrive at maturity. The father becomes the inſtructor of his ſon, as the mother had been of her infant; and thus a new tie of humanity is formed. Here lies the ground of a neceſſary *human ſociety*, without which no man could grow up, and the ſpecies could not multiply. Man therefore is *born* for ſociety; this the affection of his parents tells him; this, the years of his protracted infancy.

5. But as the ſympathy of man is incapable of being univerſally extended, and could be but an obſcure and frequently impotent conductor to him, a limited, complex being, in every thing remote; his guiding mother has ſubjected it's numerous and lightly interwoven branches to her more unerring ſtandard:

ſtandard: this is the *rule of truth and juſtice.* Man is formed erect; and as every thing in his figure is ſubordinate to the head, as his two eyes ſee only one object, his two ears hear but one ſound; as Nature in his whole exteriour has connected ſymmetry with unity, and placed unity in the midſt, ſo that what is double always refers to it: ſo alſo is the great law of juſtice and equiponderance the internal rule of man: *what ye would not, that another ſhould do unto you, do not to another; and do unto others, what ye would they ſhould do unto you.* This inconteſtible rule is written even in the breaſt of the ſavage: for when he eats the fleſh of others, he expects to be eaten in his turn. It is the rule of true and falſe, of the *idem et idem*, founded on the ſtructure of all our ſenſes, nay I might ſay on man's erect poſition itſelf. If we ſaw obliquely, or the light ſtruck us in an oblique direction; we ſhould have no idea of a right line. If our organization were without unity, our thoughts without judgment; our actions would fluctuate in curves devoid of rule, and human life would be deſtitute of reaſon and deſign. The law of truth and juſtice makes ſincere brothers and aſſociates: nay, when it takes place, it converts even enemies into friends. He, whom I preſs to my boſom, preſſes me alſo to his: he, for whom I venture my life, ventures his for me. Thus the laws of man, of nations, and of animals, are founded on ſimilarity of ſentiment, unity of deſign among different perſons, and equal truth in an alliance: for even animals, that live in ſociety, obey the laws of juſtice; and men, who avoid their ties by force or fraud, are the moſt inhuman of all creatures, even if they be the kings and monarchs of the Earth. No reaſon, no humanity, is conceivable without ſtrict juſtice and truth.

6. The elegant and erect figure of man forms him to *decorum*: for this is the lovely friend and ſervant of truth and juſtice. Decorum of body is for it to ſtand as it ought, as God has faſhioned it: true beauty is nothing more than the pleaſing form of internal perfection and health. Conſider the divine image in man diſfigured by negligence and falſe art: the beautiful hair torn off, or clotted together in a lump; the noſe and ears bored through, and ſtretched by a weight; the neck and the other parts of the body deformed in themſelves, or by the dreſs that covers them: who, even if the moſt capricious faſhion were to judge, would diſcover here the decorum of the erect human frame? Juſt ſo it is with manners and actions; juſt ſo with cuſtoms, arts, and language. One and the ſame *humanity* pervades all theſe, which few nations upon Earth have hit, and hundreds have diſfigured by barbariſm and falſe art. To trace this humanity is the genuine philoſophy of man, which the ſage called down from Heaven, and which diſplays itſelf in ſocial intercourſe, as in national policy, in all the arts, as in every ſcience.

Finally,

Finally, *religion* is the higheſt humanity of mankind. Let no one be ſurprized, that I thus eſtimate it. If the underſtanding be the nobleſt endowment of man, it is the buſineſs of the underſtanding to trace the connexion between cauſe and effect, and to divine it where it is not apparent. The human underſtanding does this in every action, occupation, and art: for, even where it follows an eſtabliſhed proceſs, ſome underſtanding muſt previouſly have ſettled the connexion between cauſe and effect, and thus introduced the art. But in the operations of Nature we properly ſee no cauſe in it's inmoſt ſprings: we know not ourſelves, we perceive not how any thing is effected in us. So in all the effects around us every thing is but a dream, a conjecture, a name: yet it is a true dream, when we frequently and conſtantly obſerve the ſame effect connected with the ſame cauſe. This is the progreſs of philoſophy; and the firſt and laſt philoſophy has ever been religion. Even the moſt ſavage nations have practiſed it: for no people upon Earth have been found entirely deſtitute of it, any more than of a capacity for reaſon and the human form, language and the connubial union, or ſome manners and cuſtoms proper to man. Where they ſaw no viſible author of events, they ſuppoſed an inviſible one; and inquired after the cauſes of things, though with a glimmering light. It is true they attended more to the phenomena than the eſſence of nature; and contemplated the tremendous and tranſitory, more than the pleaſing and permanent: ſo that they ſeldom advanced ſo far as to refer all cauſes to one. Still this firſt attempt was religion: and it is abſurd to ſay, that *fear* invented the gods of moſt people. Fear, as fear, invents nothing: it merely rouſes the underſtanding to conjecture, and to ſuppoſe ſomething true or falſe. As ſoon therefore as man learned to uſe his underſtanding on the ſlighteſt impulſe, that is to ſay, as ſoon as he beheld the World in a manner different from a brute, he muſt have believed in more powerful inviſible beings, that benefitted or injured him. Theſe he ſought to make or preſerve his friends; and thus religion, true or falſe, right or erroneous, was introduced, the inſtructor of man, his comforter and guide through the dark and dangerous mazes of life.

No! eternal ſource of all life, all being, and all form, thou haſt not foreborn, to manifeſt thyſelf to thy creatures. The prone brute obſcurely feels thy power and goodneſs, while he exerciſes his faculties and appetites ſuitably to his organization: to him man is the viſible divinity of the Earth. But thou haſt exalted man, ſo that, even without his knowing or intending it, he inquires after the cauſes of things, divines their connexion, and thus diſcovers thee, thou great bond of all things, being of beings! Thy inmoſt nature he knows not; for he ſees not the eſſence of any one power: and when he would figure thee,

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he has erred, and must err; for thou art without figure, though the first and sole cause of all forms. Still this false glimmering of thee is light; and the illusive altar he has erected to thee is an unerring monument, not only of thy being, but of the power of man to know and worship thee. Thus religion, considered merely as an exercise of the understanding, is the highest humanity, the noblest blossom of the human mind.

But it is more than this: it is an exercise of the human heart, and the purest direction of it's capacities and powers. If man be created free, and subject to no earthly law, but what he imposes on himself, he must soon become the most savage of all creatures, if he do not quickly perceive the law of God in the works of Nature, and strive as a child to imitate the perfections of his father. Brutes are born servants in the great terrestrial family, and the slavish fear of laws and punishments is the most certain characteristic of the brute in man. The real man is free, and obeys from goodness and love: for all the laws of Nature, where he can perceive their tendency, are good; and where he perceives it not, he learns to follow them with the simplicity of a child. If thou go not willingly, say the philosophers, still thou must go: the law of Nature will not change on thy account; but the more thou discoverest it's beauty, goodness, and perfection, the more will this living model form thee to the image of God in thine earthly life. True religion therefore is a filial service of God, an imitation of the most high and beautiful represented in the human form, with the extreme of inward satisfaction, active goodness, and love of mankind.

Hence it appears. why in all religions upon Earth more or less similitude of man with the deity must have taken place; as they either exalted man to God, or degraded the father of the World to the likeness of man. We know no form superiour to our own; and nothing can affect and humanize us, but what we conceive and feel as men. Thus a sensual nation has exalted the human form to divine beauty: others, of more refined sentiments, have represented the perfections of the invisible being to the human eye by means of symbols. Even when the deity has thought proper to reveal himself to us, he has spoken and acted after the manner of men, as was suitable to the spirit of the times. Nothing has so much ennobled our form and nature as religion, solely because it has led them back to their purest destination.

That the hope and belief of immortality were connected with religion, and established among men by it's means, arose from the nature of the case; as they are scarcely separable from the idea of God and mankind. But how? We are children of the eternal, whom we here learn by imitation to know and love, to the knowledge of whom every thing excites us, and whom both our sufferings

and

and enjoyments impel us to imitate. Yet ſince we know him ſo obſcurely; ſince we imitate him ſo feebly and childiſhly; nay even perceive the reaſons why we cannot know him and imitate him otherwiſe in our preſent organization; is it poſſible for us to attain no other? Do our moſt indubitably beſt capacities admit of no advancement? Then, too, theſe our nobleſt faculties are ſo little adapted to this world: they expand themſelves beyond it, ſince every thing here is ſubſervient to the wants of our nature. And ſtill we feel our nobler part inceſſantly contending againſt theſe wants: preciſely that which ſeems the end of man's organization finds it's birthplace indeed upon the Earth, but by no means it's ſtate of perfection. Has the deity, then, broken the thread, and with all theſe preparations in the human frame produced at laſt an immature creature, deceived in the whole of his deſtination? All things upon Earth are fragments: and ſhall they remain for ever and ever imperfect fragments, and the human race a group of ſhadows perplexing themſelves with vain dreams? Here has religion knit together all the wants and hopes of mankind into *faith*, and woven an *immortal* crown for humanity.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Man is formed for the Hope of Immortality.*

LET not the reader expect here any metaphyſical proof of the immortality of the ſoul, from the ſimplicity of it's nature, it's ſpirituality, or the like. Natural philoſophy knows nothing of this ſimplicity, and would rather incline to advance doubts againſt it, as we are acquainted with the ſoul only through it's operations in a complicated organization, which appear to ſpring from a diverſity of ſtimuli and perceptions. The moſt common thought is the reſult of innumerable ſingle perceptions; and the ruler of our body acts upon the numerous tribe of ſubordinate faculties, as if ſhe were locally preſent with them all —

Neither can Bonnet's philoſophy, as it is called, the ſyſtem of germes, be our guide here: for, in reſpect of the tranſition to a new exiſtence, it is partly devoid of demonſtration, partly inapplicable. No one has diſcovered in our brain a ſpiritual brain, the germe of a new exiſtence; neither is the leaſt analogy to this perceptible in it's ſtructure. The brain of the dead remains with us; and if the ſeed of our immortality poſſeſſed no other powers, it would lie and be conſumed to duſt. This ſyſtem appears to me, too, to be altogether inapplicable to the ſubject: for we ſpeak not here of young creatures deſcending from a creature of the ſame kind, but of a dying creature, that ſprings up to a new ſtate of ex-

iſtence. Indeed, if it were excluſively true with regard to the generation of terreſtrial beings, and all our hope reſted upon this, it would oppoſe inſuperable doubts to this hope. If it be eternally fixed, that the flower ſhall produce nothing but a flower, the brute a brute; and that every thing was mechanically framed at the beginning of creation in preformed germes; farewel enchanting hope of a ſuperiour exiſtence! from all eternity have I lain a germe preformed for my preſent exiſtence and no other; all that was deſtined to ſpring from me conſiſts in the preformed germes of my children; and when the tree dies, all the philoſophy of germes dies with it.

If we would not deceive ourſelves on this important ſubject with fine words, we muſt begin deeper, take in a wider ſphere, and obſerve the general *analogy of Nature*. We cannot penetrate the inmoſt receſſes of her powers: it would be as vain, therefore, as it is unneceſſary, to ſeek there for profound eſſential concluſions upon any ſubject. But the modes and effects of her powers lie before us: theſe therefore we can compare, and perhaps collect *hopes* from the progreſs of Nature here below, and it's general prevailing character.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK V.

### CHAPTER I.

*A Series of aſcending Forms and Powers prevails in our Earthly Creation.*

1. FROM ſtones to cryſtals, from cryſtals to metals, from theſe to plants, from plants to brutes, and from brutes to man, we have ſeen the *form of organization* aſcend; and with this the powers and propenſities of the creature have become more various, till at length they have all united in the human frame, at leaſt as far as they were ſuſceptible of being compriſed in it. Here the ſeries ſtops: we know no creature above man, organized with more diverſity and art: he ſeems the higheſt point attainable by terreſtrial organization.

2. Throughout this ſeries of beings we obſerve, as far as the particular deſtination of the creature admits it, a *predominant ſimilitude of the principal form*, which, varying in numberleſs ways, more and more approaches that of man.

3. As we have obſerved the forms of other creatures to approach man's, ſo alſo have we ſeen their *faculties and propenſities*. From the powers of nouriſhment and propagation in plants they aſcend to the mechanic arts of inſects, the domeſtic economy and maternal care of birds and quadrupeds, and at length to thoughts almoſt human, and ſelf-acquired capacities, till all ultimately concentre in the *reaſoning faculty, liberty, and humanity* of man.

4. The period of each creature's life alſo is regulated by the end Nature has deſigned it to anſwer. The plant quickly bloſſoms: the tree grows tardily. The inſect, which brings it's art into the World with it, and ſpeedily and abundantly multiplies it's ſpecies, ſoon departs: on beaſts, that are longer growing up, bring forth few at a time, or lead a life of domeſtic economy bordering upon reaſon, a more extended period of exiſtence is beſtowed; and on man comparatively the moſt extenſive. In this, however, Nature attends not to the individual, but to the maintenance of the ſpecies, and the other ſpecies that are above it. The inferiour regions are not only peopled in abundance, but the lives of the crea-

tures are of longer duration, where the purpoſe of their exiſtence admits it. The ſea, that inexhauſtible ſource of life, longeſt ſupports it's inhabitants, whoſe vital powers are very tenacious: and the amphibia, who half live in water, approach theſe in longevity. The inhabitants of the air, leſs loaded with terreſtrial nutriment, which gradually indurates quadrupeds, live upon the whole longer than beaſts. Air and water, therefore, ſeem to be the grand ſtorehouſes of living beings; which the earth afterwards conſumes and deſtroys in quicker tranſitions.

5. The more elaborate the organization of a creature is, *the more it's ſtructure is compounded from the inferiour kingdoms.* This complexedneſs begins underneath the earth, and grows up through plants and animals to the moſt complicated of all creatures, man. His blood and various component parts are a compendium of the World: earths and ſalts, acids and alkalies, oil and water, the powers of vegetation, of irritability, and of ſenſation, are organically combined in him and interwoven together.

Either we muſt conſider theſe things as ſports of Nature, and intelligent Nature never ſports without deſign, or we ſhall be led to admit a *kingdom of inviſible powers*, ſtanding in the ſame cloſe connexion, and blending by ſuch imperceptible tranſitions, as we perceive in the external appearances of things. The more we learn of Nature, the more we obſerve theſe indwelling powers, even in the loweſt orders of creatures, as moſſes, funguſes, and the like. In an animal, which almoſt inexhauſtibly reproduces it's own likeneſs, in the muſcle, which moves briſkly and variouſly by it's own irritability, the exiſtence of theſe powers cannot be denied: and thus all things are full of organically operating omnipotence. We know not where this begins, or where it ends: for, throughout the creation, wherever effect is, there is power, wherever life diſplays itſelf, there is internal vitality. Thus there prevails in the inviſible realm of creation, not only a *connected chain*, but *an aſcending ſeries of powers*; as we perceive theſe acting before us, in organized forms, in it's viſible kingdom.

Nay this inviſible chain muſt be infinitely more cloſe, firm, and progreſſive, than the ſeries of external forms cognizable by our dull ſenſes can ſhow. For what is an organization but a maſs of infinitely more compreſſed powers, the greater part of which, even in conſequence of their connexion, are limited or ſuppreſſed by other powers; or at leaſt are ſo concealed from our ſight, that, as the drops of water appear to us only in the form of a cloud, we perceive not the individual parts, but the general figure, as the wants of the whole have required it to be organized? How different muſt the true chain of creatures be in the eye of omniſcience, from that of which men ſpeak! We arrange forms, which

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our ſight is unable to penetrate; and claſs them, like children, by particular limbs or other marks. The ſovereign father ſees and holds the chain of powers cloſely preſſing on each other.

What is this to the immortality of the ſoul? Every thing. And not to the immortality of our ſoul alone, but the duration of all the acting and living powers of creation. No power can periſh: for what is the meaning of a power's periſhing? We have no inſtance of it in nature: nay we have no idea of it in our minds. It is a contradiction, that ſomething ſhould be or become nothing: it is more than a contradiction, that a living acting ſomewhat, in which the creator himſelf is preſent, in which by energies divine he manifeſts his reſidence, ſhould be converted into nothing. The implement may be deſtroyed by external circumſtances: but as not a ſingle atom of it can be loſt or annihilated, ſo neither can the inviſible power, which operates in this atom. Since in every ſpecies of organization we perceive, that it's operative powers are choſen with wiſdom, arranged with art, and accurately adapted to their common duration and the perfection of the principal power: it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe of Nature, that, the moment when a combination of theſe powers, that is an external form, ceaſes, ſhe ſhould ſuddenly depart from this care and wiſdom, which alone conſtitute her divine Nature; and not only ſo, but turn *againſt herſelf*, with her whole omnipotence, for nothing leſs could ſuffice, to annihilate a ſingle part of the living whole, in which ſhe herſelf lives *eternally active*. What the all-vivifying calls into life, lives: whatever acts, acts eternally in his eternal whole.

As this is not the place to purſue theſe principles farther, let us conſider ſome examples of them. The flower blows, and fades: that is to ſay, this inſtrument is no longer fit to continue the operations of the vegetative power: the tree, when it has produced it's ſtock of fruit, dies; the machine has periſhed, and the component parts ſeparate. But it by no means follows from this, that the power, that animated theſe parts, that could vegetate, and ſo powerfully propagate itſelf, has died with this decompoſition: that power, which in this organization ruled over a thouſand powers it had attracted. Each atom of the diſſolved machine retains it's inferiour power: how much more, then, muſt the more potent remain, which in this form directed them all to one end, and acted in it's narrow limits with omnipotent natural qualities! The chain of our thoughts breaks, when we think it *natural*, that a living creature ſhould now poſſeſs in each of it's limbs that powerful, ſelf-reſtoring, irritable ſpontaneity, which it diſplays to our eyes; and the very next moment all theſe powers, the living proofs of an indwelling organic omnipotence, ſhould ſo vaniſh from the chain of beings, from the ſphere of reality, as if it had never been.

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And ſhall this contradiction in thought take place with reſpect to the pureſt and moſt active power we know upon Earth, the human mind? a power ſo far raiſed above all the capacities of inferiour organizations, as not only to rule with ſovereign ſway the numberleſs organic powers of my body, with a kind of omnipotence and ubiquity; but alſo, moſt wonderful of wonders, to be capable of inſpecting and governing itſelf? Nought here below can exceed the ſubtilty, ſwiftneſs, and efficacy of a human thought; nought the energy, purity, and warmth of a human volition. Let man's thoughts be as devoid of reaſon as poſſible, ſtill on every occaſion, when he thinks, he imitates the diſpoſing deity; in whatever he wills and performs, he imitates the creating God. The ſimilitude lies in the thing itſelf: it is grounded on the eſſence of his mind. Shall the power, that is capable of knowing, loving, and imitating God; nay, that from the very eſſence of it's reaſon is compelled to know and imitate him as it were againſt it's will, ſince even it's very faults and errours ariſe only from weakneſs and illuſion; be no more? and the moſt powerful ſovereign upon Earth periſh; becauſe an external circumſtance of compoſition is changed, and ſome of it's loweſt ſubjects have revolted? Does the artiſt no longer exiſt, becauſe the tools have dropped from his hand? If ſo, where is the concatenation of our thoughts?

## CHAPTER II.

*No Power in Nature is without an Organ; but the Organ is in no Inſtance the Power itſelf, that operates by it's Means.*

Priestley and others have objected to the ſpiritualiſts, that no ſuch thing as pure ſpirit is known in the univerſe; and that we by no means ſee far enough into the nature of matter, to deny it the faculty of thinking, or other ſpiritual qualities. In both points they appear to me to be right. A ſpirit operating without and external to matter we know not: and we ſee in matter ſo many powers of a ſpiritual kind, that a complete *oppoſition* and *contradiction* between theſe two things, ſpirit and matter, though they are abſolutely very different, appear to me, if not ſelfevidently inconſiſtent, at leaſt altogether void of proof. How can two things operate in conjunction, and with internal harmony, that are perfectly diſſimilar, and eſſentially oppoſite to each other? and how can we maintain, that they are ſo, when we know the nature neither of one nor of the other?

Wherever we perceive a power operate, it operates in ſome organ, and in harmony with it: at leaſt without an organ it would be inviſible to our ſenſes; but

but it exiſts with one, and if we may truſt the analogy, that pervades all Nature, it has faſhioned itſelf in it. Preformed germes, lying ready ever ſince the creation, no eye has yet beheld: all that we obſerve from the firſt inſtant of a creature's exiſtence are acting *organic powers*. If an individual contain theſe in itſelf, it propagates it's ſpecies without aſſiſtance: if the ſexes be divided, each muſt contribute to the organization of their progeny, and in different modes, according to the diverſity of their ſtructure. Beings of the nature of plants, the powers of which operate ſimply, and in conſequence the more intimately, require but the contact of a ſlight effluvium, to give life to their ſelfprocreated offſpring: alſo in animals, where the vital ſtimulus, and a tenacity of life, prevail in every limb, ſo that the power of production and reproduction pervades almoſt their whole ſubſtance, their progeny in many caſes do not require to be animated, till they are excluded from the womb. The more complex the organization of a creature, the leſs diſtinguiſhable is what is called it's germe: it is *organic matter*, which muſt receive vital powers, before it can attain the form of the future creature. What proceſſes take place in the egg of a bird, before the young acquires and completes it's form! The organic powers muſt deſtroy while they arrange; attract parts together, and ſeparate them; nay it ſeems as if ſeveral powers were at ſtrife, and at firſt would produce an abortion, till an equilibrium is eſtabliſhed between them, and the creature becomes what it ought to be after it's kind. If we contemplate theſe changes, theſe living operations, as well in the egg of the bird, as in the womb of the viviparous quadruped; I think it is ſpeaking improperly, to talk of germes that are merely evolved, or of an *epigeneſis*, according to which the limbs are ſuperadded from without. It is *formation (geneſis)*, an effect of internal powers, for which Nature has prepared a maſs, which they are to faſhion, and in which they are to diſplay themſelves. This is the experience of Nature: this the periods of formation in the various ſpecies, according to their more or leſs complex organization and fulneſs of vital power, confirm: hence alone can we explain the malconformation of creatures, from diſeaſe, accident, or the intermixture of different ſpecies: and this is the only mode, that Nature, abounding in power and vitality, forces as it were upon our minds, by a progreſſive analogy in all her works.

The reader would miſapprehend my meaning, if he were to aſcribe to me the opinion, that, as ſome have expreſſed themſelves, our *rational ſoul* had fabricated it's body in the womb by means of it's reaſon. We have ſeen how late the faculty of reaſon is formed in us; and that, though we come into the World with a capacity for it, we are not capable of poſſeſſing or acquiring it by our own power. And how could the matureſt reaſon of man be capable of ſuch

a ſtructure; ſince we comprehend no part of it either within or without, and even the greater part of our vital functions are performed without any volition or conſciouſneſs of the mind? It was not our reaſon, that faſhioned the body, but the finger of God, organic powers. Theſe the eternal has led ſo far on the great road of Nature, that now, enchained by his hand, they have found their ſphere of creation in a little world of organic matter, which he had ſeparated, and diſtinctly enveloped for the formation of the young being. They unite harmonically with their frame, in which, as long as it endures, they harmonically act: and when it is worn out, their creator calls them from their poſt, and prepares for them another ſphere of action.

If, therefore, we follow the courſe of Nature, it is evident,

1. That powers and organs are indeed intimately connected, but not one and the ſame. The matter of our body exiſted, but ſhapeleſs and lifeleſs, till faſhioned and animated by the organic powers.

2. Every power operates in harmony with it's organ: for it has faſhioned it ſolely for the diſplay of it's eſſence, it has aſſimilated the parts, into which the almighty has introduced it, and in which he has increaſed it.

3. When the ſhell drops off, the power, which already exiſted before it, though in an inferiour yet organized ſtate, ſtill remains. If it were poſſible, that the power ſhould paſs from it's former ſtate into this, it muſt be equally capable of a farther tranſition, when it loſes this covering. He, who has brought it, and others ſtill more imperfect, thus far, will take care to provide a medium.

And has not ever-uniform Nature given us a glimpſe of the medium, in which all the powers of creation operate? In the deepeſt receſſes of being, where we perceive germinating life, we diſcover the inſcrutable and active element, which we deſignate by the imperfect appellations of *light*, *ether*, *vital warmth*; and which is probably the ſenſorium of the creator of all things, by which he warms and quickens whatever is quickened and warmed. This ſtream of celeſtial fire, poured out into thouſands and millions of organs, runs ſtill finer and finer: through this vehicle, it is probable, all the powers here below operate; and the generative faculty, the wonder of the terreſtrial creation, is inſeparable from it. It is likely, that our frame was conſtructed, even in it's groſſer parts, to attract this electric ſtream in greater quantity, and render it more elaborate: and in the nobler faculties, not the groſs electric fluid, but ſomething, prepared by our organization itſelf, infinitely more exquiſite, yet ſimilar to it, is the inſtrument of our mental and corporal perceptivity. Either the operation of my ſoul has nothing analogous to it here below; and in this caſe I can comprehend neither how it acts upon the body, nor how other objects are capable of acting upon

upon it: or it is this inviſible ſpirit of celeſtial light and fire, which penetrates every living thing, and unites all the powers of nature. In the human frame it has attained the higheſt degree of ſubtility, of which it is capable in any terreſtrial organization: by it's means the ſoul acts almoſt omnipotently on her organs, and beams back upon herſelf with a conſciouſneſs, that moves her inmoſt eſſence. By means of it the mind is filled with noble warmth, and is capable by free volition of tranſporting itſelf as it were out of the body, nay even beyond the world, and bending them to it's will. It has, therefore, acquired a power over them; and when it's hour is come, when it's external machine is diſſolved, what can be more natural, than that it ſhould draw after it what is aſſimilated to it, and intimately combined with it? It removes into it's medium, and this draws us—or rather thou draweſt and leadeſt us, thou omnipreſent plaſtic power of God, thou ſoul and mother of all living being, thou gently leadeſt and faſhioneſt us to our new deſtination.

Thus, I conceive, the fallacy of the arguments, by which the materialiſts imagine they have refuted the opinion of our immortality, is evident. Be it, that we know nothing of our ſoul as pure ſpirit: we deſire not to know it as ſuch. Be it, that it acts only as an organic power: it was not intended to act otherwiſe: nay, I will add farther, it muſt neceſſarily have firſt learned in this ſtate, to think with a human brain, and to feel with human nerves, and have faſhioned itſelf to ſome degree of reaſon and humanity. Laſtly, be it, that it is originally the ſame with all the powers of matter, of irritability, of motion, of life, and merely acts in a higher ſphere, in a more elaborate and ſubtile organization: has one ſingle power of motion and irritability been ſeen to periſh? are theſe inferiour powers one and the ſame with their organs? can he, who introduced an innumerable multitude of theſe into my body, and ordained each it's form; who ſet my ſoul over them, appointed the ſeat of her operations, and gave her in the nerves bands by which all theſe powers are linked together; want a medium in the great chain of nature, to tranſport her out of it? and can he fail to do this, when he has ſo wonderfully introduced her into this organic houſe, evidently to form her to a ſuperiour deſtination!

## CHAPTER III.

*The general Compoſition of Powers and Forms is neither retrograde, nor ſtationary, but progreſſive.*

THIS poſition appears ſelfevident: for how can we conceive any living power in nature to ſtand ſtill, or retrograde, unleſs it be circumſcribed, or repelled, by ſome inimical ſuperiour power? It acts as an organ of the almighty, as an active idea of his permanent plan of creation; and thus it muſt actively increaſe it's powers. All it's deviations muſt incline it again to it's right courſe; for ſupreme goodneſs cannot want means to propel the rebounding ball to it's goal, by ſome new impulſe, by ſome freſh incitement. But let us lay aſide metaphyſics, and conſider the analogies of nature.

Nothing in nature ſtands ſtill: every thing exerts itſelf, and puſhes on. Could we contemplate the firſt periods of creation, and ſee how one kingdom of nature was erected on another; what a ſeries of powers urging onward would be diſplayed progreſſively unfolding themſelves! Why have we and all animals calcareous earth in our bones? Becauſe it is one of the laſt ſtages of groſs terreſtrial matter, which, from it's internal ſtructure, is already capable of being employed in a living organized frame for it's bony fabric. It is the ſame with all the component parts of our bodies.

When the door of creation was ſhut, the forms of organization already choſen remained as appointed ways and gates, by which the inferiour powers might in future raiſe and improve themſelves, within the limits of nature. New forms ariſe no more: but our powers are continually varying in their progreſs through thoſe that exiſt, and what is termed organization is properly nothing more than *their conductor to a higher ſtate.*

The firſt creature that ſtepped into light, and exhibited itſelf to the beams of the Sun, as a queen of the ſubterranean kingdom, was a plant. What are it's component parts? Salts, oil, iron, ſulphur, and ſuch other powers of a finer kind, as were capable of being exalted to it. How did it acquire theſe parts? By it's internal organic power, by means of which, aided by the elements, it ſtrove to appropriate them to itſelf. And what does it with them? It attracts them, elaborates them within it's eſſence, and renders them ſtill finer. Thus plants, both wholeſome and poiſonous, are nothing more than conductors of groſs particles to a finer condition: the whole mechaniſm of a plant conſiſts in exalting inferiour ſubſtances to a ſuperiour ſtate.

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The animal ſtands above the plant, and ſubſiſts on it's juices. The ſingle elephant is the grave of millions of plants: but he is a living, operative grave; he animalizes them into parts of himſelf: the inferiour powers aſcend to the more ſubtile form of vitality. It is the ſame with all carnivorous beaſts: Nature has made the tranſition ſhort, as if ſhe feared a lingering death above all things. She has accordingly abridged it, and accelerated the mode of transformation into ſuperiour vital forms. The greateſt murderer among all animals is man, the creature that poſſeſſes the fineſt organs. He can aſſimilate to his nature almoſt every thing, unleſs it ſink too far beneath him in living organization.

Wherefore has the Creator choſen this ſyſtem of living beings, in external appearance ſo deſtructive? Did ſome hoſtile power interfere in the work, and make one ſpecies the prey of another? or was it want of power in the creator, who knew not how otherwiſe to ſupport his children? Strip off the outer integument, and there is no ſuch thing as death in the creation: every demolition is but a paſſage to a higher ſphere of life; and the wiſe father of all has made this as early, quick, and various, as was conſiſtent with the maintenance of the ſpecies, and the happineſs of the creature, that was to enjoy it's integument, and improve it as far as poſſible. By a thouſand violent modes of ending life, he has prevented tedious deaths, and promoted the germe of blooming powers to ſuperiour organs: What is the *growth* of a creature, but it's ſteady endeavour to unite more organic powers with it's nature? The different ſtages of it's life are regulated by this end; and when it is no longer capable of this operation, it muſt decline, and die. Nature diſmiſſes the machine, when ſhe finds it no longer ſerviceable for her purpoſe of ſound aſſimilation, of active improvement.

In what does the art of the *phyſician* conſiſt, but in acting as the ſervant of Nature, and haſtening to the aid of the multifariouſly working powers of our organization? He reſtores loſt powers, ſtrengthens the weak, diminiſhes and reſtrains the exuberant: and by what means? by the introduction and aſſimilation of ſimilar or oppoſite powers *from the inferiour kingdoms.*

The *propagation* of all living beings tells us the ſame: for however deep it's ſecrets lie, it is evident, that organic powers expand themſelves in the greateſt activity, and ſtrive to put on new forms. As every kind of organization has the faculty of aſſimilating to itſelf inferiour powers, ſo, ſtrengthened by theſe, in the bloom of life, it has the capacity of producing it's own likeneſs, and giving to the world an image of itſelf, with all the powers that operate in it, to ſupply it's place.

Thus the ſcale of improvement aſcends through the inferiour ranks of nature; and ſhall it ſtand ſtill, or retrograde, in the nobleſt and moſt powerful? The animal requires for it's nutriment only vegetable powers, with which it enlivens parts of a vegetable nature: the juices of the muſcles and nerves are incapable of contributing again to the nouriſhment of any terreſtrial creature. Even the blood ſerves only to refreſh rapacious animals: and in nations, that have been induced to make uſe of it, either as a matter of inclination or neceſſity, we perceive the propenſities of beaſts, whoſe living food they have barbarouſly adopted. Thus the kingdom of thought and irritability, as indeed it's nature requires, is without any viſible advancement and tranſition here; and the eſtabliſhment of nations has made it one of the firſt laws of human feeling, not to deſire for food a living animal with it's blood. All theſe powers are evidently of a ſpiritual kind: whence perhaps many hypotheſes relating to the nervous fluid as a *perceptible* vehicle of ſenſations might have been ſpared. The nervous fluid, if ſuch a fluid there be, preſerves the brain and nerves in health, ſo that without it they would become uſeleſs cords and veſſels: it's office, therefore, is wholly corporal, and the operation of the ſoul, in it's perceptions and powers, is altogether ſpiritual, whatever organs it may employ.

To what, then, are theſe ſpiritual powers converted, that eſcape every ſenſe of man? Here Nature has wiſely drawn a curtain before us; and, as we have no ſenſe adapted to the purpoſe, has not given us any glimpſe of the changes and tranſitions in the ſpiritual kingdom. Probably the ſight would be incompatible with our exiſtence upon Earth, and the ſenſual feelings with which we are here endowed. Accordingly ſhe has placed before us only tranſitions from the inferiour kingdoms, and aſcending forms; the thouſand inviſible ways by which ſhe conducts them onward ſhe has kept to herſelf: and thus the kingdom of things unborn is the great υλη, or Hades, into which no human eye can penetrate. Indeed the determinate form, which every ſpecies retains, and in which not the minuteſt bone varies, ſeems to contradict this extinction: but the ground of this is viſible; for every creature can and muſt be organized only *by creatures of it's own ſpecies*. Thus our ſtable, orderly mother has ſtrictly determined the way, in which an organized power, whether paramount or ſubſervient, ſhould attain viſible activity, ſo that nothing can eſcape her once determined forms. In man, for example, the greateſt variety of inclinations and capacities prevails, which we often contemplate with aſtoniſhment, as wonderful and unnatural, yet cannot comprehend. Now ſince theſe cannot exiſt without organic grounds, we are led to conſider the human ſpecies, if we may be allowed

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a conjecture on this obſcurity of the ſtorehouſe of creation, as *the great confluence of inferiour organic powers*, which were to unite in it for the formation of man.

But farther: man has here born the image of God, and enjoyed the fineſt organization, that this Earth could give him: ſhall he turn backwards, and become again a ſtalk, a plant, an elephant? or does the machinery of creation terminate in him, ſo that there is no other wheel on which he can act? The latter is not to be conceived, as in the kingdom of ſupreme wiſdom and goodneſs every thing is connected, and power acts on power in one eternal chain. Now if we look back, and obſerve how every thing behind us ſeems to travel onward to the human form; and again, that we find in man only the firſt bud and ſketch of what he ſhould be, and to which he is evidently framed: either man muſt proceed forwards, in whatever way or manner it may be, or all connexion and deſign in nature is but a dream. Let us ſee how the whole frame of human nature leads us to this point.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *The Sphere of human Organization is a Syſtem of ſpiritual Powers.*

THE principal doubt uſually raiſed againſt the immortality of organic powers is deduced from the implements with which they operate; and I may venture to aſſert, that the illuſtration of this doubt will throw the greateſt light, not merely on the hope, but on the aſſurance, of their eternal continuance in activity. No flower bloſſoms by means of the external duſt, the groſs particles of it's ſtructure: much leſs does an ever-growing animal reproduce itſelf by their means: and ſtill leſs can we conceive an internal power like our mind, compoſed of ſo many united powers, to ariſe from the component parts into which a brain may be reſolved. Even phyſiology convinces us of this. The external picture, that is painted on the eye, comes not to the brain: the ſound, that ſtrikes our ear, does not reach the mind mechanically as a ſound. There is no nerve ſo ſtretched out as to vibrate to a point of union: in ſome animals the optic nerves do not unite in a viſible point; and there is no creature in which the nerves of all the ſenſes ſo unite. Still leſs is there an union of all the nerves of the whole body, though the ſoul feels herſelf preſent, and acts, in it's minuteſt member. To imagine the brain, therefore, to be ſelf-cogitative, the nervous fluid ſelf-ſentient, is a weak, unphyſiological notion: it is more conſiſtent with general experience, that there are *particular pſychological laws*,

*laws*, by which the ſoul performs her functions, and combines her ideas. That this is done conformably to her organs, and in harmony with them; that, when the tools are defective, the artiſt can do nothing; and the like; cannot be queſtioned: yet the nature of the caſe remains the ſame. The *manner* in which the ſoul operates, the *eſſence of her ideas*, come here under conſideration. And with regard to this point it is,

1. Undeniable, that the *thought*, nay the firſt perception, with which the ſoul repreſents to herſelf an external object, is *ſomething totally different from what the ſenſe offers to her*. We name it an image: but it is not the image, that is the ſpeck of light, which is pictured in the eye, and which does not reach the brain: the image in the ſoul is a ſpiritual being, formed by herſelf from the ſuggeſtions of the ſenſes. From the chaos of things that ſurrounds her ſhe calls forth a figure, on which ſhe fixes her attention, and thus by her intrinſic power ſhe forms out of the many a whole, that belongs to herſelf alone. This ſhe can again revive, when it exiſts no more: dreams and the imagination can combine it according to laws very different from thoſe, under which the ſenſes exhibit it; and this they actually do. The reveries of diſeaſe, which have been ſo often urged as proofs of the materiality of the ſoul, atteſt her immateriality. Liſten to the lunatic, and obſerve the progreſs of his mind. It proceeds on the idea that has touched it too deeply, and in conſequence deranged it's organ, and broken it's connexion with other ſenſations. To this he refers every thing, becauſe this is predominant, and he cannot ſhake it off: for this he forms a world of his own, a peculiar concatenation of thoughts; and all the wanderings of his mind in the connexion of it's ideas are in the higheſt degree *ſpiritual*. He combines things not according to the poſition of the cells of his brain, not even as the ſenſations appear to it; but according to the affinity other ideas bear to his idea, and his power of bending them to it. All the aſſociations of our thoughts proceed in the ſame way: they pertain to a being, which calls up remembrances by it's own energy, and often with a particular idioſyncraſy; and connects ideas from internal affection or propenſity, not from external mechaniſm. I wiſh, that ingenuous men would diſcloſe to us the regiſters of their hearts on this point; and that acute obſervers, particularly phyſicians, would make known the qualities they perceive in their patients: if this were done, I am convinced, we ſhould have clear proofs of the operation of a being, organic it is true, yet acting of itſelf, and according to ſpiritual laws.

2. The ſame thing is demonſtrated by the *artificial formation of our ideas from childhood upwards*, and from the *tedious courſe*, by which the ſoul arrives not till late at a conſciouſneſs of herſelf, and learns with conſiderable labour, to

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make uſe of the ſenſes. More than one pſychologiſt has obſerved the addreſs, with which a child acquires the idea of colour, figure, magnitude, and diſtance, and thus *learns to ſee*. The corporal ſenſe teaches nothing; for the image is depicted in the eye the firſt moment of it's opening, as faithfully as it is at the lateſt period of life: but the ſoul learns to meaſure, to compare, and ſpiritually to perceive, by means of the ſenſe. In this ſhe is aſſiſted by the ear: and language is certainly a ſpiritual, not corporal, mean of forming ideas. No one, unleſs devoid of ſenſe, can take ſound and word for the ſame thing: yet theſe two differ as body and ſoul, as organ and power. A word brings to remembrance it's correſpondent idea, and transfers it from the mind of another to ours: but the word is not the idea; and juſt as far is the material organ from being thought. As the body is increaſed by food, ſo is our mind enlarged by ideas: nay we remark in it the ſame laws of aſſimilation, growth, and production, only not in a corporal manner, but in a mode peculiar to itſelf. The mind can equally overgorge itſelf with food, which it is incapable of appropriating and converting into nutriment. There is alſo a ſymmetry of it's ſpiritual powers, every deviation from which is diſeaſe, either ſthenic or aſthenic, that is, depravity. Finally, it carries on this buſineſs of it's internal life with a genial power, in which love and hatred, inclination to what is of it's own nature, and averſion to whatever is diſſimilar to it, diſplay themſelves as in terreſtrial life. In ſhort, fanaticiſm apart, an *internal ſpiritual man* is formed in us, who has a nature of his own, and uſes the body only as his implement; nay, who acts conformably to his own nature, even if the bodily organs be ever ſo much deranged. The more the ſoul is ſeparated from the body by diſeaſe, or any forced ſtate of the paſſions, and compelled to wander as it were in her own ideal world; the more ſingular appearances of her own power and energy do we obſerve in the creation or connexion of ideas. In deſpair ſhe wanders through the ſcenes of her former life; and, as ſhe cannot relinquiſh her nature, and abandon her office, of forming ideas, ſhe now prepares for herſelf a new *wild creation*.

3. A more clear *conſciouſneſs*, that great excellence of the human ſoul, is gradually required by it in a *ſpiritual manner*, and indeed through *humanity*. A child poſſeſſes little conſciouſneſs; though his ſoul is inceſſantly exerciſing herſelf to attain it, and to feel herſelf in every ſenſe. All her endeavours after ideas are for the purpoſe of acquiring a perception of herſelf in this world of God's, and enjoying her exiſtence with human energy. The brute ſtill wanders in an obſcure dream: his conſciouſneſs is diffuſed through ſo many bodily irritations, and ſo powerfully enveloped by them, that it is impoſſible for it, to awake

awake to a clear progreſſive exerciſe of thought on his own organization. Man too is conſcious of his ſenſual ſtate only through the medium of the ſenſes: and when theſe ſuffer, we need not wonder, that a prevailing idea can drive him out of his mind, and ſet him to act within himſelf a mirthful or melancholy drama. But even his being thus tranſported into a region of more vivid ideas evinces an internal energy, with which the power of his conſciouſneſs, of his ſpontaneity, often diſplays itſelf in the moſt erroneous paths. Nothing renders man ſo ſtrongly ſenſible of his own exiſtence as knowledge; the knowledge of a truth, which he has himſelf acquired, which is interwoven with his inmoſt nature, and while he contemplates which the viſible objects around him vaniſh from his ſight. A man forgets himſelf, he is unconſcious of the lapſe of time, and of his vital powers, when ſome ſublime thought calls him, and he purſues it's courſe. The moſt acute bodily pain may be ſuppreſſed by the prevalence of ſome one vivid idea in the mind. Men under the influence of paſſion, particularly the moſt pure and lively of all, the love of God, have deſpiſed life, and contemned death; and, all other ideas being thus ſwallowed up in one, have felt themſelves as if in Heaven. The moſt ordinary work is laborious, if the body alone perform it: but love makes the heavieſt occupation light, and gives wings to the moſt tedious and diſtant exertions. Space and time vaniſh before her: ſhe is ever at her point, in her own ideal region. This nature of the mind diſplays itſelf even among the moſt ſavage people: it matters not for what they fight; they fight in the throng of ideas. The cannibal, thirſting for revenge, ſtrives, though in a horrible mode, for *a ſpiritual* enjoyment.

4. No ſtate, diſeaſe, or quality, of the organ, can miſlead us, to feel the power, that acts in it, as *primary*. The memory, for example, differs according to the variety of men's organization: in one it is formed and ſupported by images; in another, by abſtract ſigns, by words or numbers. In youth, while the brain is ſoft, it is vivid: in age, when the brain hardens, it is dull, and adheres to old ideas. It is the ſame with the other faculties of the ſoul; and it cannot be otherwiſe if they operate organically. By the way, we may here remark the *laws of the retention and renovation of ideas:* they are altogether ſpiritual, and not corporal. There have been perſons, who have loſt the remembrance of certain years, nay of certain parts of ſpeech, names, ſubſtantives, or even particular letters and characters; while they retained the memory of preceding years, and had the free uſe and recollection of other parts of ſpeech: the ſoul was fettered only in one limb, where the organ ſuffered. If the chain of her mental ideas were material, ſhe muſt either, conformably to theſe phenomena,

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move about in the brain, and form particular records for certain years, for names and ſubſtantives; or, if the ideas harden with the brain, they muſt all be hardened; and yet the remembrance of youth is ſtill very lively in the old. At a time when from the ſtate of her organs the ſoul can no longer combine things quickly, or lightly think them over, ſhe adheres the more firmly to the acquiſitions of her more blooming years, of which ſhe diſpoſes as of her own property. Immediately before death, and in all ſituations in which ſhe feels herſelf leſs fettered by the body, this remembrance awakes with all the vivacity of youthful joy; and on this the pleaſure of the aged, and the happineſs of the dying, principally depend. From the commencement of life our ſoul appears to have but one office; that of acquiring *internal ſhape*, the *form of humanity*, and to feel herſelf ſound and happy in this, as the body in that which pertains to it. In this office ſhe labours as inceſſantly, and with as much ſympathy of all her powers, as the body does for it's health; which, when any part is injured, immediately feels it all over, and applies it's juices as far as it can, to repair the breach, and heal the wound. In the ſame manner does the ſoul labour for her always precarious and often illuſory health; endeavouring to confirm and augment it, ſometimes by proper means, at others by fallacious remedies. The art that ſhe employs for this purpoſe is wonderful, and the ſtore of medicaments and reſources ſhe knows how to provide is immenſe. If the ſemeiotics of the ſoul ſhould ever be ſtudied in the ſame manner as thoſe of the body, her proper ſpiritual nature will be ſo apparent in all her diſeaſes, that the dogmas of the materialiſts will vaniſh like miſts before the Sun. Nay to him, who is convinced of this *internal life of himſelf*, all external circumſtances, in which the body, like other matter, is continually changing, will be at length only tranſitions, that affect not his eſſence: he will paſs out of this world into the next with as little attention as from night to day, or from one ſeaſon of life to another.

The creator has given us daily experience how far every thing in our machine is from being inſeparable from us, and from each other, in the brother of Death, refreſhing Sleep. The gentle touch of his finger diſſolves the moſt important functions of life: nerves and muſcles repoſe: the ſenſes ceaſe to perceive: yet the ſoul continues to think in her own domain. She is no more ſeparated from the body than when it was awake, as the perceptions often interwoven in our dreams evince: yet ſhe acts according to her own laws, even in the profoundeſt ſleep, of the dreams of which we have no remembrance, unleſs we be ſuddenly awakened. Many people have obſerved, that in undiſturbed dreams their ſoul purſues the ſame ſeries of ideas uninterruptedly, in a manner different from

what it does in the waking ſtate, and wanders in a more beautiful, lively, and in general youthful world. The perceptions in a dream are more vivid, the paſſions more violent, the connexion of thoughts and poſſibility more eaſy, our ſight more keen, and the light that ſurrounds us more brilliant. In healthy ſleep we often fly rather than walk, our dimenſions are enlarged, our reſolutions have more force, our actions are leſs confined. And though all this depends on the body, as the leaſt circumſtance reſpecting the ſoul muſt harmonize with it, as long as her powers are ſo intimately incorporated with it's ſtructure; yet the whole of the phenomena of ſleep and dreaming, which are certainly ſingular, and would greatly aſtoniſh us, were we not accuſtomed to them, ſhows us, that every part of the body does not belong to us in the ſame manner; nay, that certain organs of our machine may be unſtrung, and the ſuperiour power act more ideally, vividly, and freely, from mere reminiſcence. Now ſince all the cauſes that induce ſleep, and all it's corporal ſymptoms, are, not metaphorically, but phyſiologically and actually *analogous to thoſe of death*; why ſhould not the ſpiritual ſymptoms of both be the ſame? Thus, then, when the ſleep of death falls on us from wearineſs or diſeaſe, ſtill the hope remains, that death, like ſleep, only cools the fever of life, gently interrupts the too uniform and long-continued movement, heals many wounds incurable in this life, and prepares the ſoul for a pleaſurable awakening, for the enjoyment of a new morning of youth. As in dreams my thoughts fly back to youth; as in them, being only half-fettered by a few organs, but more concentred in myſelf, I feel more free and active: ſo thou, revivifying dream of death, wilt ſmilingly bring back the youth of my life, the moſt pleaſing and energetic moments of my exiſtence, till I awake in it's form—or rather in the more beautiful form of celeſtial juvenility.

## CHAPTER V.

*Our Humanity is only Preparation, the Bud of a future Flower.*

We have ſeen, that the end of our preſent exiſtence is the formation of *humanity*, to which all the meaner wants of this Earth are ſubſervient, and which they are all contrived to promote. Our reaſoning capacity is to be formed to reaſon, our finer ſenſes to art, our propenſities to genuine freedom and beauty, our moving powers to the love of mankind. Either we know nothing of our deſtination, and the deity deceives us in every internal and external ſymptom of it, to ſay which would be ſenſeleſs calumny; or we may deem ourſelves as certain of this end, as of the being of a god, or our own exiſtence.

Yet how ſeldom is this eternal, this infinite end, attained here! In whole nations reaſon lies bound with the chains of animal ſenſe; truth is ſought in the moſt erroneous ways; and that beauty and uprightneſs, to which we were created by God, are corrupted by negligence and depravity. Few men make godlike humanity, in the pure and extenſive ſignification of the word, the proper *ſtudy of their lives:* moſt begin very late to think of it; and in the beſt of men inferiour propenſities draw down the exalted human being to animality. Who among mortals can ſay, that he will reach, or has attained, the pure image of man, that lies in him?

Either, therefore, the creator has erred in the end he has placed before us, and the organization he has ſo ſkilfully compoſed for the attainment of it; or this end reaches beyond our preſent exiſtence, and the Earth is only a *place of exerciſe*, and this life a *ſtate of preparation.* On this, it is true, much that is baſe muſt be aſſociated with the moſt exalted; and man is raiſed, upon the whole, but a ſhort ſtep above the brute. Nay even among men the greateſt variety muſt ſubſiſt; as every thing upon Earth is ſo multifarious, and in many regions, and under many circumſtances, the human ſpecies is ſo deeply depreſſed by the yoke of climate and neceſſity. The deſign of plaſtic Providence muſt have taken in all theſe ſteps, theſe zones, theſe varieties, at one view, and known how to advance man in all of them, as ſhe has gradually exalted inferiour powers, without their conſciouſneſs. It is ſurpriſing, though inconteſtible, that of all the inhabitants of the Earth man is the fartheſt from attaining the end of his deſtination. Every beaſt attains what his organization can attain: man only reaches it not, becauſe his end is ſo high, ſo extenſive, ſo infinite; and he begins on this

Earth ſo low, ſo late, and with ſo many external and internal obſtacles. Inſtinct, the maternal gift of Nature, is the ſure guide of the brute: he is ſtill a ſervant in the houſe of the ſovereign father, and muſt obey. Man lives in it as a child, and, a few neceſſary propenſities excepted, has every thing that pertains to reaſon and humanity to learn. At the ſame time he learns imperfectly, becauſe, with the ſeeds of underſtanding and virtue, he inherits prejudices and evil manners; and in his progreſs to truth and liberty is retarded by chains, that reach from the commencement of his ſpecies. The footſteps, that godlike men have imprinted before and around him, are united and confuſed with many others, in which brutes and robbers have wandered; and theſe, alas! are often more active, than the ſelect few of great and good. We muſt therefore arraign Providence, as many have done, for ſuffering man to border ſo nearly on the brute, which he was not deſigned to be, and denying him ſuch a degree of light, firmneſs, and certainty, as might have ſerved his reaſon inſtead of inſtinct; or this defective beginning is a proof of his endleſs progreſs. For man muſt himſelf acquire by exerciſe this degree of light and ſecurity, ſo as under the guidance of his father to become a *nobler, freer* creature, by his own exertions; and *this he will become*. Thus the ſimular of man will become man in reality: thus the bud of humanity, benumbed by cold, and parched by heat, will expand in it's true form, in it's proper and full beauty.

Hence we may eaſily infer what part of us alone can paſs into the other world: it is this *godlike humanity*, the unopened bud of the true form of man. All the droſs of this Earth is for it alone: we leave the terreſtrial part of our bones to the foſſil kingdom, from which it was derived, and return to the elements what we had borrowed from them. All the ſenſual appetites, which in us, as in the brutes, have been ſubſervient to the earthly economy, have performed their office: in man they were to be the occaſions of nobler ſentiments and exertions; and when they have done this, they have fulfilled the purpoſe, for which they were deſigned. The want of food was to excite him to labour, to ſociety, to obedience to laws and eſtabliſhments, and fetter him by a ſalutary chain, indiſpenſable on Earth. The ſexual appetite was to plant ſociableneſs, and parental, connubial, and filial love, even in the rigid breaſt of barbarity; and render tedious exertions for his ſpecies pleaſant to man, by his undertaking them for his own fleſh and blood. Nature had ſimilar purpoſes in all earthly wants: each was to be a matrix of ſome germe of humanity. Happy is it when the germe buds: it will bloſſom beneath the beams of a more glorious ſun. Truth, beauty, and love are the objects, at which man aims in all his endeavours, even without being conſcious of it, and often by the moſt devious paths: the perplexities of

the

the labyrinth will be unfolded, the ſeductive forms of enchantment will vaniſh, and every one will not only ſee the centre, far or near, to which his way tends, but thou, maternal Providence, under the form of the genius and friend he needs, wilt guide him to it thyſelf, with a gentle and forgiving hand *.

Thus, too, the good creator has concealed from us the form of that world, that our weak brain might not be dazzled, or a ſpurious premature deſire excited in us. If with this we contemplate the progreſs of Nature in the ſpecies beneath us, and obſerve how the artiſt rejects the more ignoble, and mitigates the claims of neceſſity, ſtep by ſtep; while, on the other hand, ſhe improves the ſpiritual, purifies the refined, and animates the beautiful with ſuperiour beauty: we may with confidence truſt the inviſible operating hand, that the *flower of our bud of humanity* will certainly appear, in a future ſtate of exiſtence, in a form truly that of *godlike man*, which no earthly ſenſe can imagine in all it's grandeur and beauty. It is vain, therefore, for us to rack our imagination: and though I am convinced, that, as all the ſtates of creation are moſt intimately connected, the organic powers of our ſoul, in their pureſt and moſt ſpiritual exertions, lay the foundations of their future appearance; or that at leaſt, unconſcious of it themſelves, they weave the texture, that will ſerve for their clothing, till the beams of a more beautiful ſun awaken their profoundeſt energies, which are here concealed from themſelves: it would be raſh, to ſketch out the laws, by which the creator forms a world, with the operations of which we are ſo unacquainted. Suffice it, that all the changes we obſerve in the inferiour regions of nature are *tendencies to perfection*; and that thus we have at leaſt hints of a ſubject, into which we are incapable of penetrating for more important reaſons. The flower appears to our eye firſt as a ſeed, and then as a plantule: the plantule becomes a plant, and then at length comes out the flower, which begins it's different ſtages of life in this terreſtrial economy. Similar proceſſes and changes occur in ſeveral creatures, among which the butterfly is ſo conſpicuous, as to have become a wellknown emblem. Behold, there crawls the deſpicable caterpillar, obeying the groſs appetite of eating: his hour comes, and the languor of death falls upon him: he ſeeks a ſupport; he wraps himſelf up in his winding ſheet, the web of which, as well as in part the organs of his future ſtate, he has already within him. His rings now go to work, and the internal organic powers exert themſelves. The change is at firſt ſlow, and has the appearance of deſtruction.

* In what way? what philoſophy is there upon Earth, that gives us certainty in this reſpect? In the ſequel of the work, we ſhall come to the ſyſtems of different people on tranſmigration and other purificative proceſſes, and inveſtigate their origin and deſign. But this is not the place for the inquiry.

Ten

Ten feet are caſt off with the ſlough, and the limbs of the new creature are ſtill ſhapeleſs. Theſe are gradually formed, and attain their due proportion: but the creature awakes not till he is complete; when he burſts into light, and the finiſhing act proceeds rapidly. In a few minutes the tender wings become ſix times as large as they were under the ſhell of death: they are endowed with elaſticity, and adorned with all the ſplendid hues, that can be produced beneath this ſun: they waft the creature as it were on the breath of zephyr. His whole ſtructure is altered: inſtead of the coarſe leaves, on which he was at firſt formed to feed, he drinks the nectareous juice of flowers from their golden cups. Even his deſtination is changed: inſtead of obeying the groſs appetite of hunger, he is moved by the more refined paſſion of love. Who would divine the future butterfly in the figure of the caterpillar? Who would perceive one and the ſame creature in both, unleſs taught by experience? And ſince both theſe modes of exiſtence are but different ſtages of the ſame being upon one and the ſame earth, where the organic circle again begins in a ſimilar manner; what fine forms muſt reſt on the boſom of Nature, where the organic circle is more extenſive, and the ſtages, that faſhion them, embrace more than one world! Hope, then, ſon of man, and foretel not: the prize is before thee; exert thyſelf to obtain it. Throw from thee what is unbefitting a man: ſtrive after truth, goodneſs, and godlike beauty: and thou canſt not fail of attaining thy end.

Thus we are taught by Nature, in theſe analogies of changing creatures, that paſs from one ſtate to another, why the ſleep of death is admitted into her ſyſtem. It is a kind lethargy, that locks up the ſenſes, while the organic powers are labouring to attain a new form. The creature itſelf, whether poſſeſſed of more or leſs conſciouſneſs, is not ſtrong enough to overſee or direct their efforts: it ſlumbers, therefore, and awakes not, till it's form is completed. Death, then, is the boon of a tender father ſparing his child: it is a ſalutary opiate, during the operation of which Nature collects her powers, and the ſleeping patient is reſtored to health.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The preſent State of Man is probably the connecting Link of two Worlds.*

EVERY thing in Nature is connected: one ſtate puſhes forward and prepares another. If then man be the laſt and higheſt link, cloſing the chain of terreſtrial organization, he muſt begin the chain of a higher order of creatures as it's loweſt link, and is probably, therefore, the middle ring between two adjoining ſyſtems of the creation. He cannot paſs into any other organization upon Earth, without turning backwards, and wandering in a circle: for him to ſtand ſtill is impoſſible; ſince no living power in the dominions of the moſt active goodneſs is at reſt: thus there muſt be a ſtep before him, cloſe to him, yet as exalted above him, as he is preeminent over the brute, to whom he is at the ſame time nearly allied. This view of things, which is ſupported by all the laws of Nature, alone gives us the key to the wonderful phenomenon of man, and at the ſame time to the only *philoſophy* of his *hiſtory*. For thus,

1. The ſingular *inconſiſtency* of man's condition becomes clear. As an animal he tends to the Earth, and is attached to it as his habitation: as a man he has within him the ſeeds of immortality, which require to be planted in another ſoil. As an animal he can ſatisfy his wants; and men that are contented with this feel themſelves ſufficiently happy here below: but they who ſeek a nobler deſtination find every thing around them imperfect and incomplete; what is moſt noble is never accompliſhed upon Earth, what is moſt pure is ſeldom firm and durable: this theatre is but a place of exerciſe and trial for the powers of our hearts and minds. The hiſtory of the human ſpecies, with what it has attempted, and what has befallen it, the exertions it has made, and the revolutions it has undergone, ſufficiently proves this. Now and then a philoſopher, a good man, aroſe, and ſcattered opinions, precepts, and actions on the flood of time: a few waves played in circles around them, but theſe the ſtream ſoon carried away and obliterated: the jewel of their noble purpoſes ſunk to the bottom. Fools overpowered the councils of the wiſe; and ſpendthrifts inherited the treaſures of wiſdom collected by their forefathers. Far as the life of man here below is from being calculated for eternity; equally far is this inceſſantly revolving ſphere from being a repoſitory of permanent works of art, a garden of never-fading plants, a ſeat to be eternally inhabited. We come and go: every moment brings thouſands into the World, and takes thouſands out of it. The Earth is an inn for travellers; a planet, on which birds of paſſage reſt themſelves, and from which they haſten away. The brute

lives out his life; and, if his years be too few to attain higher ends, his inmoſt purpoſe is accompliſhed: his capacities exiſt, and he is what he was intended to be. Man alone is in contradiction with himſelf, and with the Earth: for, being the moſt perfect of all creatures, his capacities are the fartheſt from being perfected, even when he attains the longeſt term of life before he quits the World. But the reaſon is evident: his ſtate, being the laſt upon this Earth, is the firſt in another ſphere of exiſtence, with reſpect to which he appears here as a child making his firſt eſſays. Thus he is the repreſentative of two worlds at once; and hence the apparent duplicity of his eſſence.

2. Thus it becomes clear, what part muſt predominate in moſt men here below. The greater part of man is of the animal kind: he has brought into the World only a capacity for humanity, which muſt be firſt formed in him by diligence and labour. In how few is it rightly formed! and how ſlender and delicate is the divine plant even in the beſt! Throughout life the brute prevails over the man, and moſt permit it to ſway them at pleaſure. This inceſſantly drags man down, while the ſpirit aſcends, while the heart pants after a freer ſphere: and as the preſent appears more lively to a ſenſual creature than the remote, as the viſible operates upon him more powerfully than the inviſible; it is not difficult to conjecture, which way the balance will incline. Of how little pure delight, of how little pure knowledge and virtue, is man capable! And were he capable of more, to how little is he accuſtomed! The nobleſt compoſitions here below are debaſed by inferiour propenſities, as the voyage of life is perplexed by contrary winds; and the creator, mercifully ſtrict, has mixed the two cauſes of diſorder together, that one might correct the other, and that the germe of immortality might be more effectually foſtered by tempeſts, than by gentle gales. A man who has experienced much has learned much: the careleſs and indolent knows not what is within him; and ſtill leſs does he feel with conſcious ſatisfaction how far his powers extend. Thus life is a conflict, and the garland of pure immortal humanity is with difficulty obtained. The goal is before the runner: by him who fights for virtue, in death the palm will be obtained.

3. Thus, if ſuperiour creatures look down upon us, they may view us in the ſame light as we do the *middle ſpecies*, with which Nature makes a tranſition from one element to another. The oſtrich flaps his feeble wings to aſſiſt himſelf in running, but they cannot enable him to fly: his heavy body confines him to the ground. Yet the organizing parent has taken care of him, as well as of every middle creature; for they are all perfect in themſelves, and only appear defective to our eyes. It is the ſame with man here below: his defects are perplexing

plexing to an earthly mind; but a ſuperiour ſpirit, that inſpects the internal ſtructure, and ſees more links of the chain, may indeed pity, but cannot deſpiſe him. He perceives why man muſt quit the World in ſo many different ſtates, young and old, wiſe and fooliſh, grown gray in ſecond childhood, or an embryo yet unborn. Omnipotent goodneſs embraces madneſs and deformity, all the degrees of cultivation, and all the errours of man, and wants not balſams to heal the wounds, that death alone could mitigate. Since probably the future ſtate ſprings out of the preſent, as our organization from inferiour ones, it's buſineſs is no doubt more cloſely connected with our exiſtence here, than we imagine. The garden above blooms only with plants, of which the ſeeds have been ſown here, and put forth their firſt germes from a coarſer huſk. If, then, as we have ſeen, ſociality, friendſhip, or active participation in the pains and pleaſures of others, be the principal end, to which humanity is directed; this fineſt flower of human life muſt neceſſarily there attain the vivifying form, the overſhadowing height, for which our heart thirſts in vain in any earthly ſituation. Our brethren above, therefore, aſſuredly love us with more warmth and purity of affection, than we can bear to them: for they ſee our ſtate more clearly, to them the moment of time is no more, all diſcrepancies are harmonized, and in us they are probably educating, unſeen, partners of their happineſs, and companions of their labours. But one ſtep farther, and the oppreſſed ſpirit can breathe more freely, the wounded heart recovers: they ſee the paſſenger approach it, and ſtay his ſliding feet with a powerful hand.

4. Since therefore we are of a middle ſpecies between two orders, and in ſome meaſure partake of both, I cannot conceive, that the future ſtate is ſo remote from the preſent, and ſo incommunicable with it, as the animal part of man is inclined to ſuppoſe: and indeed many ſteps and events in the hiſtory of the human race are to me incomprehenſible, without the operation of ſuperiour influence. For inſtance, that man ſhould have brought himſelf into the road of improvement, and invented language and the firſt ſcience, without a ſuperiour guidance, appears to me inexplicable; and the more ſo, the longer he is ſuppoſed to have remained in a rude animal ſtate. A divine economy has certainly ruled over the human ſpecies from it's firſt origin, and conducted him into his courſe the readieſt way. But the more the human powers have been exerciſed, the leſs did they require this ſuperiour aſſiſtance, or the leſs were they ſuſceptible of it; though in later times the greateſt events have ariſen in the World from inexplicable cauſes, or have been accompanied with circumſtances, which we cannot explain. Even diſeaſes have often been inſtruments of them: for when an organ loſes it's proportion to the reſt, and thus becomes uſeleſs in the ordinary courſe of life, it

ſeems natural, that the reſtleſs internal power ſhould bend itſelf ſome other way, and probably receive impreſſions, of which a ſound organization would be inſuſceptible, and which it would not require. Be this as it may, it is certainly a friendly veil, that ſeparates this world from the next; and it is not without reaſon, that the grave of the dead is ſo mute and ſtill. Men in general are kept throughout the whole courſe of their lives from impreſſions, one of which would break the whole chain of their ideas, and render it uſeleſs in this world. Man, formed for freedom, was not intended to be the imitative ape of ſuperiour beings; but, even where he is led, to retain the happy opinion, that he acts of himſelf. To preſerve the quiet of his mind, and that noble pride, which ſupports his deſtination, man was deprived of the ſight of more exalted beings; for probably an acquaintance with theſe would lead him to deſpiſe himſelf. Man therefore was not to look into a future ſtate, but merely to believe in it.

5. Thus much is certain, that there dwells an infinity in each of his powers, which cannot be developed here, where it is repreſſed by other powers, by animal ſenſes and appetites, and lies bound as it were to the ſtate of terreſtrial life. Particular inſtances of memory, of imagination, nay of prophecy, and preſenſion, have diſcovered wonders of that hidden treaſure, which repoſes in the human ſoul: and indeed the ſenſes are not to be excluded from this obſervation. That diſeaſes, and partial defects, have been the principal occaſions of indicating this treaſure, alters not the nature of the caſe; ſince this very diſproportion was requiſite, to ſet one of the weights at liberty, and diſplay it's power. The expreſſion of Leibnitz, that the ſoul is a mirror of the univerſe, contains perhaps a more profound truth, than has uſually been educed from it: for the powers of an univerſe ſeem to lie concealed in her, and require only an organization, or a ſeries of organizations, to ſet them in action. Supreme goodneſs will not refuſe her this organization, but guides her like a child in leading-ſtrings, gradually to prepare her for the fullneſs of increaſing enjoyment, under a perſuaſion that her powers and ſenſes are ſelf-acquired. Even in her preſent fetters, *ſpace* and *time* are to her empty words: they meaſure and expreſs relations of the body, but not of her internal capacity, which extends beyond time and ſpace, when it acts in perfect internal quiet. Give thyſelf no concern for the place and hour of thy future exiſtence: the Sun, that enlightens thy days, is neceſſary to thee during thy abode and occupation upon Earth; and ſo long it obſcures all the celeſtial ſtars. When it ſets, the univerſe will appear in greater magnitude: the ſacred night, that once enveloped thee, and in which thou wilt be enveloped again, covers thy Earth with ſhade, and will open to thee the ſplendid volumes of immortality in Heaven. There are habitations,

bitations, worlds, and ſpaces, that bloom in unfading youth, though ages on ages have rolled over them, and defy the changes of time and ſeaſon: but every thing that appears to our eyes decays, and periſhes, and paſſes away; and all the pride and happineſs of Earth are expoſed to inevitable deſtruction.

This Earth will be no more, when thou thyſelf ſtill art, and enjoyeſt *God* and his creation, in other abodes, and differently organized. On it thou haſt enjoyed much good. On it thou haſt attained an organization, in which thou haſt learned to look around and above thee as a child of Heaven. Endeavour, therefore, to leave it contentedly, and bleſs it as the field, where thou haſt ſported as a child of immortality, and as the ſchool, where thou haſt been brought up, in joy, and in ſorrow, to manhood. Thou haſt no farther claim on it; it has no farther claim on thee: crowned with the cap of liberty, and girded with the zone of Heaven, cheerfully ſet thy foot forward.

As the flower ſtands erect, and cloſes the realm of the ſubterranean inanimate creation, to enjoy the commencement of life in the region of day; ſo is man raiſed above all the creatures, that are bowed down to the Earth. With uplifted eye, and outſtretched hand, he ſtands as a ſon of the family, awaiting his father's call.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK VI.

HITHERTO we have conſidered the Earth as an abode of the human ſpecies in general; and endeavoured to mark the rank, that man holds among the living creatures, by which it is inhabited. Having thus formed an idea of his general nature, let us proceed, to contemplate the various appearances he aſſumes on this globular ſtage.

But who will give us a clew to this labyrinth? where are the footſteps, that we may follow with ſecurity? At leaſt the deceitful robe of pretended omniſcience ſhall not arrogantly be aſſumed, to conceal the defects, to which he who writes the hiſtory of man, and ſtill more he who attempts a philoſophy of that hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily be expoſed; for none, but the genius of mankind himſelf, can take a complete view of the hiſtory of the human ſpecies. We will begin with the varieties in the organization of different races, if for no other reaſon, at leaſt becauſe theſe varieties are already noticed in elementary treatiſes on natural hiſtory.

### CHAPTER I.

*Organization of the People that dwell near the North Pole.*

No navigator has yet been able to ſet his foot on the axis of our Earth *, and draw from the north pole perhaps ſome more accurate concluſions reſpecting it's general ſtructure; though men have proceeded far beyond the habitable parts of the Globe, and deſcribed regions, that may be termed the cold and bare ice-throne of Nature. Here may be ſeen wonders of the creation, incredible to an

* The hopes of our countryman, Samuel Engel, on this ſubject, are well known; and one of the lateſt northern adventurers, Pages, ſeems to have weakened the ſuppoſition of it's impracticability.

inhabitant

inhabitant of the equator, thoſe immenſe maſſes of beautifully coloured rocks of ice, thoſe ſplendid northern lights, aſtoniſhing deceptions of the eye by means of the air, and the frequently warm caverns of the earth notwithſtanding the rigid froſt above *. The ſteep broken rocks of naked granite appear to extend much farther here, than they could toward the ſouth pole; and the greater part of the habitable earth in general ſtands on the northern hemiſphere. And as the ſea was the firſt abode of living creatures; the northern ocean, with it's ſwarms of inhabitants, may ſtill be conſidered as a womb of vitality, and it's ſhores as the margin, on which the organization of terreſtrial creatures commenced in moſſes, inſects, and worms. Waterfowl frequent the land, that yet ſupports few birds of it's own: aquatic animals and amphibia crawl on the ſtrand, to baſk in the beams of the Sun, which theſe coaſts but ſeldom enjoy. The confines of the living creation of the earth are diſplayed as it were amid the utmoſt fury of the turbulent waves.

How has the organization of man preſerved itſelf on theſe confines! All that the cold could effect upon him was, to compreſs his body in ſome meaſure, and thus as it were contract the circulation of his blood. The greenlander ſeldom attains the height of five feet; and the eſkimaux, his brother, living farther to the north, is ſtill ſhorter †. But as the vital power works from within to without, it has compenſated in warm and tough thickneſs, what it could not beſtow in aſpiring height. His head is large in proportion to his body; his face broad and flat: for Nature, who produces beauty only when acting with temperance, and in a mean betwixt extremes, could not here round a ſoft oval; and ſtill leſs could allow the ornament of the face, the beam of the balance, if I may uſe the expreſſion, the noſe, to project. As the cheeks occupy the chief breadth of the viſage, the mouth is ſmall and round: the hair is ſtiff, for the fine penetrating juices to form ſoft ſilky hair are wanting: no mind beams from the eye. In like manner the ſhoulders grow broad, the limbs large, the body corpulent and ſanguine: the hands and feet alone remain ſmall and ſlender, like the buds and extreme parts of the frame. As is the external form, ſo are the irritability and the economy of the fluids within. The blood circulates more ſlowly, the heart beats more languidly: hence the deſire of the ſexes, the ſtimulus of which riſes to ſuch a height with the increaſing warmth of other countries, is here more faint. It awakens not till late; the unmarried live chaſtely: and the women almoſt require compulſion, to take upon them the troubles of a married life.

* See Phipps's Voyages, Cranz's *Geſchichte von Grænland*, 'Hiſtory of Greenland,' &c.

† See Cranz, Ellis, Egede, Roger Curtis's Account of the Coaſt of Labrador, &c.

They

They have but few children; whence they compare the amorous and prolific europeans to dogs. In their connubial state, as in their general way of life, a calm sobriety, a tenacious stillness of the passions, prevails. Insensible of those irritations, which a warmer climate and more volatile animal spirits produce, they live and die peaceable and patient, contented from indifference, and active only from necessity. The father educates his son to that apathy, which he esteems the grand virtue and happiness of life; and the mother suckles her infant a long time, with all the profound tenacious affection of animal maternity. What Nature has denied them in irritability and elasticity of fibre, she has given them in permanent indefatigable strength; and has clothed them with that warming fatness, that abundance of blood, which render their very breath suffocatingly hot in close habitations.

No one, I think, can fail here to observe the equal hand of the organizing creator, who acts uniformly in all his works. If the human stature be diminished in these regions, vegetation is not less stunted: few trees grow, and these small; mosses and shrubs creep on the ground. Frost contracts even the rod of iron, and shall it not shorten the human fibre, even in despite of it's inherent organic life? It can only be compressed, however, and circumscribed as it were within a narrower sphere: another analogy of effect in every kind of organization. The extremities of the marine animals and other creatures of the frigid zone are small and slender: Nature has kept every thing as much as possible together in the region of internal warmth. The birds are supplied with thick plumage, the beasts with enveloping fat, as the men are with their warm sanguineous cases. Nature has also necessarily denied them in externals, and indeed from one and the same principle of all terrestrial organization, what is unsuitable to this constitution. Roots would be destructive to their bodies, prone to internal putrefaction; as the liquor of madness, brandy, which has been introduced among them, has destroyed many. These accordingly the climate refuses them: and on the other hand, notwithstanding their great love of repose, which their internal structure promotes, it compels them, by the external circumstances of their barren abodes, to activity and bodily exercise; which are the groundwork of all their laws and institutions. The few plants, that grow here, are such as purify the blood, and are thus precisely adapted to their wants. The atmosphere is in a high degree dephlogisticated *, so that it resists putrefaction even in dead bodies, and promotes longevity. Poisonous animals cannot

* See Wilson's Observations on the Influence of Climate on Plants and Animals, and Cranz's History of Greenland, vol. II.

endure

endure the dry cold: and the people are protected against troublesome insects by smoke, by a long winter, and by their natural insensibility. Thus does Nature indemnify them, and act harmoniously in all her operations.

After describing this first nation, it will not be necessary to be equally minute, with regard to others that resemble it. The eskimaux of America are the brethren of the greenlanders in figure, as well as in language and manners. But as these poor wretches are pressed upon as bearded strangers by the beardless americans, their mode of life is in general more toilsome and precarious: nay, so hard is their fate, that in winter they are often obliged to support themselves in their caves by sucking their own blood *. Here, and in a few other parts of the Earth, dire Necessity sits on her loftiest throne, and compels man to lead almost the life of a bear. Yet everywhere he still continues man: for, even in what appear to be features of the greatest inhumanity among these people is humanity visible, when they are closely examined. Nature thought proper to try what forced circumstances the human species could endure, and it has stood the test.

The laplanders inhabit a comparatively mild climate, and they are a milder people †. The size of the human figure increases: the flat rotundity of the visage diminishes: the cheeks are lengthened: the eye is dark gray: the straight black hair becomes carrotty: and the internal organization of the man expands with his external frame, as the bud that blows beneath the beams of a more genial sun ‡. The mountain laplander grazes his reindeer, which neither the eskimaux nor greenlander can do, and obtains from them food and raiment, coverings for his house and his bed, conveniencies and enjoyments; while the greenlander, dwelling on the verge of the earth, is reduced to seek almost every thing from the sea. Thus man acquires an animal for his friend and servant, and hence learns arts, and a more domestic mode of life. It inures his foot to the chace, his arm to the guidance of the rein, his mind to a taste for acquisition and permanent property; while at the same time it cherishes his love of liberty, and accustoms his ear to that timid watchfulness, which we observe in many nations in a similar condition. The laplander listens as fearfully as his beast, and sets off at the slightest noise: he loves his way of life, and looks, like his reindeer, to the summits of the moun-

* See Roger Curtis's Account of Labrador.

† It is well known, that Sainovic found the language of the laplanders to resemble the hungarian. See *Sainovic Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse*, 'Sainovic's Demonstration, that the Languages of the Hungarians and Laplanders are the same,' Copenhagen, 1770.

‡ On the subject of the laplanders see Hœchstrœm, Leem, Klingstedt, Georgi's *Beschreibung der Nationen des Russischen Reichs*, 'Description of the Nations of the Russian Empire,' &c.

tains, to ſpy the returning Sun: he talks to his beaſt, and is underſtood by him; he is careful of him as his wealth, and a member of his family. Thus with the firſt tameable animal, that Nature could beſtow on this region, ſhe gave man a guide to a more human mode of life.

Of the people that dwell by the Frozen Ocean, along the wide extent of the ruſſian empire, not to mention the many modern wellknown travels, in which they are deſcribed, we have a collection of delineations, the inſpection of which ſpeaks more forcibly than any deſcription *. Mixed and huddled together as many of theſe people dwell, we perceive the moſt different races brought under the ſame yoke of the northern form, and forged as it were into a chain of the north pole. The *ſamoiede* has the round, broad, flat viſage, the ſtraight black hair, the ſquat ſanguineous body of the northern mould: but his lips are more full, his noſe more broad and prominent, and his beard diminiſhed; and this we ſhall find continually decreaſing along an immenſe tract of land to the eaſtward. Thus the ſamoiedes are as it were the negroes of the north: and the great irritability of their nerves, the early puberty of the females, in the eleventh or twelfth year †, nay, if the account be true, their black nipples, and ſome other circumſtances, render them ſtill more ſimilar to the negroes, notwithſtanding the coldneſs of their climate. Yet, in ſpite of their warm and delicate conſtitution, which they probably brought with them as a national character, and which it may be preſumed even the climate itſelf could not ſubdue, their form is on the whole that of the north. The *tungooſes* ‡, who dwell farther to the ſouth, begin to have ſome reſemblance to the mungalian ſtem, from which however they are as different in race and language, as the ſamoiedes and oſtiacs are from the laplanders and greenlanders. Their bodies are better ſhaped and more ſlender; their eyes ſmall like thoſe of the mungals; their lips thin; their hair ſofter: yet their faces retain the flat northern form. It is the ſame with the yakouts and yukagirians, who appear to run into the tatarian form, as thoſe into the mungalian; nay, it is the ſame with the tatarian race itſelf. Near the Black Sea and the Caſpian, on mounts Caucaſus and Ural, conſequently in the moſt temperate climate in ſome meaſure in the World, the tatarian form is blended with more beauty. The body is ſlender and pliable: the head quits the heavy rotundity for a more ele-

* See Georgi's *Beſchreibung, &c.* 'Deſcription, &c.,' Peterſburg, 1776.

† See Klingſtedt's *Mémoires ſur les Samoiedes et ſur les Lappons*, 'Accounts of the Samoiedes and Laplanders.'

‡ For an account of all theſe people ſee Georgi's Deſcript. of the Nat. of the Ruſſ. Emp., Pallas, the Travels of the elder Gmelin, &c. The moſt remarkable circumſtances relating to the different people have been extracted from Pallas's Travels and Georgi's Remarks, and publiſhed ſeparately, *Merkwürdigkeiten der verſchiedenen Völker*, Frankf. and Leipſic, 1773—7.

gant

gant oval: the complexion is florid: the noſe projects boldly and wellſhaped: the eye is lively, the hair dark brown, the ſtep alert: the countenance pleaſingly modeſt and timid. Thus the nearer we come to the regions where Nature is moſt profuſe of life, the more exquiſite and better proportioned is the organization of man. The more we proceed to the north again, or the farther into Kalmuc Tatary, ſo much more flat and barbarous we find the features, either after the northern or kalmuc model. In this, however, much muſt be attributed to the way of life of a people, it's deſcent and intermixture with others, and the qualities of the country it inhabits. The mountain tatars preſerve their features with more purity, than thoſe that dwell in the plains: hordes that are near towns and villages mix and ſoften down both their features and manners. The leſs a nation is preſſed upon, the truer it muſt remain to it's rude and ſimple way of life, and the more pure muſt it preſerve it's original form. As on this great platform of Tatary, inclining as it does to the ſea, ſo many rovings and incurſions have taken place, which have operated more powerfully to mingle, than mountains, deſerts, and rivers could to ſeparate, the exceptions to the rule cannot fail to be obſerved: but the rule is confirmed by theſe very exceptions, for the northern, tatarian, and mungal forms divide the whole among them.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Organization of the Nations on the aſiatic Ridge of the Earth.*

As there are many probabilities, that the firſt abode of the human ſpecies was on this ridge of the Earth, we might be inclined to ſeek on it the moſt beautiful race of men. But how greatly ſhould we be deceived in our expectation! The form of the kalmucs and mungals is well known. With a middling ſtature, they have at leaſt remains of the flat viſage, the thin beard, and the brown complexion, of the northern climate: but they are diſtinguiſhable by the inner angle of the eye being acute, fleſhy, and inclined obliquely to the noſe; by narrow, black, ſlightly arched eyebrows; a ſmall, flat noſe, too broad at the upper part; large, prominent ears; the legs and thighs bowed; and ſtrong white teeth *, which, together with the reſt of the features, appear to characterize a beaſt of prey among men.

* See Pallas's *Sammlungen ueber die Mongoliſchen Vœlkerſchaften*, 'Collections reſpecting the Mungal Nations,' Vol. I, p. 98, 171, &c.; Georgi's *Beſchreib.* Vol. IV, Peterſburg, 1780; Schnitſcher's Account of the Ajuc Kalmucs in Mueller's *Sammlung zur Ruſſ. Geſch*, 'Collections for a Hiſtory of Ruſſia,' Book IV, Eſſ. 4.; Schlœzer's Extract from Schober's *Memorabilia Ruſſico-Aſiatica*, 'Memoirs of Aſiatic Ruſſia,' in the ſame Collections, Book VII, Eſſ. 1.; &c.

Whence proceeds this form? Their bow-legs originate from their way of life. From their childhood they ſlide along upon their legs, or cling to the back of a horſe: their lives are ſpent between ſitting and riding; and to the only poſition, that gives the human foot it's ſtraight fine form, that of walking, they are ſtrangers, except for a few ſteps. And to their way of life may not more of their figure be traced? Are not the prominent brutal ear, that is ever liſtening, the ſmall, acute eye, that perceives the leaſt duſt or ſmoke at the greateſt diſtance, the white, projecting, bone-gnawing tooth, the thick neck, and the backward reclining poſition of the head on it, become ſubſtantial features, and characteriſtics of their mode of living? If we add to this, that, as Pallas ſays, their children, even to the age of ten, frequently have deformed puffed up faces, and are of a cacochymic aſpect, till, as they grow up, they become better ſhaped: if we conſider, that extenſive tracts of their country are ſtrangers to rain, have little water, or at leaſt none that is pure, and that thus from their infancy they ſcarcely know what it is to bathe: if we reflect on the ſalt lakes and marſhes, and the ſaline nature of the ſoil where they dwell, the alkaline ſavour of which they reliſh in their food, and even in the deluges of tea, with which they daily enfeeble their digeſtive faculty: if to theſe we add the elevation of the country they inhabit, the thinner air, dry winds, alkaline effluvia, and long winters ſpent in the ſmoke of their huts, and with ſnow continually before their eyes: is it not probable, that their figure originated from theſe cauſes ſome thouſands of years ago, when many of them perhaps operated ſtill more forcibly, and thus gradually became their hereditary nature? Nothing invigorates our bodies more, and contributes more to their growth and firmneſs, than waſhing and bathing in water; particularly if to theſe be added walking, running, wreſtling, and other bodily exerciſes. Nothing has a greater tendency to debilitate them, than drinking warm liquors; and theſe they gulp down in immoderate quantities, ſeaſoned too with corrugating alkaline ſalts. Hence, as Pallas has already obſerved, the feeble effeminate figures of the mungals and burats, five or ſix of whom, with their utmoſt exertions, cannot do what a ſingle ruſſian can perform: hence the extreme lightneſs of their bodies, with which on their little horſes they ſeem to fly, or ſkim along the ſurface of the ground: hence, laſtly, the cacochymic habit tranſmitted to their children. Even ſome of the neighbouring tatar races are born with features of the mungal form, which diſappear as they grow up: and this renders it more probable, that ſome of the cauſes are dependent on the climate, which are more or leſs engrafted into the frame of the people by their mode of life and deſcent, and rendered hereditary. When ruſſians or tatars intermix with the mungals, handſome

ſome children are produced, being of delicate and wellproportioned ſhapes, but according to the mungal ſtandard *. Here alſo Nature remains true to herſelf in their organization: a race of nomades, beneath this ſky, on this ridge of the Globe, and with ſuch modes of living, muſt be ſuch airy vultures.

And traces of their form ſpread far around: for whither have not theſe birds of prey extended their flight? More than once have their conquering pinions ſped over one quarter of the Globe. Accordingly the mungals have eſtabliſhed themſelves in various countries of Aſia, and improved their form by the features of other nations. Nay theſe warlike expeditions were preceded by more ancient emigrations from this early peopled ridge of the Earth into many adjacent lands. Hence, it is probable, the oriental part of the Globe as far as Kamtſchatka, as well as throughout Tibet and the peninſula beyond the Ganges, previouſly bore marks of the mungal form. Let us take a view of this region, in which much that is ſingular appears.

Moſt of the refinements of the chineſe with regard to their ſhape bear the mungal ſtamp. We have obſerved the miſhapen feet and ears of the mungals; and probably a ſimilar defect of form, aided by falſe taſte, gave occaſion to that unnatural confinement of the foot, and that frightful diſtortion of the ears, common to many nations in this region. People were aſhamed of their form, and wiſhed to alter it; but hit upon parts, which yielding to change, at length rendered their diſguſting beauties hereditary. As far as the great difference of their provinces and mode of life will permit, the chineſe diſplay evident marks of the oriental form, which is moſt ſtriking to the eye only on the mungalian heights. Climate has merely reduced the broad face, little black eyes, ſtump noſe, and thin beard, to a ſofter rounder form; and the taſte of the chineſe ſeems to be as much a conſequence of illconſtructed organs, as deſpotiſm is of their form of government, and barbariſm of their philoſophy. The japaneſe, a people of chineſe tuition, but probably of mungal origin †, are almoſt univerſally illmade, with thick heads, ſmall eyes, ſtump noſes, flat cheeks, ſcarcely any beard, and generally bandylegged. Their form of government and philoſophy abound with violent reſtrictions, ſuited only to their own country. A third ſpecies of deſpotiſm prevails in Tibet; the religion of which country extends far into the ſavage deſerts.

* Pallas in the *Samml. zur Geſch. der Mongol. Vœlk.* 'Collections for the Hiſtory of the Mungal Nations,' Travels Vol. I, p. 304, II, &c.

† *Allg. Samml. der Reiſen,* 'General Collection of Travels,' Vol. II, p. 595; Charlevoix. On the chineſe ſee Olave Toree's *Reiſe nach Surate und China,* 'Travels to Surat and China,' p. 68; *Allg. Reiſ.* Vo'. VI, p. 130.

The oriental form * ſtretches down with the mountains through the peninſula beyond the Ganges, the people probably extending themſelves along the courſe of the hills. The natives of Aſſam, bordering upon Tatary, are remarkable, if we may truſt the accounts of travellers †, for ſwelled throats and flat noſes, particularly towards the north. The rude ornaments affixed to their lengthened ears, their indelicacy in reſpect to food, and want of clothing in ſuch a temperate climate, denote a ſavage uncultivated people. The arracaneſe, with broad noſtrils, flat foreheads, little eyes, and ears ſtretched down to their ſhoulders, diſplay the ſame deformity of the oriental regions ‡. The barmas in Ava and Pegu are as inveterate enemies to the ſlighteſt appearance of beard, as the tibetians and other nations higher up: they will not ſuffer more bountiful Nature to remove their tatarian beardleſſneſs §. It is the ſame, only with ſome differences according to the people and climate, even in the iſlands that are more to the ſouth.

To the north there is no change, even to the koriacs and kamtſchadales on the ſhores of the eaſtern world. The language of the latter ſtill bears ſome reſemblance to that of the chineſe mungals, though, as they are yet unacquainted with the uſe of iron, they muſt have ſeparated from theſe people long ago. Neither does their form belie their country ||. Their hair is black, their faces broad and flat, their noſe and eyes deep ſunk; and we ſhall find their character, apparently incongruous with this cold inhoſpitable climate, not unſuitable to it. Laſtly, the koriacs, the tſhoutſhies, the kuriles, and the iſlanders farther to the eaſt ¶, appear to me to be gradual tranſitions from the mungal to the american form: and if we could obtain an acquaintance with the north weſtern end of America, which remains for the moſt part unknown to us, and with the interiour parts of Jedſo and the extenſive region above New Mexico, of which we know as little as of the heart of Africa, I am of opinion, we ſhould find evident gradations loſing themſelves in each other, according to the remarks in Cook's laſt voyage **.

So

* The more ancient accounts deſcribe the tibetians as deformed. See *Allg. Reiſen*, Book VII, p. 382. According to the more modern (Pallas's *Nord. Beitr.* Book IV, p. 280) they are become leſs ſo, to which the ſituation of their country appears favourable. Probably they are a rude approach to the hinduſtanic form.

† See *Allg. Reiſen*, Book X, p. 557, from Tavernier.

‡ *Allg. Reiſ.* B. X, p. 67, from Ovington.

§ See Marſden's Hiſtory of Sumatra, p. 62, *Allg. Reiſ.* Vol. II, p. 487, &c.

|| *Allg. Reiſ.* Vol. XX, p. 289, from Steller.

¶ See Georgi's *Beſch.* &c. Vol. III.

** See Ellis's Account of Cook's laſt Voyage, p. 114; *Tagebuch der Entdeckungs reiſe*, 'Journal of a Voyage of Diſcovery tranſlated by Forſter,' p. 231; with which may be compared the older accounts

So wide is the extent of the partly disfigured, but every where more or leſs beardleſs, oriental form: and the various manners and languages of the ſeveral nations teſtify, that they are not the deſcendants of one people. What then is the cauſe of it? What for inſtance has urged ſo many nations to quarrel with the beard, or to ſtretch the ears, or to bore the noſe and lips? In my opinion an original deformity muſt have given riſe to it, which afterwards claimed the aſſiſtance of ſavage art, and at length became an ancient cuſtom tranſmitted from father to ſon. The degeneracy of brutes diſplays itſelf in the hair and ears, before it attacks the form: it next deſcends to the feet, as in the face it firſt attacks it's extremity, the profile. When the genealogy of the nations, the ſtate and qualities of this extenſive country, and more eſpecially the variations in the internal phyſiology of theſe people, are more thoroughly inveſtigated; we ſhall not fail to obtain new ideas on the ſubject. And will not *Pallàs*, ſkilled in ſcience and acquainted with various nations, be the firſt to give us a *ſpicilegium anthropologicum?*

## CHAPTER III.

### *Organization of the Region of wellformed Nations.*

EMBOSOMED in alpine heights lies the kingdom of Caſhmire, like a hidden paradiſe. It's fertile and pleaſant hills are ſurrounded with mountains aſcending ſtill higher and higher, till the ſummits of the laſt, covered with eternal ſnow, are loſt in the clouds. Here pellucid ſtreams and rivulets flow: the earth is adorned with ſalubrious herbs and fruits: gardens and iſlands are clad in refreſhing green: flocks and herds are ſpread over one univerſal paſture: and no venomous animal, or wild beaſt, annoys this Eden. Theſe may be fitly named the mountains of innocence, as Bernier ſays, which flow with milk and honey; and the race of men, that dwells there, is not unworthy of the place. The caſhmirians are deemed the moſt witty and ingenious people of India, equally capable of excelling in poetry and ſcience, in arts and manufactures; the men finely formed, and the women often models of beauty *.

How happy might Hinduſtan have been, if the hands of men had not combined to deſolate the garden of nature, and to depreſs the moſt innocent of human beings by tyranny and ſuperſtition! The hindoos are the gentleſt race

accounts of the iſlands between Aſia and America. See *neue Nachricht von den neuentdeckten Inſeln*, 'New Account of the lately diſcovered Iſlands,' Hamb. and Leipſ. 1776; the accounts in Pallas's *Nordiſchen Beitrægen*, 'Northern Memoirs'; *Mueller's Ruſſiſchen Sammlungen*, 'Ruſſian Collections'; the *Beitrægen zur Vœlker. und Lænderkunde*, 'Eſſays on Countries and Nations'; &c.

* *Allg. Reiſ.* Vol. II, p. 116, 117, from Bernier.

of mankind. They intentionally injure nothing that breathes; they reſpect every thing that has life; and ſupport themſelves by the moſt innocent food, milk, rice, and the nutritious plants and fruits, that their country affords. In ſhape, ſays a modern traveller *, they are ſtraight, ſlender, and elegant; their limbs are well proportioned; their fingers long, and endued with great accuracy of feeling; their countenances open and benign: the features of the females diſplay the moſt delicate lineaments of beauty; thoſe of the males, manly tenderneſs. Their gait, and their whole carriage, are in the higheſt degree graceful and attractive. The legs and thighs, which in all the northeaſtern countries are miſhapen, or ſhortened like thoſe of apes, are lengthened here, and bear the ſtamp of germinating human beauty. Even the mungal form, intermingled with this race, is loſt in noble benignity. And the original diſpoſition of their mind is conſonant to the frame of their body. So indeed is their manner of life, when conſidered free from the yoke of ſlavery or ſuperſtition. Temperance and quiet, gentle feelings and peaceful meditation, are conſpicuous in their labours and enjoyments, their morals and mythology, their arts, and even their patience under the ſevereſt tyranny. Happy lambs! why could not Nature feed you careleſs and undiſturbed on your native plains!

The ancient perſians were ugly mountaineers, as we ſee from their remains, the gaurs †. But as ſcarcely any country in Aſia is ſo much expoſed to irruptions as Perſia, and as it lies immediately beneath nations of wellformed people, a compound has reſulted, which in the nobler Perſians combines beauty and worth. On one hand lies Circaſſia, the parent of beauty: on the other ſide of the Caſpian ſea dwell tatarian races, which have already improved their form in this happy climate, and have ſpread themſelves in great numbers to the ſouth. On the right is Hinduſtan, and the perſian blood has been improved by maidens purchaſed in this country and in Circaſſia. Their minds have moulded themſelves to this man-ennobling ſpot: for the quick and penetrating underſtanding, the fertile and lively imagination of the Perſians, with their ſupple, courteous manners, their propenſity to idleneſs, pomp, and pleaſure, nay their diſpoſition to romantic love, are perhaps the chief qualities, that promote an equilibrium of the paſſions and features. Inſtead of thoſe barbarous embelliſhments, with which deformed nations have increaſed while they ſtrove to hide

* Mackintoſh's Travels, Vol. I, p. 321.

† Chardin's Travels in Perſia, Vol. III, Chap. XI, and following. In Le Brun's *Voyages en Perſe*, 'Travels in Perſia,' Vol. I, Chap. 42, n° 86—88, we have a delineation of the perſians, which may be compared with thoſe of the blacks immediately following, n° 89, 90, the uncivilized ſamoiedes, chap. 2, n° 7, 8, the wild ſouthern negroes, n. 197, and the gentle beninians, n. 109.

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their bodily defects, more agreeable cuſtoms have here been adopted, which heightened the beauty of the form. Want of water compels the mungal to be uncleanly: the effeminate hindoo bathes: the voluptuous perſian anoints himſelf. The mungal ſits on his heels, when he does not beſtride his horſe: the gentle hindoo lolls at his eaſe: the romantic perſian divides his time between games and amuſements. The perſian tinges his eyebrows; he inveſts himſelf in a garment, that improves the growth. Beautiful form! ſweet equilibrium of paſſions and mental powers! why could ye not diffuſe yourſelves throughout the Globe!

We have already obſerved, that ſome *tatarian* races originally belonged to the well-formed nations of the Earth, and have degenerated only in the northern countries, or in the deſerts. The finer forms appear on each ſide of the Caſpian ſea. The uſbeck women are deſcribed as ſtout, wellmade, and agreeable *: they accompany their huſbands to battle: their eyes, ſays the deſcription, are large, black, and lively: their hair is black and fine: the men are of a dignified figure, that commands reſpect. Similar commendations are beſtowed on the bokharians: and the beauty of the circaſſians, their dark ſilken eyebrows, black ſparkling eyes, ſmooth foreheads, little mouths, and round chins, are known and valued far and wide †. We may ſuppoſe, that the tongue of the balance of the human form ſtood here preciſely in the middle, while the ſcales extended eaſt and weſt to Hinduſtan and Greece. Fortunately for us, Europe lay at no great diſtance from this centre of beautiful forms; and many nations, that peopled this quarter of the Globe, either inhabited or ſlowly traverſed the regions between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas. At leaſt we are thus no antipodes to the land of beauty.

All the nations who have made irruptions into this region of fine forms, and tarried in it, have ſoftened their features. The *turks*, originally a hideous race, improved their appearance, and rendered themſelves more agreeable, when handſomer nations became ſervants to them, as conquerors of extenſive territories in this neighbourhood. To this probably the commandments of the Koran have contributed, by which they were enjoined ablution, cleanlineſs, and temperance, while they were indulged in voluptuous eaſe and love. The *hebrews*, whoſe anceſtors likewiſe came from the heights of Aſia, and led a wandering life, ſometime in thirſty Egypt, ſometime in the deſerts of Arabia, ſtill bear the ſtamp of the aſiatic form, even in their preſent long and wide diſperſion; though in their nar-

* *Allg. Reiſ.* Vol. VII, p. 316.—18.

† See ſome delineations by Le Brun, *Voyages au Levant*, 'Travels in the Levant,' Vol. I, Chap. 10, n° 34—37.

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row country, and under the oppreſſive yoke of the law, they could never attain that pitch of beauty, for which more liberty of action, and voluptuouſneſs of life, are requiſite. Neither do the hardy *arabs* conſtitute an exception: for though Nature has formed their peninſula more for a land of liberty than a land of beauty, and neither a deſert nor a wandering life can poſſibly be the beſt nurſe of fine forms; yet are theſe brave and hardy people at the ſame time wellmade *. Their extenſive influence on three quarters of the globe we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to obſerve.

Laſtly the perfect human form found a ſite on the coaſt of the Mediterranean †, where it was capable of uniting with the intellect, and diſplaying all the charms of terreſtrial and celeſtial beauty to the mind, as well as to the eye: this was triple Greece, in Aſia and the iſlands, in Greece proper, and on the ſhores farther to the weſt. Gentle zephyrs fanned the tree, gradually tranſplanted from the heights of Aſia, and breathed life into every part. Time and circumſtances aſſiſted in exalting it's juices, and crowning it with that perfection, which ſtill excites the admiration of every one in the models of grecian art and wiſdom. Here figures were conceived and executed, which no admirer of circaſſian beauty, no indian or caſhmirian artiſt, could have invented. The human form aſcended Olympus, and clothed itſelf in divine beauty.

I ſhall not wander farther into Europe. It ſo abounds in forms and mixtures, it has changed nature in ſo many ways by cultivation and art, that I know not how to make any general remarks on it's wellformed intermingled nations. It will be better to take a retroſpective glance from the ſhores of that quarter of the Globe that we have traverſed, and, after an obſervation or two, proceed to ſooty Africa.

In the firſt place it is obvious to every one, that the region of the moſt perfectly formed people is a middle region of the Earth, lying, as beauty itſelf, between two extremes. It feels not the compreſſing cold of Samoieda, or the drying ſaline winds of Mungalia: on the other hand it is equally a ſtranger to the burning heat of the ſandy african deſerts, and the wet and violent changes of the american climate. It lies neither on the utmoſt height of the equator, nor on the declivity of the polar region: but on one ſide it is defended by the lofty walls of the tatarian and mungal mountains, on the other it is cooled by the ſea-breeze. It's ſeaſons change with regularity, yet without that violence, which

* See delineations of them in Niebuhr, vol. II, and Le Brun's Travels in the Levant, n° 90, 91.

† See Le Brun's Trav. in the Levant, chap. 7, n° 17—20; Choiſeul Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoreſque*, 'Pictureſque Tour;' &c. The remains of ancient grecian art exceed all theſe repreſentations.

prevails

prevails under the equinoctial: and as Hippocrates formerly obſerved, that a mild regularity of the ſeaſons appeared to have great influence in attemperating the paſſions, it has no leſs on the ideas and impreſſions of our minds. The predatory turcoman, who roams the deſerts or the mountains, retains a hideous countenance even in the fineſt climate: when he ſits down in peace, and divides his life between ſofter enjoyments, and occupations that connect him with more civilized nations, his features, as well as manners, in time aſſimilate with theirs. The beauty of the Earth is calculated only for peaceful enjoyment; by means of this alone does it impart itſelf to man, and become incorporated with him.

In the ſecond place, it was of no ſmall advantage to the human ſpecies, not only to have commenced it's exiſtence in this region of perfect forms, but to have derived it's principal cultivation thence. As the deity could not make the whole Earth the ſeat of beauteouſneſs, he permitted mankind to enter it at leaſt through the gate of beauty, and have it's features imprinted on them for a conſiderable time before they repaired to other countries. It was one and the ſame principle of Nature, which cauſed thoſe nations, that excelled in form, to operate with moſt beneficence and activity upon others: for ſhe gave them that quickneſs and elaſticity of mind, adapted equally to form the body, and to act thus beneficently upon other nations. The tungooſe and eſkimaux ſit eternally in their holes, and give themſelves no concern about other nations, either as friends or enemies. The negro has invented nothing for the european: he has never once conceived the deſign of improving or of conquering Europe. From the region of wellformed people we have derived our religion, our arts, our ſciences; the whole frame of our cultivation and humanity, be it much or little. In this tract has been invented, imagined, and executed, at leaſt in it's rudiments, every thing that can form and improve man. The hiſtory of man's cultivation will inconteſtibly prove this; and in my opinion our own experience ſhows it. We northern inhabitants of Europe ſhould have been ſtill barbarians, had not the kind breath of fate wafted us at leaſt ſome flowers from thoſe climes, to impregnate our wild bloſſoms, and thus in time ennoble our ſtock.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Organization of the People of Africa.*

It is but juſt, when we proceed to the country of the blacks, that we lay aſide our proud prejudices, and conſider the organization of this quarter of the Globe with as much impartiality, as if there were no other. Since whiteneſs is a mark of degeneracy in many animals near the pole, the negro has as much right to term his ſavage robbers albinoes and white devils, degenerated through the weakneſs of nature, as we have to deem him the emblem of evil, and a deſcendant of Ham, branded by his father's curſe. I, might he ſay, I, the black, am the original man. I have taken the deepeſt draughts from the ſource of life, the Sun: on me, and on every thing around me, it has acted with the greateſt energy and vivacity. Behold my country: how fertile in fruits, how rich in gold! Behold the height of my trees! the ſtrength of my animals! Here each element ſwarms with life, and I am the centre of this vital action. Thus might the negro ſay; let us then enter the country appropriate to him with modeſty.

On the very iſthmus, that joins Africa to Aſia, we meet with a ſingular people, the egyptians. Large, ſtrong, corpulent, for the Nile beſtows on them fatneſs, bigboned, and of a yellow brown complexion; they are at the ſame time healthy and prolific, temperate and longlived. Though now indolent, they were once diligent and laborious. A people of ſuch bone, and ſuch a frame *, could alone have produced the arts and eſtabliſhments, that we admire among the ancient egyptians; to which a people of a finer mould could not eaſily have applied themſelves.

Of the inhabitants of Nubia, and the interiour regions of Africa beyond it, we yet know but little. If however we may truſt the preliminary communications of *Bruce* †, no negro race dwells upon the whole of this elevated region,

* See the ſtatues of their ancient artiſts, their mummies, and the paintings on the caſes of the mummies.

† Buffon's *Supplemens à l'Hiſtoire Naturelle*, 'Supp. to Nat. Hiſt.,' 4to, Vol. IV, p. 495. Lobo ſays, at leaſt, that the blacks there are neither ugly nor ſtupid, but ingenious, delicate, and poſſeſſed of ſome taſte: *Relation hiſtorique d'Abyſſinia*, 'Hiſtorical Account of Abyſſinia,' p. 85. As all our accounts of this country are ancient and doubtful, the publication of Bruce's travels, if he did viſit Abyſſinia, is much to be wiſhed *.

* He undoubtedly did, as we have ſufficient teſtimony of that fact, and his travels, containing much curious information, have at length been publiſhed. T.

they being confined to the eaſt and weſt coaſts of this quarter of the Globe, where the land is lower, and the heat more intenſe. Even under the equator, he ſays, on theſe temperate and rainy heights, we find none but white or yellow brown complexions. Remarkable as this fact would be in explaining the origin of the negro blackneſs; yet the figure of the nations in theſe parts, which is more to our purpoſe, diſplays a gradual declenſion to the negro form. We know, that the abyſſinians were originally of arabian deſcent, and both nations have been frequently and long connected: yet, if we may judge from the repreſentations of Ludolf * and others, how much harſher features do we meet with here, than among the arabs, and more diſtant aſiatics! They approach thoſe of the negro, though yet remotely; and the great diverſity of the country, with it's lofty mountains and pleaſant plains, the variations of the climate, in heat and cold, ſunſhine and ſtorms, with a chain of other cauſes, ſeem ſufficient to account for theſe harſh compounded features. In a diverſified part of the World a diverſified race of men muſt occur, whoſe character appears to conſiſt in great ſenſuality, long duration, and an approach to the extreme in figure, which brings them nearer to the brute. The government of the abyſſinians, and their ſtate of civilization, are conformable to their figure, and the nature of their country; a wild mixture of heatheniſm and chriſtianity, of careleſs freedom and ſavage tyranny.

On the other ſide of Africa in like manner we know too little of the *berbers*, or *brebers*, to be able to form any judgment of them. Their reſidence on mount Atlas, and their hardy and active way of life, have preſerved to them that well-proportioned, light, and flexible make, by which they are diſtinguiſhable from the arabs †. Conſequently they are as little of the negro race, as the moors, who are deſcended from the arabs, but intermixed with other nations. A modern obſerver ſays ‡, they are handſome people, with delicate features, oval faces, fine large ſparkling eyes, longiſh noſes, neither broad nor flat, and beautiful black hair ſlightly falling in ringlets; ſo that they are of the aſiatic form, though in the midſt of Africa.

The negro race properly begins with the rivers Gambia and Senegal; yet here with gradual tranſitions §. The *jalofs*, or *wulufs*, have neither the flat noſes nor thick lips of the common negroes. Both they, and the ſmaller, more active

* Ludolf's *Hiſt. Æthiop.*, 'Hiſtory of Ethiopia.'

† Hoſt's *Nachrichten von Maroko*, 'Account of Morocco,' p. 141, compared with 132 and following.

‡ Schott's Account of the State of Senegal, in the *Beitræg. z. Volk. und Landerkunde*, Vol. I, p. 47.

§ See Schott's Account of Senegal, p. 50, *Allg. Reis.* Vol. 319.

*foulies*, who, according to ſome accounts, live under the happieſt regulations, and ſpend their time in mirth and dancing, are models of beauty, compared with the *mandingoes*, and the negroes that live farther to the ſouth; their limbs being well made, their hair ſleek and but little woolly, and their countenances open and inclined to oval. Thus the thick lips and flat noſes of the negro form, which ſpreads far down through innumerable varieties of little nations in Guinea, Loango, Congo, and Angola, commence not till we croſs the Senegal. In Congo and Angola, for inſtance, the black ſkin aſſumes an olive hue, the criſped hair is reddiſh, the irides of the eyes are green, the lips are leſs thick, and the ſtature diminiſhes. In Zanguebar, on the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, we again find the ſame olive hue, but in men of a large ſtature, and better proportioned limbs. Laſtly the hottentots and caffres are retrogradations from the negro form to another. Their noſe begins to loſe ſomewhat of it's depreſſed flatneſs, their lips of their ſwelling prominence: their hair is a mean between the wool of the negro and the hair of other nations: their complexion is of a yellow brown: their ſize is that of europeans in general, only they have ſmaller hands and feet *. Did we know the numerous nations, that dwell beyond theſe arid regions, in the interiour country, as far as Abyſſinia, and among whom, from many indications on their borders, we may expect to find more fertility, beauty, ſtrength, arts, and civilization, we might fill up the ſhades of the human picture in this quarter of the Globe, and ſhould probably find not a ſingle break.

But how deficient are we in authentic information reſpecting this country! We barely know it's coaſts; and are in many parts acquainted with theſe no farther than our cannons reach. No modern european has traverſed the interiour of Africa, which the arabian caravans frequently do †; and what we know of it is either from tales of the blacks, or pretty ancient accounts of lucky or unfortunate adventurers ‡. Even the nations, that we might know as things are, the eye of the european ſeems to behold with too tyrannical indifference, to attempt to inveſtigate the variation of national form in wretched black ſlaves. Men handle them like cattle; and, when they buy them, diſtinguiſh them by the marks of their teeth. A ſingle moravian miſſionary § has tranſmitted us from another quarter of the Globe more accurate diſcriminations of the negroes, than

* Sparmann's Travels.

† Schott's Account of Senegal, p. 49, 50.

‡ Zimmermann's compariſon of the known and unknown parts, an eſſay replete with learning and ſound judgment, in the *Geogr. Geſch. des Menſchen*, 'Geographical Hiſtory of Man,' book III, p. 104, and following.

§ Oldendorp's *Miſſionsgeſchichte auf St. Thomas*, 'Hiſtory of the Miſſion to St. Thomas,' p. 270 and following.

all

all the voyagers, that have infeſted the african ſhores. How fortunate would it have been for the knowledge of nature, and of man, had a company of travellers, endued with the penetration of Forſter, the patience of Sparmann, and the ſcience of both, viſited this undiſcovered country! The accounts, that are given of the cannibal jagas and anſicans, are certainly exaggerated, when they are extended to all the interiour nations of Africa. The jagas appear to be a mixed, predatory people, a ſort of artificial nation, compoſed of the outcaſts of ſeveral, living by plunder, and at length becoming inured to ſavage and barbarous practices *. The anſicans are mountaineers; probably the mungals and calmucs of this country. But how many happy and peaceful nations may dwell at the feet of the Mountains of the Moon! Europeans are unworthy to behold their happineſs; for they have unpardonably ſinned, and ſtill continue to ſin, againſt this quarter of the Globe. The peaceably trading arabs traverſe the country, and have planted colonies far within it.

But I forget, that I had to ſpeak of the form of the negroes, as of an organization of the human ſpecies; and it would be well, if natural philoſophy had applied it's attention to all the varieties of our ſpecies, as much as to this. The following are ſome of the reſults of it's obſervations.

1. The black colour of the negro has nothing in it more wonderful than the white, brown, yellow, or reddiſh, of other nations. Neither the blood, the brain, nor the ſeminal fluid of the negro is black, but the reticular membrane beneath the cuticle, which is common to all, and even in us, at leaſt in ſome parts, and under certain circumſtances, is more or leſs coloured. Camper has demonſtrated this †; and according to him we all have the capacity of becoming negroes. Even amid the froſts of Samoieda we have noticed the ſable mark in the female breaſt: the germe of the negro blackneſs could not be farther extended in that climate.

2. All depends therefore on the cauſes, that were capable of unfolding it here: and analogy inſtructs us, that ſun and air muſt have had great ſhare in it. For what makes us brown? What makes the difference between the two ſexes in almoſt every country? What has rendered the deſcendants of the portugueſe, after reſiding ſome centuries in Africa, ſo ſimilar in colour to the negroes? Nay, what ſo forcibly diſcriminates the negro races in Africa itſelf? The climate, conſidered in the moſt extenſive ſignification of the word, ſo as to include the manner of life, and kind of food. The blackeſt negroes live preciſely

* See Proyart's Hiſtory of Loango, Cacongo, &c., to the german tranſlation of which, Leipſic, 1770, is added an able collection of accounts reſpecting the jagas.

† See Camper's *Kleine Schriften*, 'Tracts,' Vol. I, p. 24 and following.

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in that region, where the eaſt wind, blowing wholly over the land, brings the moſt intenſe heat: where the heat is diminiſhed, or cooled by the ſea-breeze, the black is ſoftened into yellow. The cool heights are inhabited by white, or whitiſh people: while in the cloſe lower regions the oil, that occaſions the black appearance beneath the cuticle, is rendered more aduſt by the heat of the Sun. Now if we reflect, that theſe blacks have reſided for ages in this quarter of the World, and completely naturalized themſelves to it by their mode of life: if we conſider the ſeveral cauſes, that now operate more feebly, but which in earlier periods, when all the elements were in their primitive rude force, muſt have acted with greater power: and if we take into the account, that ſo many thouſands of years muſt have brought about a complete revolution as it were of the wheel of contingencies, which at one period or another turns up every thing that can take place upon this Earth: we ſhall not wonder at the trifling circumſtance, that the ſkin of ſome nations is black. Nature, in her progreſſive ſecret operations, has produced much greater changes than this.

3. And how did ſhe effect this ſmall change? To me the thing ſeems to ſpeak for itſelf. It is an oil, that colours the reticular membrane. The ſweat of the negroes, and even of europeans, in this country frequently has a yellow colour. The ſkin of the blacks is a thick ſoft velvet, not ſo tenſe and dry as that of the whites; the heat of the Sun having drawn from their inner parts an oil, which, aſcending as near as it could to the ſurface, has ſoftened their cuticle, and coloured the membrane beneath it. Moſt of the diſeaſes of this country are bilious; and if we read the deſcriptions of them *, we ſhall not wonder at the yellow or black complexions of the inhabitants.

4. The woolly hair of the negro may be accounted for on ſimilar principles. As the hair is nouriſhed only by the finer juices of the ſkin, and is generated as it were unnaturally in the fat, it becomes curled in proportion to the abundance of nutriment it receives, and dies where this is deficient. Thus in the coarſer organization of brutes, we find their wool converted into rough hair, in countries uncongenial to their nature, where the juices, that flow into it, are incapable of elaboration. The finer organization of man on the contrary, intended for all climates, is capable of converting the hair into wool, when the oil, that moiſtens the ſkin, is ſuperabundant.

5. But the peculiar formation of the members of the human body ſays more than all theſe: and this appears to me explicable in the african organization. According to various phyſiological obſervations, the lips, breaſts, and private

* See Schott's Treatiſe on the Synochus atrabilioſa.

parts,

parts, are proportionate to each other: and as Nature, agreeably to the ſimple principle of her plaſtic art, muſt have conferred on theſe people, to whom ſhe was obliged to deny nobler gifts, an ampler meaſure of ſenſual enjoyment, this could not but have appeared to the phyſiologiſt. According to the rules of phyſiognomy, thick lips are held to indicate a ſenſual diſpoſition; as thin lips, diſplaying a ſlender roſy line, are deemed ſymptoms of a chaſte and delicate taſte; not to mention other circumſtances. What wonder then, that in a nation, for whom the ſenſual appetite is the height of happineſs, external marks of it ſhould appear? A negro child is born white: the ſkin round the nails, the nipples, and the private parts, firſt become coloured; and the ſame conſent of parts in the diſpoſition to colour is obſervable in other nations. A hundred children are a trifle to a negro; and an old man, who had not above ſeventy, lamented his fate with tears.

6. With this oleaginous organization to ſenſual pleaſure, the profile, and the whole frame of the body, muſt alter. The projection of the mouth would render the noſe ſhort and ſmall, the forehead would incline backwards, and the face would have at a diſtance the reſemblance of that of an ape. Conformably to this would be the poſition of the neck, the tranſition to the occiput, and the elaſtic ſtructure of the whole body, which is formed, even to the noſe and ſkin, for ſenſual animal enjoyment *. Since in this quarter of the Globe, as the native land of the ſolar heat, the loftieſt and moſt ſucculent trees ariſe, herds of the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt active animals are generated, and vaſt multitudes of apes in particular ſport, ſo that air and water, the ſea and the ſands, ſwarm with life and fertility; organizing human nature could not fail to follow, with reſpect to it's animal part, this general ſimple principle of the plaſtic powers. That finer intellect, which the creature, whoſe breaſt ſwells with boiling paſſions beneath this burning ſun, muſt neceſſarily be refuſed, was countervailed by a ſtructure altogether incompatible with it. Since then a nobler boon could not be conferred on the negro in ſuch a climate, let us pity, but not deſpiſe him; and honour that parent, who knows how to compenſate, while ſhe deprives. He ſpends his life void of care in a country, which yields him food with unbounded liberality. His limber body moves in the water, as if it had been formed for that element: he runs and climbs, as if each were his ſport: and not leſs ſtrong and healthy than light and active, his different conſtitution ſupports all the accidents and diſeaſes of his climate, under which ſo many

* Camper has ſhown, in the Haarlem Tranſactions, that the negro has the centres of motion nearer together than the european, and in conſequence poſſeſſes greater elaſticity of body.

europeans

europeans ſink. What to him are the tormenting ſenſations of ſuperiour joys, for which he was not formed? The materials were not wanting: but Nature took him in hand, and formed of him what was moſt fit for his country, and the happineſs of his life. Either no Africa ſhould have been created, or it was requiſite, that negroes ſhould be made to inhabit Africa.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Organization of Man in the Iſlands of the torrid Zone.*

Nothing is more difficult, than to characteriſe under certain leading features the countries ſcattered over the boſom of the ocean. For as they are remote from each other, and have been peopled for the moſt part by different emigrators from near or diſtant regions, and at an earlier or later period; they exhibit to the mind as motley a picture in the hiſtory of nations, as they do to the eye on a map. Yet even here the principal features never belie themſelves, in what may be termed natural organization.

1. On moſt of the aſiatic iſlands we meet with a kind of negro race, which appears to conſtitute the moſt ancient inhabitants of the country *. Yet, according to the difference of the land on which they live, theſe are more or leſs ſwarthy, with curled woolly hair: occaſionally the thick lip, flat noſe, and white teeth appear; and it is remarkable, that with theſe the negro temperament is found united. The ſame rude healthy ſtrength, the thoughtleſs diſpoſition, the noiſy love of pleaſure, which we obſerve in the blacks of the continent, are diſcoverable in the negrilloes of the iſlands: yet everywhere proportionate to their climate and mode of living. Many of theſe are at the loweſt ſtage of cultivation, having been confined to the mountains by later comers, who now occupy the ſhores and plains: and hence we have few certain and authentic accounts of them †.

Now whence comes this reſemblance of the negro form on ſuch remote iſlands? Certainly not becauſe they were peopled in early periods by colonies from Africa, but becauſe Nature works every where uniformly. Theſe too are ſituate in the regions of extreme heat, only cooled by the ſea-breeze: why then, ſhould there not be negrilloes on the iſlands, as there are negroes on the continent? eſpecially as, being the firſt inhabitants of the iſlands, they muſt bear the

* Sprengel's *Geſchichte der Philippinen*, 'Hiſtory of the Philippine Iſlands;' Forſter's Account of Borneo and other iſlands in the *Beitrægen zur Vælker und Lænderkunde*, Vol. II, p. 57, 237, &c.; *Allg. Reiſ.* Vol. II, p. 393; Le Gentil's Travels in Ebeling's Collection, Vol. IV, p. 70.

† See *Reiſen um die Welt*, 'Voyages round the World,' Vol. I, p. 554, Leipſic, 1775.

ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt marks of the plaſtic Nature of the climate. Among theſe muſt be reckoned the igolots of the Philippine iſlands, and ſimilar blacks on moſt of the reſt; as likewiſe the ſavages on the weſtern coaſt of New Holland, whom Dampier deſcribes as the moſt wretched of mankind, and who appear to be the loweſt claſs of this race, inhabiting one of the moſt barren tracts on the Globe.

2. In later times other people have ſettled on theſe iſlands, whoſe form is leſs ſtriking. Such, according to Forſter *, are the *biajoos* of Borneo, the *alfoories* in ſome of the Moluccas, the *ſubadves* of Mindanao, and the inhabitants of the Ladrone iſlands, the Carolines, and others farther ſouth in the Pacific ocean. They are ſaid to have great reſemblance in language, complexion, form, and manners: their hair is long and ſleek, and we know from late voyagers to what a degree of attractive beauty this race has been capable of arriving in Otaheite, and ſome iſlands near it. Yet this beauty is altogether ſenſual, and the laſt impreſſion of the plaſtic climate is obſervable in the flattiſh noſes of the otaheiteans.

3. The malays, arabs, chineſe, japaneſe, and ſome others, are ſtill later comers on many of theſe iſlands, and bear ſtill clearer traces of their deſcent. In ſhort, this group of iſlands may be conſidered as a repoſitory of forms, variouſly modified according to the character they bore, the land they inhabit, the time of their reſidence, and the way of life they have enjoyed; ſo that the moſt ſtriking differences are frequently found bordering, on each other. The new-hollanders that Dampier ſaw, and the inhabitants of Mallicollo, appear to be of the coarſeſt form; and the people of the New-Hebrides, New-Caledonia, New-Zealand, &c., riſe gradually above theſe. The Ulyſſes of theſe regions, Reinhold Forſter †, has given us ſuch a learned and intelligent account of the ſpecies and varieties of the human race in them, that we cannot but wiſh we had ſimilar materials for a *philoſophico-phyſical geography* of other parts of the World, as foundations for a hiſtory of man. I now turn to the laſt and moſt difficult quarter of the Globe.

* *Beitræge zur Vælkerkunde*, Vol. II, p. 258.

† Forſter's *Bemerkungen auf ſeiner Reiſe um die Welt*, 'Remarks on his Voyage round the World,' Berlin, 1783, § 6.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Organization of the Americans.*

No one is ignorant, that America extends through all the zones, and experiences not only the extremes of heat and cold, but the moſt ſudden changes of weather; while at the ſame time it's ſurface exhibits the loftieſt and ſteepeſt mountains, with the moſt level and extenſive plains. It is a matter of no leſs notoriety, that this longextended quarter of the Globe, deeply indented with large bays on the eaſtern ſide, has a chain of mountains ſtretching from north to ſouth, whence both it's climate and living productions have little ſimilitude with thoſe of the old world. Hence our attention is drawn to it's people, as to the progeny of an oppoſite hemiſphere.

On the other hand, it reſults from the very ſituation of America, that this extenſive region, ſo widely ſeparated from the reſt of the world, could not have been peopled from many different points. The winds and ſeas cut off it's connexion with Europe, Africa, and the ſouthern parts of Aſia; and there is no ſhort paſſage to it from the old world, except on it's north-weſtern ſide. This, in a certain degree, diminiſhes the expectation, we may have been led to form, of a great diverſity in it: for if the majority of it's inhabitants, and they by whom it was firſt peopled, came from one and the ſame region, and gradually ſpread themſelves, till at length they filled the whole country, probably with little intermixture of others; the make and diſpoſition of it's natives would diſplay a certain uniformity, to which there would be few exceptions, in ſpite of the climate. And this the various accounts we have of North and South America confirm: for they tell us, that, notwithſtanding the great variety of climates, and of nations who frequently endeavour to diſtinguiſh themſelves from others by arts, that do the greateſt violence to nature, the figure of the people in general bears a ſtamp of uniformity, not to be found even in Negroland. In America, therefore, the organization of the inhabitants is in ſome degree a ſimpler problem, than in any other more compound region; and for it's ſolution it will be moſt advantageous, to begin with that ſide, where it is probable the paſſage into it took place.

The nations of America viſited by Cook * were from the middle ſize to ſix feet high. Their complexion inclined to copper-colour, the form of their faces

* W. Ellis's Account of Cook's third Voyage, p. 114 and following.

to

to ſquare; their cheek-bones were ſomewhat prominent, and they had little beard. Their hair was long and black, their limbs were ſtrongly made, and only their feet misſhapen. He who is well acquainted with the nations in the eaſt of Aſia, and the neighbouring iſlands, will obſerve the gradual tranſition, line for line. I do not draw this concluſion from a ſingle nation, for probably many, even of various races, paſſed over: but they were orientals, as appears from their figure, and even their deformities; and eſpecially from their ornaments and manners. Were the whole north-weſtern coaſt of America, in which we now know but two or three ports, thoroughly explored; and had we as accurate delineations of the inhabitants, as Cook, for example, has given us of the chiefs of Oonalaſka and other places; much more light would be thrown upon the ſubject. It would appear, whether the chineſe and japaneſe have alſo paſſed over lower down on the extenſive coaſt, of which we yet know ſo little, and what traditions of a civilized bearded nation are to be found there. The ſpaniards have indeed the beſt opportunity of making theſe diſcoveries from Mexico, if they ſhared with the two greateſt maritime nations of Europe, the engliſh and french, the honourable ſpirit of advancing ſcience. In the mean time may Laxmann's viſit to the northern coaſt, and the attempts of the engliſh from Canada, procure us ſome new and valuable information.

It is ſingular, that ſo many accounts agree in repreſenting the weſtern nations of North America as the moſt civilized. The *aſſinipoels* are famed for their ſize, ſtrength, and agility; the *chriſtinaux* for their livelineſs and loquacity*. We have little information, however, reſpecting theſe nations, and the ſhawaneſe in general, that can be deemed much better than fable: our more authentic accounts begin properly with the naudoweſſees. With theſe, the chippewaws, and the winnobages, Carver† has made us acquainted; with the cherokees, chickaſaws, and muſkegoes, Adair‡; with the Five Nations, as they are called, Colden, Rogers, and Timberlake; with thoſe to the north, the french miſſionaries: and, amid all their varieties, who is not impreſſed with the idea of one prevailing form, of one predominant character? This conſiſts in that firm health and permanent ſtrength, that proud ſavage love of liberty and war, which their mode of life and domeſtic economy, their education and government, their cuſtoms and occupations both in peace and war, equally tend to promote. A character, that ſtands alone on the Globe, both in it's vices, and in it's virtues.

If we aſk, how this character was acquired; much, in my opinion, may be

* *Allg. Reiſ.* Vol. XVI, p. 646.

† Carver's Travels through the interior Parts of North America, 1776—8.

‡ Adair's Hiſtory of the American Indians.

explained from their gradual migration from the north of Aſia, and the general conſtitution of their new abode. They came over hardy, uncultivated nations, faſhioned amid mountains and ſtorms. When they had paſſed the coaſts, and found a finer, extenſive, open country before them, muſt not their character in time have moulded itſelf to the land? Between large lakes and rivers, in theſe woods, in theſe ſavannahs, other nations were formed, than on thoſe raw and cold lands declining to the ſea. As the lakes, mountains, and rivers divided, ſo did the nations: tribe waged inveterate war with tribe, and hence that hoſtile hatred of each to other became a predominant feature of nations, in other reſpects the moſt equanimous. Hence they became warlike, and addicted themſelves to every local circumſtance, that could increaſe their *magnanimity*. Their prieſts are the ſhamans, or magicians, of the north of Aſia; their religion being the ſame, only dreſſed in an american garb. Their healthy air, the verdure of their fields and woods, and the invigorating waters of their lakes and rivers, have infuſed into them the ſpirit of liberty and property in this land. By what herds of wretched ruffians have all the ſiberian nations, even to Kamtſchatka, ſuffered themſelves to be ſubjugated! while theſe firmer ſavages have given ground, it is true, but never bowed their necks to the yoke.

As their character may be traced to this origin, ſo may their ſingular taſte in ornamenting themſelves. All the nations of America eradicate the beard: conſequently they muſt have migrated from ſome region, where little beard was generated, the cuſtom naturally ſpringing from a wiſh to reſemble their anceſtors. The eaſtern part of Aſia is ſuch a region. Thus, in a climate capable of ſupplying this part with more nutritious juices, they held it in averſion: and this averſion they ſtill retain; whence they begin it's extirpation, as ſoon as it appears. The people in the north of Aſia have round heads, while more to the eaſt their figure inclines to a ſquare: what then could be more natural, than the wiſh of the american nations, not to degenerate from the reſemblance of their forefathers, and to mould their faces on this principle? Probably they dreaded the ſofter oval as an effeminate form, and thus endeavoured by force of art, to retain the compreſſed warlike countenances of their progenitors. The northern roundheads formed the head to a ſphere, in conformity to the figure of the higheſt north: others formed it ſquare, or compreſſed the head between the ſhoulders, that the new climate might effect no change either in their countenance or ſtature. No country, except the eaſt of Aſia, affords examples of ſuch violent attempts at embelliſhment; and, as we have ſeen, probably for the ſame purpoſe, to preſerve the appearance of the race in diſtant regions: it is even likely, that

they brought with them into America the taſte for this mode of beautifying themſelves.

Laſtly, the red coppercolour of the americans is leaſt of all capable of miſleading us: for already in the eaſt of Aſia the complexion had become of a brown red, and it is probable, that the air of a different quarter of the Globe, the practice of inunction, and other circumſtances, had heightened the colour. I much leſs wonder, that the negro is black, and the american red, after having dwelt for ſome thouſands of years in ſuch different climates, than I ſhould if all the inhabitants of the Globe were fair, or brown. Even in the more coarſely organized brutes do we not ſee the ſolid parts themſelves alter with change of climate? But which is moſt wonderful, an alteration of the limbs of the body in their general proportion and economy, or a little more or leſs colour in the membrane beneath the ſkin?

After this introduction, let us accompany the people of America downwards, and obſerve how the uniformity of their primitive character has been variouſly modified, yet never loſt.

The moſt northern americans are deſcribed as ſmall, yet ſtrong: the interiour parts are inhabited by the ſtouteſt and handſomeſt tribes: they that are farther to the ſouth, in the flat country of Florida, are inferiour in ſtrength and courage. It is remarkable, ſays George Forſter *, that amid all the characteriſtic varieties of the ſeveral north-americans delineated in Cook's work, one general caſt of countenance prevails through the whole, which was perfectly familiar to me, and which, if my memory do not deceive me, I obſerved even in the peſherays of Tierra del Fuego.

Of New Mexico we know little. The ſpaniards found the inhabitants of this country well-clothed, induſtrious, and neat, their lands cultivated with care, and their towns built with ſtone. Poor nation! what are you now, not having defended yourſelf like *los bravos gentes* [the brave fellows] on the mountains? The apaches proved themſelves a brave active people, whom the ſpaniards were unable to ſubdue: and how advantageouſly does Pages † ſpeak of the chactaws, yataches, and tekaws!

Mexico is now a melancholy picture of what it was under it's own kings. Scarcely a tenth part of it's inhabitants remain ‡: and how is their character

* *Gotting. Magazin*, 1783, p. 929.

† Pagès *Voyage autour du Monde*, 'Voyage round the World,' Paris, 1783, p. 17, 18, 26, 40, 52, 54, &c.

‡ *Storia antica del Meſſico*, 'Ancient Hiſtory of Mexico,' from which there is an extract in the Gottingen Review, *Gœt. gelehrten Anzeigen*, for 1781, ſupplem. 35, 36; and there is another more copious in the Kiel Magazine, Vol. II, N° I, p. 38, &c.

changed

changed by the moſt unjuſt of oppreſſions! I do not believe there exiſts on the face of the Earth a more deep, inveterate hatred, than the ſuffering american cheriſhes againſt his oppreſſors, the ſpaniards: for however highly Pages, for example *, extols the greater mildneſs the ſpaniards now diſplay towards their ſlaves, he cannot avoid noticing in other places the dejection of theſe poor creatures, galled by the yoke, and the barbarity exerciſed towards thoſe, who have maintained their freedom. The mexicans are deſcribed as of a deep olive complexion, with pleaſing countenances, and wellmade; their eyes large, lively, and ſparkling; their ſenſes quick; and their limbs active: but their ſpirits are depreſſed by ſlavery.

In the centre of America, where every thing ſinks beneath humid heat, and europeans lead the moſt miſerable lives, the pliable nature of the americans maintains itſelf uninjured. Wafer †, who, having eſcaped from the buccaneers, reſided ſome time among the ſavages on the continent, relates the friendly reception they gave him, and deſcribes their perſons and way of life in the following words. 'The men were from five to ſix feet in height, big boned, broad cheſted, and well-proportioned. There was not a cripple or deformed perſon to be ſeen among them. Their joints are ſupple, they are active, and they run with great ſpeed. Their eyes are gray and lively, their faces round, their lips thin, mouth ſmall, and chin wellformed. Their hair is long and black, and they take great delight in combing it frequently. Their teeth are white and regular: and they paint and ornament themſelves like the reſt of the indians.' Are theſe the people, that are repreſented to us as an enervated, unfiniſhed race of men! theſe, who inhabit the moſt debilitating region of the iſthmus!

Fermin, an accurate examiner of nature, deſcribes the indians of Surinam as well-made, and as cleanly as any people on the face of the Earth ‡. 'As ſoon as they riſe in the morning, they bathe, and their wives anoint them with oil, to preſerve their ſkin, and defend them from the ſtings of the moſchettoes. They are of a cinnamon colour, inclining to red; though they are as fair as we when born. A crippled or ricketty perſon is not to be found among them. Their long coal-black hair does not turn gray till extreme old age. They have black eyes, ſharp viſages, little or no beard, plucking it out by the roots as faſt as it appears. Their fine white teeth remain ſound to the laſt: and even the women, delicate as they appear to be, enjoy almoſt uninterrupted health.' Let a

* P. 88 and following.

† *Allg. Reiſ.* Vol. XV, p. 263. and following.

‡ Fermin's *Beſch. von Surinam*, 'Deſcription of Surinam,' Vol. I, p. 39, 41.

man

man read Bancroft's deſcription * of the brave caribs, indolent worrows, ſerious accawaws, ſocial arrowauks, &c., and, I am perſuaded, he will find the notion of the feeble frame and worthleſs character of theſe indians, even in the moſt ſultry climate in the World, a prejudice no longer tenable.

If we proceed ſouthwards to the innumerable tribes of Braſil, what a number of nations, languages, and characters ſhall we find! yet deſcribed by ancient and modern travellers as greatly ſimilar †. 'Their hair never grows gray,' ſays Lery, 'they are ever gay and active, as their fields are continually green.' The brave tapinamboes, to avoid the portugueſe yoke, withdrew into the unexplored and impenetrable woods, as other warlike nations have done. Such of more docile diſpoſitions, as the miſſionaries of Paraguay contrived to ſubject, have degenerated almoſt to childiſhneſs: but this was a natural conſequence, and neither they, nor their valiant neighbours, can on this account be deemed the dregs of mankind ‡.

But we are approaching the throne of Nature, and of the moſt barbarous tyranny, the kingdom of Peru, rich in mines and miſery. Here the poor indians are moſt ſeverely oppreſſed; and their oppreſſors are monks, or europeans more effeminate than women. All the powers of theſe tender children of Nature, who once lived ſo happily under their incas, are now compreſſed into the ſingle faculty of ſuffering and forbearing with ſilent hatred. 'At firſt ſight,' ſays Pinto §, governor of Braſil, 'a ſouth-american appears gentle and harmleſs: but on a cloſer inſpection, ſomething ſavage, miſtruſtful, gloomy, and repining, is diſcoverable in his countenance.' May not all this be accounted for by the fate of the people? They were gentle and harmleſs, when you viſited them; and the unfaſhioned wildneſs of a welldiſpoſed race ſhould have received that improvement, of which it was capable. What otherwiſe can you now expect, than that, gloomy and miſtruſtful, they ſhould cheriſh in their hearts the moſt profound, ineradicable diſcontent? They are bruiſed worms, that appear hateful to our eyes, in conſequence of our having cruſhed them with our feet. The negro ſlave in Peru is a lordly creature, compared with the oppreſſed wretches, to whom the country of right belongs.

Yet it is not wholly taken from them, for happily the Cordilleras, and the waſtes of Chili, are there, to beſtow freedom on many valiant nations. Such,

* Bancroft's Eſſay on the Natural Hiſtory of Guiana.

† Acunha, Gumilla, Lery, Marggraf, Condamine, &c.

‡ Dobritzhoffer's *Geſch. der Abiponer*, 'Hiſtory of the Abiponians,' Vienna, 1783. See the deſcription of ſeveral nations in father Gumilla's *Oronoco illuſtrado, &c.*

§ Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, Vol. I, p. 537.

for

for inſtance, are the unconquered maloches, puelches, and araucoans, and the patagonian tehuelhets, or the gigantic ſouthern people, ſix feet high, big, and ſtrong. 'Their perſons are not diſagreeable; they have round faces, ſomewhat flat; lively eyes; white teeth; and long black hair. I ſaw ſome,' ſays Commerſon *, 'with long but not very thick whiſkers. Their ſkin is copper-coloured, as in moſt of the americans. They wander over the extenſive plains of South America, with their wives and children, conſtantly on horſeback, in purſuit of game.' Falkener and Vidaure † have given us the beſt accounts of theſe, and beyond them nothing remains but the cold barren verge of the land, Tierra del Fuego, and in it the peſherays, probably the loweſt ſpecies of man ‡. Diminutive, ugly, and of an inſupportable ſmell, they feed on ſhell-fiſh, wrap themſelves in a ſeal's ſkin, freeze all the year in diſmal winter, and, though they have plenty of wood, are deſtitute of ſolid houſes, and ſtrangers to the warmth of fire. Happy is it, that compaſſionate Nature has ſuffered the land toward the ſouth pole to terminate here: had it extended farther, what wretched ſemblances of man muſt there have ſlumbered out their lives in benumbing froſt!

Theſe are ſome of the principal features of the nations of America; and what upon the whole may be inferred from them?

In the firſt place, that we ſhould ſpeak generally of the nations of a quarter of the Globe, which extends through all the different zones, as ſeldom as poſſible. Whoever ſays America is warm, healthy, wet, low, and fertile, ſays truly: and if another ſhould ſay the reverſe, he would equally ſpeak truth, that is, with reſpect to different ſeaſons and places. So is it with the american nations, for there are men of a whole hemiſphere, and of each of the zones. At one extremity and the other are dwarfs, and cloſe by the dwarfs are giants: in the midſt inhabit nations of intermediate and more or leſs wellformed proportions, gentle and warlike, indolent and active, of all the various ways of life, and of every caſt of character.

Secondly: there is nothing to prevent this branchy ſtock of mankind, with all it's numerous ramifications, from having ariſen from one ſingle root, and conſequently diſplaying an uniformity in it's produce. And this is meant, when people ſpeak of the prevailing figure and features of the Americans §. Ulloa

* *Journal encyclop.* 1772. Several teſtimonies are brought together in Zimmermann's *Geſch. der Menſchheit*, 'Hiſtory of Man,' Vol. I, p. 59, and Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, Vol. I, p. 540.

† Falkener's Deſcription of Patagonia: Vidaure's hiſtory of the kingdom of Chili, in Ebeling's Collection of Voyages, Vol. IV, p. 108.

‡ See Forſter's Voyage, Vol. II; Cavendiſh; Bougainville; &c.

§ Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, Vol. I, p. 539.

obſerved

obſerved particularly in the central parts the ſmall forehead covered with hair, little eyes, thin hooked noſe, broad face, large ears, handſome legs, diminutive feet, and corpulent bodies: and theſe characteriſtics extend beyond Mexico. Pinto adds, that the noſe is ſomewhat flat; the eyes black or hazel, and piercing though ſmall; the ears remote from the face *: all which are obſervable in the delineations of very diſtant people. This general phyſiognomy, in various ſtates of improvement according to the country and climate, appears as a family likeneſs, diſtinguiſhable in thoſe that differ moſt, and denotes a pretty uniform origin. Had people from all quarters of the Globe arrived in America at very diſtant periods, the diverſity of the human ſpecies muſt have been greater here, whether they had intermixed with each other or not. Blue eyes and light hair are not to be found throughout the whole country; the blue-eyed ceſſares of Chili, and the acanſas of Florida, have diſappeared in modern times.

Thirdly: if, after this form, we were to aſcribe to the americans a leading or common character, it would be goodneſs of heart, and infantile innocence: a character, which their ancient eſtabliſhments, their habits, their few arts, and above all their conduct towards the europeans, confirm. Sprung from a ſavage land, and unſupported by any aſſiſtance from the civilized world, all the progreſs they made was their own; and in their feeble beginnings of cultivation they exhibit a very inſtructive picture of man.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Concluſion.*

O FOR a magic wand, which, at once transforming into faithful pictures all the vague verbal deſcriptions † that have hitherto been given, might preſent man with a gallery of figures of his fellow-creatures! But we are yet far from the accompliſhment of ſuch an anthropological wiſh. For centuries the Earth has been traverſed with the ſword and the croſs, by toymen and brandy-merchants: no one thought of the peaceful pencil, and it has ſcarcely entered the minds of any of the numerous herd of travellers, that words do not paint forms, particularly that, which is of all the moſt delicate, moſt various, and ever changing. For a long time men ſought after the wonderful and dealt in fiction: then they occaſionally idealized, even when they gave figures; without conſider-

* Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, Vol. I, p. 537.

† He who wiſhes for farther accounts of particular features will find them in Buffon's natural Hiſtory, Vol. VI, Mart. ed.; and in Blumenbach's learned work *de Varietate Generis humani*, 'On the Varieties of the human Species.'

ing, that no faithful zoologiſt idealizes, when he delineates foreigh animals. And is human nature alone unworthy of that accurate attention, with which plants and animals are drawn? Yet, as in modern days the laudable ſpirit of obſervation has begun to be excited towards the human ſpecies, and we have delineations of ſome nations, though but few, with which thoſe of de Bry, or le Brun, not to mention the miſſionaries, will bear no compariſon *; it would be a valuable preſent to the world, if any one, who has ſufficient abilities, would collect ſuch ſcattered delineations of the varieties of our ſpecies as are authentic, and thus lay the foundations of a perſpicuous *natural philoſophy and phyſiognomy of man*. Art could not eaſily be employed in a more philoſophical purſuit: and an anthropologic map of the Earth, ſimilar to the zoological one ſketched by Zimmermann, in which nothing ſhould be noticed except real varieties of man, but theſe in all their appearances and relations, would crown the philanthropic work.

* Not that I undervalue the attempts of theſe gentlemen: but to me le Brun's figures have much of a french air; and thoſe of de Bry, which have been badly copied into moſt ſubſequent publications, do not appear to be authentic. Hodges, too, according to Forſter, has idealized his otaheiteans †. Yet it is highly to be wiſhed, that, after the commencements we have, the accurate and natural-hiſtoric manner of delineating the human ſpecies may be extended uninterruptedly to all the regions of the Globe. Niebuhr, Parkinſon, Cook, Hœſt, Georgi, Marion, and ſome others, I reckon among theſe beginners: Cook's laſt Voyage, if we may truſt what Fame ſays of it's engravings, commences a new and higher period, the continuation of which in other parts of the world I ardently deſire, and that they may be rendered of more general utility and more extenſively known.

† But ſtill greater deviations may be ſuſpected, to have been committed by the artiſt, who attended Cook's laſt voyage. Either he, or the engraver, to whoſe favourite tool the department of antarctic forms was entruſted, ſeems to have ſacrificed the realities before their eyes, to a faint reminiſcence and ſtale repetition of Cipriani-Beauties. F.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK VII.

THE picture of nations hitherto ſketched muſt be conſidered only as the foreground, ſerving as a baſis to farther obſervations: while it's groups anſwer the purpoſe of the *templa* of the augurs in the ſkies, forming definite ſpaces for our contemplation, and aids to our memory. Let us ſee what they afford towards a philoſophy of our ſpecies.

### CHAPTER I.

*Notwithſtanding the Varieties of the human Form, there is but one and the ſame Species of Man throughout the Whole of our Earth.*

No two leaves of any one tree in nature are to be found perfectly alike; and ſtill leſs do two human faces, or human frames, reſemble each other. Of what endleſs variety is our artful ſtructure ſuſceptible! Our ſolids are decompoſable into ſuch minute and multifariouſly interwoven fibres, as no eye can trace; and theſe are connected by a gluten of ſuch a delicate compoſition, as the utmoſt ſkill is inſufficient to analyſe. Yet theſe conſtitute the leaſt part of us: they are nothing more than the containing veſſels and conduits of the variouſly compounded, highly animated fluid, exiſting in much greater quantity, by means of which we live and enjoy life. 'No man,' ſays Haller *, 'is exactly ſimilar to another in his internal ſtructure: the courſes of the nerves and bloodveſſels differ in millions and millions of caſes, ſo that amid the variations of theſe delicate parts, we are ſcarcely able to diſcover in what they agree.' But if the eye of the anatomiſt can perceive this infinite variety, how much greater muſt that be, which dwells in the inviſible powers of ſuch an artful organization! ſo that every man is ultimately a world, in external appearance indeed ſimilar to others, but internally an individual being, with whom no other coincides.

* Preface to Buffon's Nat. Hiſt. Vol. III.

And ſince man is no independent ſubſtance, but is connected with all the elements of nature; living by inſpiration of the air, and deriving nutriment from the moſt oppoſite productions of the Earth, in his meats and drinks; conſuming fire, while he abſorbs light, and contaminates the air he breathes; awake or aſleep, in motion or at reſt, contributing to the change of the univerſe; ſhall not he alſo be changed by it? It is far too little, to compare him to the abſorbing ſponge, the ſparkling tinder: he is a multitudinous harmony, a living ſelf, on whom the harmony of all the powers that ſurround him operates.

The whole courſe of a man's life is change: the different periods of his life are tales of transformation, and the whole ſpecies is one continued metamorphoſis. Flowers drop and wither; others ſprout out and bud: the vaſt tree bears at once all the ſeaſons on it's head. If, from a calculation of the inſenſible perſpiration alone, a man of eighty have renovated his whole body at leaſt four and twenty times *; who can trace the variations of matter and it's forms through all the race of mankind upon the Earth, amid all the cauſes of change; when not one point on our complicated Globe, not one wave in the current of time, reſembles another? A few centuries only have elapſed ſince the inhabitants of Germany were patagonians: but they are ſo no longer, and the inhabitants of it's future climates will not equal us. If now we go back to thoſe times, when every thing upon Earth was apparently ſo different; the times for inſtance, when elephants lived in Siberia and North-America, and thoſe large animals exiſted, the bones of which are to be found on the Ohio; if men then lived in thoſe regions, how different muſt they have been from thoſe, who now inhabit them! Thus the hiſtory of man is ultimately a theatre of transformations, which He alone can review, who animates all theſe figures, and feels and enjoys in them all. He builds up and deſtroys, improves and alters forms, while he changes the World around them. The wanderer upon Earth, the tranſient ephemeron, can only admire the wonders of this great ſpirit in a narrow circle, enjoy the form that belongs to him in the general choir, adore, and diſappear with this form. 'I too was in Arcadia:' is the monumental inſcription of all living beings in the ever-changing, ever-renewing creation.

As the human intellect, however, ſeeks unity in every kind of variety, and the divine mind, it's prototype, has ſtamped the moſt innumerable multiplicity upon the Earth with unity, we may venture from the vaſt realm of change to revert to the ſimpleſt poſition: *all mankind are only one and the ſame ſpecies.*

* According to Bernoulli: ſee Haller's Phyſiolog. Vol. VIII, L. 30, where will be found a multitude of obſervations on the changes of human life.

How

How many ancient fables of human monſters and prodigies have already diſappeared before the light of hiſtory! and where tradition ſtill repeats remnants of theſe, I am fully convinced, more accurate inquiry will explain them into more beautiful truths. We are now acquainted with the ourang-outang, and know, that he has no claim to ſpeech, or to be conſidered as man: and when we have a more exact account of the ourang-kubub, and ourang-guhu, the tailed ſavages of the woods in Borneo, Sumatra, and the Nicobar iſlands will vaniſh *. The men with reverted feet in Malacca †, the probably ricketty nation of dwarfs in Madagaſcar, the men habited like women in Florida, and ſome others, deſerve ſuch an inveſtigation as has already been beſtowed on the albinoes, the dondoes, the patagonians, and the aprons of the hottentot females ‡. Men, who ſucceed in removing wants from the creation, falſehoods from our memory, and diſgraces from our nature, are to the realms of truth, what the heroes of mythology were to the primitive world; they leſſen the number of monſters on the Earth.

I could wiſh, too, that the affinity of man to the ape had never been urged ſo far, as to overlook, while ſeeking a ſcale of Being, the actual ſteps and intervals, without which no ſcale can exiſt. What for example can the ricketty ourang-outang explain in the figure of the kamtſchadale, the little pigmy in the ſize of the greenlander, or the pongo in the patagonian? for all theſe forms would have ariſen from the nature of man, had there been no ſuch thing as an ape upon the Earth. And if men proceed ſtill farther, and deduce certain deformities of our ſpecies from an intermixture with apes, the conjecture, in my opinion, is not leſs improbable than degrading. Moſt of theſe apparent reſemblances of the ape exiſt in countries where no apes are to be found; as the reclining ſkulls of the calmucs and mallicolleſe, the prominent ears of the pevas and amicuans, the ſmall hands of ſome ſavages in Carolina, and other inſtances, teſtify. Even theſe appearances, as ſoon as we have ſurmounted the illuſion of the firſt view, have ſo little of the ape, that the calmuc and the negro remain completely men, even in the form of the head, and the mallicolleſe diſ-

* Even Marſden mentions theſe in his hiſtory of Sumatra, but only from hearſay. Monboddo, in his work on the Origin and Progreſs of Language, Vol. I, p. 219 and following, has collected all the traditions reſpecting men with tails he could find. Profeſſor Blumenbach, *De Generis humani Varietate*, 'On the Varieties of the human Species,' has ſhown from what ſources the delineations of tailed men of the woods have been derived.

† Sonnerat alſo, in his *Voyage aux Indes*, 'Voyage to India,' Vol. II, p. 103, ſpeaks of theſe, but from report merely. Commerſon has revived the ſtory of dwarfs in Madagaſcar after Flaucourt; but later travellers have rejected it. On the hermaphrodites of Florida ſee Heyne's critical eſſay in the *Comment. Societ. Reg. Gœtting.*, 'Memoirs of the Royal Society of Gottingen,' for the year 1778, p. 993.

‡ See Sparmann's Voyage, p. 177.

plays

plays capacities, that many other nations do not poſſeſs. In fact, apes and men never were one and the ſame genus, and I wiſhed to rectify the ſlight remains of the old fable, that in ſome place or other upon the Earth they lived in community, and enjoyed no barren intercourſe *. For each genus Nature has done enough, and to each has given it's proper progeny. The ape ſhe has divided into as many ſpecies and varieties as poſſible, and extended theſe as far as ſhe could: but thou, O man, honour thyſelf; neither the pongo nor the gibbon is thy brother: the american and the negro are: theſe therefore thou ſhouldſt not oppreſs, or murder, or ſteal; for they are men, like thee: with the ape thou canſt not enter into fraternity.

Laſtly, I could wiſh the diſtinctions between the human ſpecies, that have been made from a laudable zeal for diſcriminating ſcience, not carried beyond due bounds. Some for inſtance have thought fit, to employ the term of *races* for four or five diviſions, originally made in conſequence of country or complexion: but I ſee no reaſon for this appellation. Race refers to a difference of origin, which in this caſe does not exiſt, or in each of theſe countries, and under each of theſe complexions, compriſes the moſt different races. For every nation is one people, having it's own national form, as well as it's own language: the climate, it is true, ſtamps on each it's mark, or ſpreads over it a ſlight veil, but not ſufficient to deſtroy the original national character. This originality of character extends even to families, and it's tranſitions are as variable as imperceptible. In ſhort, there are neither four or five races, nor excluſive varieties, on this Earth. Complexions run into each other: forms follow the genetic character: and upon the whole, all are at laſt but ſhades of the ſame great picture, extending through all ages, and over all parts of the Earth. They belong not, therefore, ſo properly to ſyſtematic natural hiſtory, as to the phyſico-geographical hiſtory of man.

* In the *Auſzuegen aus dem Tagebuch eines neuen Reiſenden nach Aſien*, 'Extracts from the Journal of a late Traveller in Aſia,' Leipſic, 1784, p. 256, this is aſſerted anew, ſtill only from report.

## CHAPTER II.

*The one Species of Man has naturalized itſelf in every Climate upon Earth.*

OBSERVE yon locuſts of the Earth, the kalmuc and mungal: they are fitted for no region but their own hills and mountains *. The light rider flies on his little horſe over immenſe tracts of the deſert; he knows how to invigorate his fainting courſer, and by opening a vein in his neck, to reſtore his own powers, when *He* ſinks with fatigue. No rain falls on many parts of theſe regions, which are refreſhed ſolely by the dew, while inexhauſtible fertility clothes the earth with continually renovated verdure. Throughout many extenſive tracts no tree is to be ſeen, no ſpring of freſh water to be diſcovered. Here theſe wild tribes, yet preſerving good order among themſelves, wander about among the luxuriant graſs, and paſture their herds: the horſes, their aſſociates, know their voices, and live like them in peace. With thoughtleſs indifference ſits the indolent kalmuc, contemplating the undiſturbed ſerenity of his ſky, while his ear catches every ſound, that pervades the deſert his eye is unable to ſcan. In every other region of the Earth the mungal has either degenerated or improved: in his own country he is what he was thouſands of years ago, and ſuch will he continue, as long as it remains unaltered by Nature or by art.

The arab of the deſert † belongs to it, as much as his noble horſe, and his patient, indefatigable camel. As the mungal wanders over his heights, and among his hills, ſo wanders the better-formed bedouin over his extenſive aſiatic-african deſerts; alſo a nomade, but a nomade of *his own* region. With this his ſimple clothing, his maxims of life, his manners, and his character, are in uniſon; and, after the lapſe of thouſands of years, his tent ſtill preſerves the wiſdom of his forefathers. A lover of liberty, he deſpiſes wealth and pleaſure, is fleet in the courſe, a dextrous manager of his horſe, of whom he is as careful as of himſelf, and equally dextrous in handling the javelin. His figure is lean and muſcular; his complexion brown; his bones ſtrong. He is indefatigable in ſupporting labour, bold and enterprizing, faithful to his word, hoſpitable and

* For particular regions ſee Pallas and others already quoted. The account given by G. Opitz of his life and impriſonment among a kalmuc horde at Yaik would be a very deſcriptive picture of their mode of living, if it were not embelliſhed with ſo many of the editor's remarks, which give it an air of romance.

† Beſide the many ancient travels in Arabia ſee thoſe of Pages, Vol. II, p. 62—87.



magnanimous

magnanimous, and, connected with his fellows by the desert, he makes one common cause with all. From the dangers of his mode of life he has imbibed wariness and shy mistrust; from his solitary abode, the feelings of revenge, friendship, enthusiasm, and pride. Wherever an arab is found, on the Nile or the Euphrates, on Libanus or in Senegal, nay even in Zanguebar or the islands of the indian ocean, if a foreign climate have not by length of time changed him into a coloniſt, he will display his original arabian character.

The californian, on the verge of the earth, in his barren country, exposed as he is to want, and amid the vicissitudes of his climate, complains not of heat or cold, eludes the force of hunger, though with the utmost difficulty, and enjoys happiness in his native land. 'God alone can tell,' says a missionary *, how many thousand miles a californian, that has attained the age of eighty, must have wandered over before he finds a grave. Many of them change their quarters perhaps a hundred times in a year, sleeping scarcely three nights together on the same spot, or in the same region. They lie down wherever night overtakes them, without paying the least regard to the filthiness of the soil, or endeavouring to secure themselves from noxious vermin. Their dark brown skin serves them instead of coat and cloak. Their furniture consists of a bow and arrows, a stone for a knife, a bone or sharp stake to dig up roots, the shell of a tortoise for a cradle, a gut or a bladder to carry water, and, if they be peculiarly fortunate, a pouch made of the fibres of the aloe, somewhat in the fashion of a net, to contain their utensils and provision. They feed on roots, and all sorts of small seeds, even those of grass, which they collect with great labour; nay, when pressed by want, they pick them out of their own dung. Every thing that can be called flesh, or barely resembles it, even to bats, grubs, and worms, is to be reckoned among the dainties, on which they feast; and the leaves of certain shrubs, with their young shoots, leather, and spungy bones, are not excluded from their list of provision, when urged by hunger. Yet these poor creatures are healthy: they live to a great age, and are strong; so that it is uncommon to see a man grayheaded, and never but at a late period. They are always cheerful; for ever jesting and laughing; well made, straight, and active; they can lift stones and other things from the ground with their two foremost toes; they walk as erect as a dart to the extreme of old age; and the children go alone before they are a year old. When weary of talking, they lie down and sleep, till awakened by hunger, or the desire of eating: and as soon as they are awake, the

* *Nachrichten von Kalifornien*, 'Account of California,' Mannheim, 1773.

laugh,

laugh, the talk, and the jeſt, recommence. Thus they go on, till worn out by old age, when they meet death with calm indifference. The inhabitant of Europe,' continues the miſſionary, 'may envy the happineſs of the californian: but for this the native of California is indebted ſolely to his perfect indifference whether he poſſeſs much or little in this world, and his abſolute reſignation to the will of God in all the occurrences of life.'

In this manner I might go on, and exhibit climatic pictures of ſeveral nations, inhabiting the moſt different regions, from Kamtſchatka to Tierra del Fuego: but why ſhould I give theſe brief ſketches, ſince every traveller, who ſees with accuracy, or feels as a man, gives the ſhade of the climate to every little ſtroke of his delineations? In India, the grand reſort of commercial nations, the arab and the chineſe, the turk and the perſian, the chriſtian and the jew, the negro and the malay, the japaneſe and the gentoo, are clearly diſtinguiſhable *: thus every one bears the characters of his country and way of life on the moſt diſtant ſhores. The ancient allegorical tradition ſays, that Adam was formed out of the duſt of all the four quarters of the Globe, and animated by the powers and ſpirits of the whole Earth. Wherever his children have bent their courſe, and fixed their abode, in the lapſe of ages, there they have taken root as trees, and produced leaves and fruit adapted to the climate. Hence let us deduce a few conſequences, which ſeem to explain to us many things, that might otherwiſe be deemed ſtriking ſingularities in the hiſtory of man.

In the firſt place it is obvious why all ſenſual people, faſhioned to their country, are ſo much attached to the ſoil, and ſo inſeparable from it. The conſtitution of their body, their way of life, the pleaſures and occupations to which they have been accuſtomed from their infancy, and the whole circle of their ideas, are climatic. Deprive them of their country, you deprive them of every thing

'It has been remarked,' ſays Cranz †, 'of the ſix greenlanders, who were brought over to Denmark, that, notwithſtanding all the friendly treatment they received, and the abundance of ſtockfiſh and train-oil, with which they were ſupplied, their eyes were often turned toward the north and their native country, with melancholy looks and piteous ſighs; and at length they attempted to make their eſcape in their canoe. A ſtrong gale having driven them on the coaſt of Scania, they were brought back to Copenhagen, when two of them died of grief. Two of the others again ran away, and only one of them was retaken,

* See Mackintoſh's Travels, Vol. II, p. 27.

† *Geſch. von Grœnland*, 'Hiſtory of Greenland,' p. 355.

who wept bitterly whenever he ſaw a child in it's mother's arms; whence it was inferred, that he had a wife and children, for no one was able to converſe with him, or prepare him for baptiſm. The laſt two lived ten or twelve years in Denmark, and were employed in the pearl-fiſhery at Coldingen, but were ſo hard-worked in winter, that one of them died. The other, again attempting to eſcape, was retaken thirty or forty leagues from land, when he too died of grief.'

No words can expreſs the ſorrow and deſpair of a bought or ſtolen negro ſlave, when he leaves his native ſhore, never more to behold it while he has breath. 'Great care muſt be taken,' ſays Rœmer *, 'that the ſlaves do not get hold of a knife, either in the fort, or aboard the ſhip. To keep them in good humour on their paſſage to the Weſt Indies requires the utmoſt exertion. For this purpoſe violins are provided, with fifes and drums; they are permitted to dance; and they are aſſured, that they are going to a pleaſant country, where they may have as many wives as they pleaſe, and plenty of good food. Yet many deplorable inſtances have been known of their falling upon the crew, murdering them, and letting the ſhip drive aſhore.' But how many more deplorable inſtances have been known of theſe poor ſtolen wretches deſtroying themſelves in deſpair! Sparmann informs us †, from the mouth of a ſlavedealer, that at night they are ſeized with a kind of frenzy, which prompts them to commit murder, either on themſelves or others; 'for the painful recollection of the irreparable loſs of their country and their freedom commonly awakes by night, when the buſtle of the day ceaſes to engage their attention.' And what right have you, monſters! even to approach the country of theſe unfortunates, much leſs to tear them from it by ſtealth, fraud, and cruelty? For ages this quarter of the Globe has been theirs, and they belong to it: their forefathers purchaſed it at a dear rate, at the price of the negro form and complexion. In faſhioning them the african ſun has adopted them as it's children, and impreſſed on them it's own ſeal: wherever you convey them, this brands you as robbers, as ſtealers of men.

Secondly. Thus the wars of ſavages for their country, or on account of it's children, their brethren, torn from it, or degraded and oppreſſed, are extremely cruel. Hence, for inſtance, the laſting hatred of the natives of America toward europeans, even when theſe behave to them with tenderneſs: they cannot ſuppreſs the feeling: 'this land is ours; you have no buſineſs here.' Hence the

* Rœmer's *Nachrichten von der Kuſte Guinea*, 'Account of the Coaſt of Guinea,' p. 279.

† Sparmann's Voyages, p. 73. This humane traveller has interſperſed through his work many melancholy accounts of the capture and treatment of ſlaves, p. 195, 612, &c.

treachery

treachery of all ſavages, as they are called, even when they appear altogether ſatisfied with the courteſy of european viſitors. The moment their hereditary national feelings awake, the flame they have long with difficulty ſmothered breaks out, rages with violence, and frequently is not appeaſed, till the fleſh of the ſtranger has been torn by the teeth of the native. To us this ſeems horrible; and it is ſo, no doubt: yet the europeans firſt urged them to this miſdeed: for why did they viſit their country? why did they enter it as deſpots, arbitrarily practiſing violence and extortion *? For ages it had been to it's inhabitants the univerſe: they had inherited it from their fathers, and from them too they had inherited the barbarous practice of deſtroying in the moſt ſavage manner all, who would deprive them of their territory, tear them from it, or encroach upon their rights. Thus to them an enemy and a ſtranger are the ſame: they reſemble the *muſcipula*, which, rooted to it's ſoil, attacks every inſect that approaches it: the right of devouring an unbidden or unfriendly gueſt is the tribute they exact; as *cyclopical* a tribute as any in Europe.

Laſtly, I cannot paſs over thoſe joyful ſcenes, when a ſtolen ſon of nature reviſits his paternal ſhores, and is reſtored to the boſom of his country. When the worthy foley prieſt, Job Ben Solomon †, returned to Africa, every foley embraced him with brotherly affection, 'he being the ſecond of their countrymen, that had ever returned from ſlavery.' How ardently had he longed for this! How little was his heart ſatisfied with all the tokens of friendſhip and reſpect he received in England, which, as an enlightened, good-hearted man, he gratefully acknowledged! He was never at eaſe, till he was certain of the ſhip, that was to carry him home. This longing depends not on the ſtate or advantages of a man's native land. The hottentot Coree threw away all his european accoutrements, uſeful as they might be, to ſhare again the hardſhips of his countrymen ‡. Inſtances might be cited from almoſt every climate, and the moſt inhoſpitable countries have the ſtrongeſt attractions for their natives. Even the difficulties ſurmounted, to which body and mind are formed from infancy, impart to the natives that love of country and climate, which the inhabitants of fertile and populous plains feel much leſs, and to which the citizen of an european metropolis is almoſt a ſtranger. It is time, however, to inveſtigate the term climate

* See the editor's remarks on the unfortunate Marion's *Voyage à la Mer du Sud*, 'Voyage to the South Sea:' alſo R. Forſter's preface to the Journal of Cook's laſt Voyage, Berlin, 1781, and the accounts of the conduct of the europeans.

† *Allg. Reiſen*, Vol. III, p. 127 and following.

‡ Ib. Vol. V, p. 145. For other examples ſee Rouſſeau, in the notes to his Diſcourſe on the Inequality of Men.

more narrowly; and while ſome build ſo much upon it, in the philoſophy of the hiſtory of man, and others almoſt deny it's influence altogether, I ſhall venture on nothing more than problems.

## CHAPTER III.

### *What is Climate? and what Effect has it in forming the Body and Mind of Man?*

THE two moſt fixed points of our Globe are the poles: without theſe it could not revolve, nay probably could not be a globe. If we knew the geneſis of the poles, and the laws and effects of the magnetiſm of our Earth on the various bodies it contains, ſhould we not have found the warp, which Nature, in the formation of beings, afterwards variouſly interwove with other ſuperiour powers? But, notwithſtanding the many and fine experiments that have been made, as we yet know little of it on the whole *, we are ſtill in the dark with reſpect to the baſis of all climates from the polar regions. At ſome period, perhaps, the magnet will render us the ſame ſervice in the ſphere of phyſical powers, as it has already full as unexpectedly on ſea and land.

The revolution of our Globe about it's own axis, and round the Sun, affords us a nearer indication of climates; but here too the application of even generally admitted laws is difficult and deceptive. The zones of the ancients have not been confirmed by our later knowledge of foreign parts, as, phyſically conſidered, they were founded on ignorance of them. It is the ſame with our calculations of heat and cold from the quantity and angle of the ſolar beams. As a mathematical problem, the effect of theſe has been induſtriouſly calculated with the greateſt accuracy; but the mathematician himſelf would deem it an abuſe of his rule, if the philoſopher, in writing the hiſtory of climates, ſhould build concluſions on it, without admitting exceptions †. In one place the proximity of the ſea, in another the wind, here the height of the land, there it's depth, in a fifth place the vicinity of mountains, in a ſixth rain or miſt, gives ſuch a particular local qualification to the general law, that we frequently find the moſt oppoſite climates in places bordering upon each other. Beſide this, it is evident from modern experiments, that every living being has it's own mode of receiv-

* See Brugmann *Ueber den Magnetiſmus*, 'On Magnetiſm,' propoſitions 24—31.

† See Kæſtner's elucidation of Halley's Method of calculating heat, in the Hamburg Magazine, p. 429 and following.

ing

ing and evolving heat; nay, that the more elaborate the organization of a creature, and the more active the vital power it exerts, the greater capacity it poſſeſſes of generating relative heat and cold *. The old poſition, that man can live only in a climate, the heat of which does not exceed that of the blood, has been confuted by experience: on the other hand, the modern ſyſtems of the origin and effect of animal heat are far from having attained ſufficient perfection, for us in any wiſe to think of a climatology of the human frame merely, not to mention the faculties of the mind, and their arbitrary application. Every one indeed knows, that heat extends and relaxes the fibres, attenuates the fluids, and promotes perſpiration; and that thus it is capable in time of rendering the ſolids light and ſpongy, &c. This law remains inconteſtible on the whole †; and in conſequence, from it and it's antagoniſt, cold, many phyſical phenomena have been already explained ‡: but general inferences from this principle, or from a part of it, as relaxation or perſpiration for inſtance, to whole nations and countries, nay to the moſt delicate functions of the human mind, and the moſt accidental ordinances of ſociety, are all in ſome meaſure hypothetical; and this the more, in proportion as the head that conſiders and arranges them is acute and ſyſtematic. They are contradicted almoſt ſtep by ſtep, by examples from hiſtory, or even by phyſiological principles; becauſe too many powers, partly oppoſite to each other, act in conjunction. It has even been objected to the great Monteſquieu, that he has erected his climatic ſpirit of laws on the fallacious experiment of a ſheep's tongue. It is true, we are ductile clay in the hand of Climate; but her fingers mould ſo variouſly, and the laws, that counteract them, are ſo numerous, that perhaps the genius of mankind alone is capable of combining the relations of all theſe powers in one whole.

Heat and cold are not the ſole principles of the atmoſphere, that act upon us; for it appears from late obſervations, to be a magazine of other powers, which combine with us to our detriment or advantage. In it operates the ſtream of electric fire; a powerful ſubſtance, of the influence of which on the animal machine we yet know little: and we are fully as ignorant how it is received into the human body, and what changes it undergoes in it. We live by the inſpiration of air: yet it's balſam, our vital aliment, is a myſtery to us. If

* Crell's *Verſuche ueber das Vermœgen der Pflanzen und Thiere Wærme zu erzeugen und zu vernichten*, 'Experiments on the Capacities of Plants and Animals to generate and deſtroy Heat,' Helmſtadt, 1778: Crawford's Experiments on the Power of Animals to produce Cold, Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. LXXI, Part II, Art. 31.

† See the Pathology of Gaubius, Chap. V, X, &c.

‡ See Monteſquieu, Caſtillon, Falconer, not to mention a number of leſs important tracts.

now

now we add the various and almoſt innumerable local modifications of it's component parts, from the effluvia of different ſubſtances; if we recollect the frequent inſtances of extraordinary, often terrible, and for ages inextinguiſhable diſeaſes, that have ariſen from an inviſible malignant ſeed, to which the phyſician is unable to give any other name than that of miaſma; if we reflect on the ſecret poiſon, that has brought us the ſmallpox, the plague, ſyphilis, and many other diſorders, which in the courſe of time have diſappeared; and conſider how little we know, not of the *harmattan* and *ſimoom*, the *ſirocco* and north-eaſt wind of Tatary, but of the conſtitution and effects of our own winds: how many introductory labours ſhall we perceive to be wanting, ere we arrive at a phyſiologico-pathology, to ſay nothing of a climatology, of all the ſenſitive and cogitative faculties of man! In the mean time, every judicious attempt deſerves it's laurels, and poſterity will have many honourable ones, to beſtow on the preſent times *.

Laſtly, the elevation or depreſſion of a region, it's nature and products, the food and drink men enjoy in it, the mode of life they purſue, the labours in which they are employed, their clothing, even their ordinary attitudes, their arts and pleaſures, with a multitude of other circumſtances, which conſiderably influence their lives, all belong to the picture of changeable climate. What human hand can reduce this chaos of cauſes and effects to a world of order, in which every individual thing, and every individual region, ſhall enjoy it's rights, and no one receive too much or too little? The beſt and only thing we can do is, to examine particular regions climatically, after the manner of Hippocrates †, with his ſagacious ſimplicity, and then ſlowly, ſlowly deduce general inferences. The natural hiſtorian and phyſician are here the pupils of Nature, and the teachers of the philoſopher. To them we and poſterity alſo are already indebted for ſeveral materials, collected in different regions, toward a general doctrine of climates and their effects upon man.——But here we muſt content ourſelves with general remarks, as we cannot deſcend to particular obſervations.

1. *As our Earth is a globe, and the firm land a mountain raiſed above the ſea, a climatic community, affecting the life of every thing living, is promoted on it by various cauſes.* Not only is the climate of every region periodically changed by the alternation of day and night, and the revolution of the ſeaſons; but the

* See Gmelin *ueber die neuern Entdeckungen in der Lehre von der Luft*, 'on the modern Diſcoveries in Aerology,' Berlin, 1784.

† See Hippocrates de Aere, Locis, et Aquis, particularly the ſecond part of the treatiſe. He is my principal author on the ſubject of climate.

jarring

jarring of the elements, the mutual action of ſea and land upon each other, the ſituation of mountains and plains, the periodical winds, that ariſe from the motion of the Globe, the changes of the ſeaſon, the appearance and diſappearance of the Sun, and many leſs important cauſes, maintain this ſalutiferous union of the elements, without which every thing would ſtagnate in drowſineſs and corruption. We are ſurrounded by an atmoſphere; we live in an electric ocean: but both, and probably the magnetic fluid with them, are in continual motion. The ſea emits vapours; the mountains attract them, and ſend them down in rain and ſtreams on every ſide. Thus winds relieve each other: thus years, or periods of years, fulfil their climatic days. Thus different regions and ages follow one another; and every thing on our Globe combines in one general connexion. Had the Earth been flat, or angular, as the chineſe have dreamed, it's corners might have produced climatic monſters, incompatible with it's preſent regular ſtructure, and diffuſive movement. The Hours dance in a circle round the throne of Jove, and what is formed under their feet is only an imperfect perfection, becauſe all originates from the union of things various in kind: but from an internal love and conjunction with one another, the children of Nature, ſenſible Regularity and Beauty, are every where produced.

2. *The habitable land of our Earth is accumulated in regions, where moſt living beings act in the mode beſt adapted to them; and this ſituation of the quarters of the Globe influences all it's climates.* Why does the cold in the ſouthern hemiſphere commence ſo near the line? The natural philoſopher anſwers, 'becauſe there is ſo little land, ſo that the cold winds and ice of the ſouth pole extend themſelves to a great diſtance.' Thus we perceive what would have been our fate, had the whole of our firm land been ſcattered about in iſlands. Now three quarters of the Globe, lying in contact, warm each other: the fourth, being remote from them, is on this account colder; and in the South Sea, a very little beyond the line, degeneracy and deformity begin with the deficiency of the land. Fewer ſpecies of the more perfect animals alſo dwell there. The ſouthern hemiſphere was made the grand reſervoir of water for our Globe, that the northern might enjoy a better climate. Thus, whether we conſider the World geographically, or climatically, we find Nature intended mankind to be neighbourly beings, dwelling together, and imparting to each other climatic warmth, and other benefits, as well as the plague, diſeaſes, and climatic vices.

3. *By the formation of the land on the frame of the mountains, not only were it's climates infinitely diverſified for the great variety of living beings, but the degeneration of the human ſpecies was provided againſt as much as poſſible.* Mountains were neceſſary to the Earth: but we find mungals and tibetians only on one ridge of

them; the lofty Cordilleras, and many others their fellows, are uninhabitable. Barren deſerts, alſo, are rare, from the mountainous ſtructure of the Earth: for the mountains riſe as conductors of the clouds, and pour out from their horns of plenty fertilizing ſtreams. The barren ſhore, the bleak or marſhy border of the ſea, is every where more recently formed land; and conſequently men have taken poſſeſſion of it later, and when their powers were already improved. The vale of Quito was inhabited unqueſtionably before Tierra del Fuego; Caſhmire, ſooner than New Holland or Nova Zembla. The middle and broadeſt part of the earth, the land of the fineſt climate between ſea and mountains, was the nurſery of our ſpecies, and is even now the moſt fully peopled part of the Globe.

There is no queſtion, but, as climate is a compound of powers and influences, to which both plants and animals contribute, and which every thing that has breath promotes in it's reciprocating mutations, ſo man is placed in it as a ſovereign of the Earth, to alter it by art. Since he ſtole fire from Heaven, and rendered ſteel obedient to his hand; ſince he has made not only beaſts, but his fellow men alſo, ſubſervient to his will, and trained both them and plants to his purpoſes; he has contributed to the alteration of climate in various ways. Once Europe was a dank foreſt; and other regions, at preſent well cultivated, were the ſame. They are now expoſed to the rays of the Sun; and the inhabitants themſelves have changed with the climate. The face of Egypt would have been nothing more than the ſlime of the Nile, but for the art and policy of man. He has gained it from the flood; and both there, and in farther Aſia, the living creation has adapted itſelf to the artificial climate. We may conſider mankind, therefore, as a band of bold though diminutive giants, gradually deſcending from the mountains, to ſubjugate the earth, and change climates with their feeble arms. How far they are capable of going in this reſpect futurity will ſhow.

4. Finally, if it be allowable to ſpeak in general terms on a ſubject, which reſts ſo completely on particular caſes, local or hiſtorical, I will inſert, with a little variation, ſome cautions, that Bacon gives with reſpect to the hiſtory of revolutions*. The action of climate extends itſelf indeed to bodies of all kinds, but chiefly to the more delicate, to fluids, the air, and the ether. It operates rather on the maſs, than on the individual: yet on this, through that. It is not confined to points of time, but prevails through long periods: though it is often late before it becomes obvious, and then perhaps is rendered ſo by ſlight circumſtances. Laſtly, climate does not force, but incline: it gives the imper-

* *Baco de Augm. Scient. l.* 3.

ceptible

ceptible diſpoſition, which ſtrikes us indeed in the general view of the life and manners of indigenous nations, but is very difficult to be delineated diſtinctly. Sometime poſſibly a traveller may be found, who will purſue without prejudice or exaggeration the *ſpirit of climate*. At preſent our duty is rather to note the living powers, for which each climate is formed; and which, by their exiſtence, induce in it various changes and modifications.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The genetic Power is the Mother of all the Forms upon Earth, Climate acting merely as an Auxiliary or Antagoniſt.*

How muſt the man have been aſtoniſhed, who firſt ſaw the wonders of the creation of a living being *! Globules, with fluids ſhooting between them, become a living point; and from this point an animal forms itſelf. The heart ſoon becomes viſible, and, weak and imperfect as it is, begins to beat: the blood, which exiſted before the heart, begins to redden: ſoon the head appears: ſoon eyes, a mouth, the ſenſes, and limbs, diſplay themſelves. Still there is no breaſt, yet there is motion in the internal parts: there are no bowels, yet the animal opens it's mouth. The little brain is not yet incloſed in the head; or the heart, in the breaſt: the ribs and bones are like a ſpider's web: but quickly the wings, feet, toes, hips, appear, and the living creature receives more nouriſhment. What was naked becomes covered: the breaſt and head cloſe: the ſtomach and bowels are ſtill pendulous. Theſe alſo at length aſſume their proper form, as more matter is furniſhed: the integuments contract and aſcend: the belly cloſes: the animal is formed. It now ſwims no longer, but aſſumes a recumbent poſture: it wakes and ſleeps by turns: it moves, it reſts, it cries, it ſeeks an exit, and comes complete in all it's parts into the light of day. What would he who ſaw this wonder for the firſt time call it? There, he would ſay, is a *living organic power:* I know not whence it came, or what it intrinſically is: but that it is there, that it lives, that it has acquired itſelf organic parts out of the chaos of homogeneal matter, I ſee: this is inconteſtible.

If he obſerved farther, and ſaw, that each of theſe organic parts was faſhioned as it were *in actu*, in it's own operation: the heart formed itſelf no otherwiſe than by a confluence of the channels, that exiſted before it; as ſoon as the ſtomach was perceptible, matter to be digeſted was in it. It was the ſame with

* See Harvey *de Generat. Animal.*, Wolf's *Theor. Generat.*, &c.

the arteries and all the veſſels: the contents exiſted before what was to contain them, the fluids before the ſolids, the ſpirit before the body, in which it is merely clothed. If he obſerved this *, would he not ſay, that the inviſible power did not faſhion arbitrarily, but only *reveal* itſelf as it were according to it's internal nature? It becomes viſible in a maſs appertaining to it, and muſt have *the prototype of it's appearance in itſelf*, whence or wherever it may be. The new creature is nothing but the realization of an idea of creative Nature, who never thinks inactively.

If he go farther and obſerve, that this creation is promoted by maternal or ſolar warmth; but that the egg will produce no living fruit, notwithſtanding the preſence of the neceſſary warmth and materials, unleſs quickened by the father: what would he ſuppoſe, but that the principle of heat may indeed have ſome affinity to the principle of life, which it promotes, yet that the cauſe, which ſets this organic power in action, to give the dead chaos of matter a living form, muſt actually lie in the union of two living beings? Thus we, thus all living creatures, are formed; each after the kind of it's organization; but all according to the evident laws of an analogy, that prevails univerſally with every thing, that lives upon this Earth.

Laſtly, when it appears, that this vital power does not quit the finiſhed creature, but *continues to diſplay itſelf actively* in him; no longer creating indeed, for he is created, but ſupporting, vivifying, nouriſhing: from the moment he enters the World, he performs all the vital functions for which, nay in ſome meaſure in which, he was made; the mouth opens, as opening was it's firſt action, and the lungs reſpire; the vocal organs emit ſound, the lips ſuck, the ſtomach digeſts; he lives, he grows, all the external and internal parts aſſiſt each other; they attract, reject, and aſſimilate, with aſſociated action and ſympathy, and aſſiſt one another in pain and diſeaſe in a thouſand wonderful and incomprehenſible ways: what would he, what would any one, who ſaw this for the firſt time, ſay, but that the innate genetic vital power ſtill *reſides* in the creature, that was formed by it, in all it's parts, and in each after it's proper manner, that is organically? It is preſent in him every where in the moſt multifarious manner; for only by it's means is he a living whole, ſelf-ſupporting, growing, and acting.

This vital power we all have in us: it aſſiſts us in ſickneſs and in health, aſſimilates homogeneal ſubſtances, ſeparates heterogeneal matters, and expels ſuch as are injurious; at length it grows feeble with age, and lives in ſome parts even after death. It is not the faculty of reaſon: for this aſſuredly did not faſhion

* Wolf's *Theor. Generat.* p. 169, b. 180—216.

the

the body, which it does not know, and which it employs merely as an imperfect adventitious inſtrument, to execute it's thoughts. Yet this faculty is connected with the vital power, as all the powers of nature are connected: for even incorporeal thought depends on the health and organization of the body, and all the deſires and propenſities of our hearts are inſeparable from animal warmth. All theſe are natural *facts*, which no hypotheſis can ſhake, no logic of the ſchools overturn: the enunciation of them is the moſt ancient philoſophy of the Earth, as probably it will be the laſt *. Certainly as I know that I think, yet know not my thinking faculty; as certainly do I ſee and feel that I live, though I know not what the vital principle is. This principle is innate, organical, genetic: it is the baſis of my natural powers, the internal genius of my being. Man is the moſt perfect of earthly creatures, only becauſe in him the fineſt organic powers we know act with the moſt elaborately organized inſtruments. He is the moſt perfect animal plant, a native genius in human form.

If the principles hitherto advanced be juſt, and they are founded on indiſputable experience, our ſpecies cannot in any way degenerate, but by the operation of theſe organic powers. Whatever climate may effect, every man, every animal, every plant, has his own climate; for every one receives all external impreſſions in his own manner, and modifies them according to his organs. Even in the minuteſt fibre man is not affected as a ſtone, as a hydatid. Let us conſider ſome ſteps, or ſhades, of this degeneration.

The firſt ſtep in the degeneration of the human ſpecies exhibits itſelf in the external parts: not as if theſe ſuffered or acted of themſelves, but becauſe the power dwelling in us acts from within to without. By the moſt wonderful mechaniſm it ſtrives to expel from the body what is incongruous or detrimental to it: the firſt alterations of it's organic ſtructure, therefore, muſt be perceptible on the confines of it's domain; and accordingly the moſt ſtriking varieties of the ſpecies affect only the ſkin and hair. Nature protects the internal eſſential form, and drives out as far as poſſible the aggrieving matter.

If the altered external power proceed farther, it's effects ſhow themſelves in the ſame way as the vital principle itſelf acts, *in the way of nutrition and propagation*. The negro is born fair: the parts that firſt grow black in him † are

* Hippocrates, Ariſtotle, Galen, Harvey, Boyle, Stahl, Gliſſon, Gaubius, Albinus, and many others of the greateſt obſervers or philoſophers of the human ſpecies, compelled by experiment, have admitted this vital principle, only beſtowing on it various appellations, or ſometimes not ſufficiently diſcriminating it from collateral powers.

† See the preceding book, p. 151.

evident ſigns, that the miaſma of his change, which the external air merely developes, acts genetically. The age of puberty, as well as a multitude of facts obſerved in diſeaſes, ſhows us the extenſive ſway, that the powers of nutrition and propagation poſſeſs in the human body. By theſe the remoteſt parts of the body are connected; and in the degeneration of the ſpecies theſe parts ſuffer in conjunction. Hence, the ſkin and ſexual parts excepted, the ears, the neck and voice, the noſe, the lips, the head, &c., are preciſely the parts, in which moſt changes appear.

Finally, as the vital principle connects all the parts together, and the organization is a complicated knot, which has properly neither beginning nor end, it is eaſy to comprehend, that the moſt internal change of any conſequence muſt ultimately become viſible even in the parts poſſeſſing the greateſt ſolidity, the relations of which are altered, by means of the internal power that is affected, from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot. Nature does not eaſily yield to this change: even in monſtrous births, when ſhe has been forcibly diſturbed in her operations, ſhe has aſtoniſhing ways of reparation, as a defeated general diſplays moſt ſkill in a retreat. The various national forms of people however teſtify, that even this, the moſt difficult change of the human ſpecies, is poſſible: and it is rendered ſo by the multifarious complication and delicate mobility of our frame, with the innumerable powers that act upon it. But this difficult change is effected only from within. For ages particular nations have moulded their heads, bored their noſes, confined their feet, or extended their ears: Nature remains true to herſelf; and if for a time ſhe be compelled to take a courſe ſhe would not, and ſend fluids to the diſtorted parts; ſhe proceeds on her own way, as ſoon as ſhe can recover her liberty, and produces her own more perfect image. If the deformity be genetic, and effected in the natural way, the caſe is totally different: it is then hereditary, even in particular parts. Let it not be ſaid, that art or the Sun has flattened the negro's noſe. As the figure of this part is connected with the conformation of the whole ſkull, the chin, the neck, the ſpine; and the branching ſpinal marrow is as it were the trunk of the tree, on which the thorax and all the limbs are formed; comparative anatomy ſatisfactorily ſhows *, that the degeneration has affected the whole figure, and none of theſe ſolid parts could be changed without an alteration of the whole. Thus the negro form is tranſmitted in hereditary ſucceſſion, and is capable of being rechanged no otherwiſe than genetically. See the negro in Europe: he remains as he was. Let

* See Sœmmering *Ueber die kœrperliche Verſchiedenheit des Mohrer vom Europæer*, 'On the bodily Difference between the Negro and the European,' Mentz, 1784.

him

him marry a white woman, and a ſingle generation will effect a change, which the fair-complexioned climate could not produce in ages. So it is with the figures of all nations: regions alter them very ſlowly; but by intermixture with foreigners, in a few generations every mungal, chineſe, or american feature vaniſhes.

If it be agreeable to the reader to purſue this path, let us go on a few ſteps farther.

1. It muſt be obvious to every obſerver, that, *amid the innumerable varieties of the human figure, certain forms and proportions not only reoccur, but pertain excluſively to each other.* With artiſts this is an acknowledged fact: and we ſee in the ſtatues of the ancients, that they placed this proportion, or ſymmetry as they termed it, not merely in the length and breadth of the limbs, but alſo in their harmonic adjuſtment to the ſpirit of the whole. The characters of their gods and goddeſſes, their youths and heroes, were ſo determinate in their whole conformation, that they are in ſome degree to be known from ſingle limbs, and no one figure will admit of an arm, a breaſt, a ſhoulder, that belonged to another. The genius of a particular living being exiſts in each of theſe forms, which ſerves it merely as a ſhell, and characterizes itſelf in the leaſt attitude or motion as diſtinctly as in the whole. Among the moderns, the Polyclete of our country *, Albert Durer †, has induſtriouſly examined the meaſure of various proportions of the human body; and thus rendered it obvious to every eye, that the figures of all the parts differ with their proportions. What would it be, if a man united Durer's accuracy with the ſpirit and taſte of the ancients, and ſtudied the differences of the genetic forms and characters of men, in their concordant figures! Thus, I think, Phyſiognomy would return to her old natural way, to which her name points; and in which ſhe would be neither Ethognomy, nor Technognomy, but the expoſitor of the living *nature* of a man, the interpreter as it were of his genius rendered viſible. As within theſe bounds ſhe remains true to the analogy of the whole, which is moſt conſpicuous in the face, Pathognomy muſt be her ſiſter, Phyſiology and Semeiotics her friends and aſſiſtants: for the external figure of man is but the caſe of his internal mechaniſm, a conſiſtent whole, in which every letter forms a part of the word indeed, but only the whole word has a determinate ſignification. It is thus we practiſe and apply phyſiognomy in common life: the experienced phyſician ſees from a man's make

* This epithet can allude only to the canon of proportions, which Polyclete is ſaid to have eſtabliſhed in one of his figures: Plin. L. XXXIV, c. 8: for ſurely neither the materials nor the ſtyle of the ſicyonian genius were thoſe of Albert of Nuremberg. F.

† Albert Durer's four Books on human Proportion, Nuremberg, 1528.

and

and countenance to what diſeaſes he is ſubject, and the phyſiognomic eye even of a child obſerves the natural diſpoſition (φυσις) of a man in his perſon, that is, the form in which his genius diſcloſes itſelf.

Farther. *Are not theſe forms, theſe concords of harmonizing parts, capable of being noted, and reduced like letters as it were to an alphabet?* Not that we muſt expect this ſyſtem of letters ever to be complete, as there is no ſuch thing as a perfect alphabet in any language; but a careful ſtudy of theſe living orders of human columns unqueſtionably opens a wide field for the ſcience of character. If in this purſuit we were not to confine ourſelves to Europe, and ſtill leſs to our common idea of the ſummit of health and beauty, but followed living Nature throughout the Globe, in whatever harmony of congruous parts ſhe diſplays herſelf, variouſly diverſified, yet ever one: numerous diſcoveries reſpecting the concent and melody of living powers in the human ſtructure would undoubtedly reward our exertions. Nay it is probable, this ſtudy of the natural conſent of forms in the human body would carry us farther, than the doctrine of complexions and temperaments, often attempted, though commonly to little purpoſe. The moſt acute obſervers have made little progreſs here, becauſe they have wanted a determinate alphabet, to note the differences, that were to be expreſſed *.

As the phyſiology of life muſt every where carry the torch before ſuch a *figural hiſtory of the formation and diverſification of the human ſpecies*, the wiſdom of Nature, who faſhions and alters forms only according to one law of multifariouſly compenſating goodneſs, would be viſible at every ſtep. Why, for example, did the creative mother ſeparate ſpecies from each other? For no other reaſon, but to make and preſerve the image of their conformation more perfect. We know not how many of the preſent ſpecies of animals may have approached nearer to each other in an earlier age of our Earth; but we ſee, that *their bounderies are now genetically ſeparated*. In the wild ſtate, no beaſt couples with one of a different kind: and if the deſpotic art of man, or the wanton indolence, to which pampered animals yield, cauſe a deviation from their real propenſities, Nature permits not her unchangeable laws to be ſurmounted by art or debauchery. Either the union is unproductive, or the forced illegitimate offſpring is propagated only among the neareſt ſpecies. Nay, among theſe baſtard ſpecies themſelves, we perceive the deviation no where but in the extreme parts of the figure, as in the degeneration of the human ſpecies already deſcribed: if the internal eſſential form had been ſuſceptible of alteration, no

* I find this doctrine reduced to great ſimplicity in Metzger's miſcellaneous Works, Vol. I. Platner too, and ſome others, have their acknowledged merits on this head.

§ living

living creature could have preſerved it's identity. Thus in conſequence of the fundamental laws of creative nature, and the genetic eſſential type of each genus, neither a centaur, nor a ſatyr, neither a Scylla, nor a Meduſa, is within the ſphere of procreation.

3. Laſtly, *the moſt exquiſite means employed by Nature, to unite variety and ſtability of form in her genera, were the creation and union of the two ſexes.* With what wonderful delicacy and ſpirit do the features of the two parents unite in the countenances and make of their children! as if their ſouls had been transfuſed into them in different proportions, and the multifarious natural powers of organization had been divided between them. That diſeaſes and features, nay that tempers and diſpoſitions, are hereditary, is known to all the world: even the forms of anceſtors long departed frequently return in the courſe of generations in a wonderful manner. Equally undeniable, though not eaſy to be explained; is the influence of the bodily and mental affections of the mother on the fœtus; many lamentable examples of the effects of which have been born till death. Thus Nature has turned into each other two currents of life, to endow the future creature with one complete natural power, which will live in it according to the features of both the parents. Many a declining race is again reſtored by a cheerful healthy mother: many a debilitated youth muſt firſt be awakened to a living natural creature in the arms of his wife. In the genial formation of man Love is the moſt powerful of all deities: he ennobles races, and revives the declining: a ray of the divinity, the ſparks of which kindle the flame of human life, and make it burn here more vividly, there more obſcurely. Nothing, on the contrary, counteracts the plaſtic genius of Nature more than cold antipathy; or diſguſting convenience, which is even worſe. This brings perſons together, who were never deſigned for each other, and perpetuates miſerable beings, never in harmony with themſelves. No brute has yet ſunk ſo low, as man has fallen from this cauſe of degeneracy.

## CHAPTER V.

*Concluding Remarks on the Oppoſition between Geneſis and Climate.*

If I miſtake not, the hints, that have been given, may be conſidered as the commencement of the line, that marks this oppoſition. No man will expect, for inſtance, that the roſe ſhould become a lilly, the dog a wolf, in a foreign climate: for Nature has drawn determinate lines round her ſpecies, and permits a creature rather to diſappear, than eſſentially deface or falſify it's figure. But, that the roſe can admit of variation, that the dog can acquire ſomething wolfiſh, is conformable to experience: yet here the variation is producible only by ſlow or ſpeedy violence done to the reſiſting organic powers. Thus both the contending principles act with great force, yet each in it's own way. Climate is a chaos of cauſes, very diſſimilar to each other, and in conſequence acting ſlowly and in various ways, till at length they penetrate to the internal parts, and change them by habit, and by the genetic power itſelf: this reſiſts long, forcibly, uniformly, and like itſelf; but as it is not independent of external affections, it alſo muſt accommodate itſelf to them in length of time.

To an extenſive view of the oppoſition in general, I would prefer an inſtructive examination of particular caſes, of which hiſtory and geography afford us an ample ſtore. We know, for example, what effect the adoption of the mode of life of the natives, or the retaining of their own european cuſtoms, has had on the portugueſe colonies in Africa, or the ſpaniſh, dutch, engliſh, and german ſettlers, in America and the Eaſt Indies. When all theſe were accurately inveſtigated, we might proceed to more ancient tranſitions; as for inſtance of the malays to the iſlands, the arabs to Africa and the Eaſt Indies, and the turks to the countries conquered by them; and thus go on to the mungals, the tatars, and laſtly the ſwarm of nations, that covered Europe in the courſe of the great migration. We ſhould never overlook the climate from which a people came, the mode of life it brought with it, the country that lay before it, the nations with which it intermingled, and the revolutions it has undergone in it's new ſeat. If this inquiry were carried through thoſe ages of which we have authentic accounts, we might probably arrive at concluſions reſpecting thoſe more early migrations, of which we know nothing but from the traditional tales of ancient writers, or the coincidencies of language and mythology; for in fact all, or moſt of the nations upon Earth at leaſt, have ſooner or later migrated. Thus, with the aſſiſtance of a few maps for the convenience of inſpection, we ſhould obtain

tain a *phyſico-geographical hiſtory of the deſcent and diverſification of our ſpecies* according to periods and climates, which at every ſtep muſt afford us important reſults.

Without anticipating the labours of the inquiring mind, that ſhall undertake this taſk, I will introduce a few facts from modern hiſtory, as brief examples of my preceding examination.

1. *Too ſudden, too precipitate tranſitions to an oppoſite hemiſphere and climate are ſeldom ſalutary to a nation*; for Nature has not eſtabliſhed her boundaries between remote lands in vain. The hiſtory of conqueſts, as well as of commercial companies, and eſpecially that of miſſions, afford a melancholy, and in ſome reſpects a laughable picture, if we delineate this ſubject and it's conſequences with impartiality, even from the narrations of the parties themſelves. We ſhudder with abhorrence when we read the accounts of many european nations, who, ſunk in the moſt diſſolute voluptuouſneſs and inſenſible pride, have degenerated both in body and mind, and no longer poſſeſs any capacity for enjoyment and compaſſion. They are fullblown bladders in human ſhape, loſt to every noble and active pleaſure, and in whoſe veins lurks avenging death. If to theſe we add the wretches, to whom both the Indies have proved inſatiate graves; if we read the hiſtories of the diſeaſes of foreign climates, given by engliſh, french, and dutch phyſicians; and if we then turn our eyes to the pious miſſionaries, who have not been ſo ready to quit the garb of their order, and their european mode of life; what inſtructive inferences preſs upon us, which alas! belong to the hiſtory of man!

2. *Even the european induſtry of leſs debauched colonies in other quarters of the Globe is not always able to avert the effect of climate.* It is obſerved by Kalm *, that the europeans in North-America arrive earlier at the age of puberty, but at the ſame time ſooner grow old and die, than in their native country. 'It is nothing uncommon,' ſays he, 'to find little children anſwer queſtions put to them with aſtoniſhing readineſs and vivacity, and yet not attain the age of europeans. Eighty or ninety years are ſeldom reached by one born in America of european parents, though the aborigines frequently live much longer: and the natives of Europe commonly live much longer in America, than ſuch of their children as are born in that country. The women ſooner ceaſe child-bearing, ſome as early as the age of thirty: and it is generally obſerved, that the offſpring of the european coloniſts loſe their teeth ſoon and prematurely, while

* Gottingen Collection of Travels, Vols. X and XI, *paſſim*.

the americans retain their teeth white and ſound to the end of their lives.' This paſſage has been improperly quoted as a proof of the unhealthineſs of America with reſpect to her own children: but it is to foreigners only that ſhe is a ſtepmother, who, as Kalm obſerves, dwell in her boſom with different conſtitutions and manners.

3. *Let it not be imagined, that human art can with deſpotic power convert at once a foreign region into another Europe*, by cutting down it's foreſts, and cultivating it's ſoil: for it's whole living creation is conformable to it, and this is not to be changed at diſcretion. Even Kalm informs us, from the mouths of american ſwedes, that the ſpeedy deſtruction of the woods, and cultivation of the land, not only leſſened the number of edible birds, which were found in innumerable multitudes in the foreſts and on the waters, and of fiſhes with which the brooks and rivers ſwarmed, and diminiſhed the lakes, ſtreams, rivulets, ſprings, rains, thick long graſs of the woods, &c.; but ſeemed to affect the health and longevity of the inhabitants, and influence the ſeaſons. 'The americans,' ſays he, 'who frequently lived a hundred years and upwards before the arrival of the europeans, now often attain ſcarcely half the age of their forefathers: and this, it is probable, we muſt not aſcribe ſolely to the deſtructive uſe of ſpirits, and an alteration in their way of life, but likewiſe to the loſs of ſo many odoriferous herbs, and ſalutary plants, which every morning and evening perfumed the air, as if the country had been a flower-garden. The winter was then more ſeaſonable, cold, healthy, and conſtant: now the ſpring commences later, and, like the other ſeaſons, is more variable and irregular.' This is the account given by Kalm; and however local we may conſider it, ſtill it ſhows, that Nature loves not too ſpeedy, too violent a change, even in the beſt work, that man can perform, the cultivation of a country. May we not alſo attribute the debility of the civilized americans, as they are called, in Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, and Braſil, to this among other things, that we have changed their country and manner of living, without the power or the will of giving them an european nature? All the nations, that live in the woods, and after the manner of their forefathers, are ſtrong and bold, live long, and renovate their vigour like their own trees: thoſe on the cultivated land, deprived of ſhade and moiſture, decline miſerably; their ſouls are left behind in the woods. Read, as an example, the affecting hiſtory of a ſimple flouriſhing family, drawn from it's wilds by Dobritzhofer *. Both the mother and daughter ſoon died; and both in dreams continued to call on their ſon and brother left behind, till death cloſed

* Dobritzhofer's *Geſchichte der Abiponer*, 'Hiſtory of the Abiponians,' Vol. I, p. 114.

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his eyes without the aid of diſeaſe. This alone renders it comprehenſible, how nations, that once were valiant, active, and reſolute, ſhould in a ſhort time ſink into ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs, as the jeſuits of Paraguay and travellers in Peru deſcribe: a weakneſs of which we cannot read without ſorrow. In the courſe of ages this ſubjugation of Nature may have it's good effects in particular places *; though I doubt this, if it were generally practicable: but for the firſt races, both of the civilizers and civilized, it appears to have none; for Nature is every where a living whole, and will be gently followed and improved, not maſtered by force. Nothing has been made of any of the ſavages, who have been ſuddenly brought into the throng of an european city: from the ſplendid height, on which they were placed, they longed for their native plains, and for the moſt part returned inexpert and corrupted to their ancient way of life, which alſo they were now rendered incapable of enjoying. It is the ſame with the forcible alteration of ſavage climates by european hands.

O ſons of Dedalus, emiſſaries of Fate, how many inſtruments are in your hands for conferring happineſs on nations by humane and compaſſionate means! and how has a proud inſolent love of gain led you almoſt every where into a different path! All new comers from a foreign land, who have ſubmitted to naturalize themſelves with the inhabitants, have not only enjoyed their love and friendſhip, but have ultimately found, that their mode of life was not altogether unſuitable to the climate: but how few ſuch are there! how ſeldom does an european hear from the native of any country the praiſe, 'he is a rational man like us!' And does not Nature revenge every inſult offered her? Where are the conqueſts, the factories, the invaſions, of former times, when diſtant foreign lands were viſited by a different race, for the ſake of devaſtation or plunder! The ſtill breath of climate has diſſipated or conſumed them, and it was not difficult for the natives to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the rootleſs tree. The quiet plant, on the other hand, that has accommodated itſelf to the laws of Nature, has not only preſerved it's own exiſtence, but has beneficially diffuſed the ſeeds of cultivation through a new land. Future ages may decide, what benefit, or injury, our genius has conferred on other climates, and other climates on our genius.

* See Williamſon's attempt to explain the cauſes of change of climate, in the Berlin Collection, Vol. VII.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK VIII.

AS it would be with one, who, from navigating the ſea, ſhould attempt a voyage through the air, ſo it is with me, now that, having gone over the figure and natural powers of man, I come to his mind, and attempt to inveſtigate it's variable faculties, as they exiſt throughout the wide World, from indirect, defective, and partly queſtionable accounts. The metaphyſician has here a much eaſier taſk. He ſets out with eſtabliſhing a certain idea of the mind, and from this deduces every thing, that can be deduced, wherever, or under whatever circumſtances, it may be found. The philoſopher of hiſtory can proceed on no abſtract notion, but on hiſtory alone; and he is in danger of forming erroneous concluſions, if he do not generalize at leaſt in ſome degree the numerous facts before him. I ſhall attempt to explore the way, however: yet, inſtead of launching out into the ocean, I ſhall rather coaſt along the ſhore; or, to ſpeak in plain terms, confine myſelf to undoubted facts, or ſuch as are generally conſidered ſo, diſtinguiſhing them from my own conjectures, and leaving it to thoſe who are more fortunate, to arrange and employ them in a better manner.

### CHAPTER 1.

*The Appetites of the human Species vary with their Form and Climate; but a leſs brutal Uſe of the Senſes univerſally leads to Humanity.*

ALL nations, the diſeaſed albinoes perhaps excepted, enjoy the five or ſix ſenſes of man: the men without feeling of Diodorus, and the nations of deaf and dumb, are proved fabulous in modern hiſtory. Yet he, who attends only to the difference of the external ſenſes among us, and then conſiders the innumerable multitudes living in all the climates of the Earth, will find himſelf contemplating an ocean, where wave loſes itſelf in wave. Every man has a particular proportion, a particular harmony as it were, between all his ſenſitive feelings; ſo that, in extraordinary caſes, the moſt wonderful appearances

frequently

frequently occur, to ſhow the ſtate of an individual on this or that occaſion. Hence phyſicians and philoſophers have already formed whole collections of ſingular and peculiar feelings, that is of idioſyncraſies, which are in many inſtances equally rare and inexplicable. For the moſt part theſe are obſerved only in diſeaſe, or unuſual incidents, not in the common occurrences of life. Language too has no terms for them; as every man ſpeaks and underſtands according to his own perceptions alone, and different organizations of courſe want a common ſtandard for their different feelings. Even in the cleareſt ſenſe, that of ſeeing, theſe differences diſplay themſelves, not only with reſpect to diſtance, but alſo to the figure and colour of things: hence ſo many painters have their peculiarities of outline, and almoſt every one his particular ſtyle of colouring. It is not the part of the philoſophy of the hiſtory of man to exhauſt this ocean, but by ſome ſtriking differences to call our attention to the more delicate, that lie around us.

The moſt general and neceſſary ſenſe is that of feeling: it is the baſis of the reſt, and one of the greateſt organic preeminences of man *. It has conferred on us dexterity, invention, and art; and contributes more perhaps to the formation of our ideas, than we imagine. But how different is this ſenſe, according as it is modified by the way of life, climate, application, exerciſe, and native irritability of the body! To ſome american nations, for example, an inſenſibility of the ſkin is aſcribed, conſpicuous even in women, and under the moſt painful operations †. If the fact be true, I conceive it eaſily explicable both from corporal and mental circumſtances. For ages many nations in this quarter of the Globe have expoſed their naked bodies to the piercing winds, and the ſtings of inſects; and, to protect them in ſome meaſure from theſe, have beſmeared them with acrid unguents. They alſo pluck out the hair, which promotes the tenderneſs of the ſkin. Alkaline roots and plants, and the meal of acrimonious vegetables, are uſed by them as food; and the cloſe ſympathy between the organs of digeſtion, and the ſeat of feeling, the ſkin, is well-known, this ſenſe completely failing in conſequence of it in many diſeaſes. Even their immoderate indulgence in eating, after which they will endure hunger to a degree equally uncommon, ſeems to confirm this inſenſibility, which is alſo a ſymptom of many of their diſeaſes ‡, and conſequently muſt be reckoned among the advantages

* See Metzger on the bodily excellences of man over brutes, in his *Vermiſchten Mediciniſchen Schriften*, 'Miſcellaneous Medical Tracts,' Vol. III.

† Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, Vol. I, p. 562.

‡ Ulloa, Vol. I, p. 188.

and

and diſadvantages of their climate. With it Nature has gradually armed them againſt evils, which greater ſenſibility would have rendered inſupportable; and with them Art has followed the ſteps of Nature. The north-americans ſuffer pain and torment with heroic inſenſibility, from principles of honour. They are formed to it from infancy; and in this the women yield not to the men. Thus ſtoic apathy under bodily pain is to them a natural habitude: and their feebler appetite for pleaſure, notwithſtanding the vivacity of their natural powers in other reſpects, and even that lethargic inſenſibility, in conſequence of which many ſubjugated nations appear as if in a waking dream, ſeem deducible from this cauſe. Brutes therefore muſt they have been, who, from a ſtill greater want of human feeling, have abuſed, or put to painful trials, a want, which Nature beſtowed on her children for their ſolace and convenience.

Experience has ſhown, that an immoderate degree of heat or cold ſcorches up or benumbs the external feeling. Nations that walk barefoot on the ſands acquire a ſole as hard as iron; and inſtances have been known of ſuch perſons ſtanding on burning coals for twenty minutes. Corroſive poiſons can ſo change the ſkin, that a man may plunge his hand into melted lead; and rigorous cold, as well as anger and other paſſions of the mind, alſo contributes to deaden the feeling *. This ſenſe on the other hand appears moſt exquiſite in regions, and under a mode of life, that are moſt favourable to the gentle contraction of the ſkin, and an harmonious extenſion as it were of the nerves of touch. The eaſt-indian enjoys perhaps in the higheſt perfection the organs of ſenſe. His palate, which has never been blunted by ſtrong drink or ſtimulating food, taſtes the ſlighteſt accidental flavour in pure water; and his fingers imitate the moſt delicate works in ſuch a manner, that the copy is not to be diſtinguiſhed from the original. His mind is calm and ſerene, an echo of the gentle feelings, that every thing around him excites. So play the waves about the ſwan: ſo whiſper the winds through the thin foliage of ſpring.

Next to the warmth and ſerenity of the climate, nothing contributes ſo much to this exquiſiteneſs of feeling, as cleanlineſs, temperance, and motion: three phyſical virtues, in which many nations, that we term uncivilized, exceed us, and which the inhabitants of the moſt delightful countries appear particularly to claim as their own. Keeping the mouth clean, frequent bathing, love of exerciſe in the open air, and even the healthy and voluptuous rubbing and extenſion of the body, which was as well known to the romans, as it is now common among the indians, perſians, and many tatar nations through a conſider-

* Haller's Phyſiology, Vol. V, p. 16.

able

able tract of country, promotes the circulation of the fluids, and maintains the elaſtic tone of the muſcular fibres. The inhabitants of the moſt fertile country live temperately: they have no conception, that an unnatural ſtimulation of the nerves, and a daily overloading of the veſſels, can be pleaſures, for which man was created: the caſt of bramins have taſted neither fleſh nor wine from the beginning of the World. Now ſince the effects of theſe on the whole ſyſtem of ſenſation in brutes are apparent, muſt they not operate much more powerfully on the flower of all organizations, man? Moderation in ſenſual enjoyment without doubt contributes more effectually to the philoſophy of humanity, than a thouſand learned and artificial abſtract conſiderations.

All people of coarſe feelings, in a ſavage ſtate, or rigorous climate, are gluttonous; as they are frequently obliged to ſuffer hunger afterwards: for the moſt part, too, they eat whatever comes in their way. Nations poſſeſſing finer ſenſes love more delicate pleaſures. Their meals are ſimple, and they eat daily the ſame food: but then they are fond of luxurious unguents, fine perfumes, pomp, and convenience; and their higheſt pleaſure is ſenſual love. If we were talking merely of the fineneſs of organs, there can be no doubt, which way the preference would incline: for no poliſhed european would heſitate, to chooſe between the fat and train-oil of the greenlander, and the aromatics of the hindoo. But it is a queſtion, in ſpite of our verbal poliſh, to which of the two we approach neareſt upon the whole. The hindoo places his happineſs in tranquillity undiſturbed by paſſion, in an uninterrupted enjoyment of ſerenity and pleaſure. He breathes voluptuouſneſs: he floats on a ſea of pleaſing dreams, and exhilarating fragrance. On the other hand, what are the objects of our luxury? for what does it diſturb the whole World, and plunder ever quarter of the Globe? New and pungent ſpices for a blunted palate; foreign fruits and food, which are often jumbled together in ſuch a medley, that we cannot taſte their proper flavour; intoxicating liquors, that bereave us both of our ſenſes and our peace; whatever can be invented to exhauſt nature by exciting it, are daily the grand aim of our lives. By theſe, conditions are diſtinguiſhed: by theſe, nations are made happy.——Happy! Why do the poor ſuffer hunger, and with benumbed ſenſes drag on a wretched life of toil and labour? That the rich and great may deaden their ſenſes in a more delicate manner, without taſte, and probably to the eternal nouriſhment of their brutality. 'The europeans eat every thing,' ſays the hindoo, whoſe more exquiſite ſmell revolts at the mere effluvia of what they ſwallow. According to his ideas, he can rank them only in the caſt of the pariars, who, as a mark of ſupreme contempt, are allowed to eat what

they please. In many countries, too, the mohammedans call the europeans unclean beasts; and this not merely from religious antipathy.

It can hardly be possible, that Nature should have given us a tongue, in order that the gratification of a few papillæ on it should be the aim of a laborious life, or the cause of wretchedness to others. She endowed it with the sense of taste, partly to sweeten the duty of satisfying the calls of hunger, and enticing us to labour by more pleasing motives: and partly also to be the scrupulous guard of our health; but this it has long ceased to be in all nations addicted to luxury. The cow knows what is salutary for herself, and selects her food with apprehensive caution: noxious and poisonous plants she avoids, and is seldom mistaken. Men, who live among beasts, can discriminate their food like them; but lose this faculty, when they come to associate with mankind, as the indians, who relinquish the simplicity of their diet, lose the purity of their smell. Nations, that enjoy healthful freedom, still possess much of this guiding sense. They seldom or never err with respect to the products of their own country: nay, the north-american can trace his enemy by the smell, and by this the carib distinguishes the footsteps of different nations. Thus man may heighten his most sensual, his animal powers, by cultivating and exercising them: but the highest perfection of them consists in a due proportion of them all, adapted to a truly human life, so that no one be lost, and no one predominate. This proportion varies with country and climate. The inhabitant of hot countries eats with eager appetite food to us highly disgusting; for his nature requires it, as a medicine, as an antidote *.

Lastly, the sight and hearing are the noblest senses, for which man is particularly formed by his organization; for in him the organs of these senses are more artfully constructed, than in any other animal. How acute have the sight and hearing been rendered by many nations! The calmuc sees smoke, where nothing can be perceived by an european eye: the shy arab hears far around in his silent desert. If these acute and fine senses be exercised with unremitting attention, the consequence is obvious: for we see in many nations how far practice can carry a man beyond the unpractised, even in the most trifling things. People who live by hunting know every tree and bush in their country: the north-americans never lose their way in their forests: they travel in quest of their enemies hundreds of miles, and return again to their huts. Dobritzhofer informs us, that the civilized guaranies imitate with astonishing exactness any piece

* Wilson's Observations on the Influence of Climate, p. 93, &c.

of

of delicate workmanſhip, that is ſet before them, but verbal deſcriptions convey ſcarcely any ideas to their minds: this is the natural conſequence of their education, in which the underſtanding is formed by preſent viſible objects, not by words; while on the other hand men taught by words have often heard ſo much, that they are incapable of ſeeing what is before their eyes. The underſtanding of the free ſon of Nature is divided as it were between the eye and the ear: he knows with accuracy the objects he has ſeen, he relates with preciſion the tales he has heard. His tongue ſtammers not, as his arrow deviates not from it's mark: for how ſhould his mind err, or heſitate, with reſpect to what it has ſeen and heard with preciſion?

Nature has diſpoſed things well for a creature, the firſt buds of whoſe underſtanding and well-being ariſe only from the perceptions of the ſenſes. If our bodies be ſound, if our ſenſes be well-ordered and exerciſed; the foundations of a ſerenity and internal ſatisfaction are laid, the loſs of which ſpeculative reaſon cannot eaſily repair. The ground of man's phyſical happineſs every where conſiſts in his living where it is his lot to live, enjoying what is ſet before him, and perplexing himſelf as little as poſſible with provident or retroſpective care. If he confine himſelf to this point, he is vigorous and tranquil: but if, while he ſhould enjoy and think only on the preſent, he ſuffer his thoughts to wander, how does he diſtract and enfeeble himſelf, often leading a more painful life than the brute, happily reſtricted to a narrower ſphere! The free child of Nature contemplates his parent, and is enlivened, without knowing it, by the ſight of her garb; or he follows his occupations, and, while he enjoys the revolving ſeaſons, ſcarcely grows old with any increaſe of days. His ear, undiſturbed by imperfect thoughts, and unperplexed by written ſymbols, hears perfectly what it hears: it eagerly takes in words, which, indicating determinate objects, are more ſatisfactory to the mind than volumes of barren abſtract terms. Thus lives, thus dies the ſavage; ſatisfied, but not glutted, with the ſimple pleaſures, that his ſenſes enable him to enjoy.

But Nature has conferred another beneficent gift on our ſpecies, in leaving to ſuch of it's members as are leaſt ſtored with ideas the firſt germe of ſuperiour ſenſe, exhilarating muſic. Before the child can ſpeak, he is capable of ſong, or at leaſt of being affected by muſical tones; and among the moſt uncultivated nations muſic is the firſt of the fine arts, by which the mind is moved. The pictures, which Nature exhibits to the eye, are ſo various, changeable, and extenſive, that imitative taſte muſt long grope about, and ſeek the ſtriking in wild and monſtrous productions, ere it learns juſtneſs of proportion. But muſic, however rude and ſimple, ſpeaks to every human heart; and this, with the dance,

conſtitutes Nature's general feſtival throughout the Earth. Pity it is, that moſt travellers, from too refined a taſte, conceal from us theſe infantile tones of foreign nations. Uſeleſs as they may be to the muſician, they are inſtructive to the inveſtigator of man: for the muſic of a nation, in it's moſt imperfect form, and favourite tunes, diſplays the internal character of the people, that is to ſay, the proper tone of their ſenſations, much more truly and profoundly, than the moſt copious deſcription of external contingencies.

The more in general I trace the whole ſenſibility of man, in his various regions and ways of life, the more do I find Nature every where a kind parent. Where an organ is leſs capable of being gratified, ſhe excites it leſs, and leaves it for ages in a gentle ſlumber: where ſhe has refined and expanded an organ, ſhe has diſpoſed means to gratify it fully: ſo that the whole Earth, with this checked or heightened organization of man, ſounds to her ear as a well-tuned inſtrument, from which every poſſible note is, or will be, produced.

## CHAPTER II.

*The human Fancy is every where organic and climatic, but it is every where led by Tradition.*

Of a thing that lies without the ſphere of our perception we know nothing: the ſtory of a king of Siam, who conſidered ice and ſnow as non-entities, is in a thouſand inſtances applicable to every man. The ideas of every indigenous nation are thus confined to it's own region: if it profeſs to underſtand words expreſſing things utterly foreign to it, we have reaſon to remain long in doubt of the reality of this underſtanding.

'The greenlanders,' ſays the worthy Cranz *, 'are fond of hearing tales of Europe; but they can comprehend nothing unleſs illuſtrated by ſome compariſon. "The town, or the country," for inſtance, "has ſo many inhabitants, that ſeveral whales would hardly ſuffice to feed them a day: they do not eat whales, however, but bread, which grows out of the ground like graſs, and the fleſh of animals that have horns; and they are carried about on the backs of large ſtrong beaſts, or drawn along by them upon a wooden ſtage." On hearing this, they call bread, graſs; oxen, reindeer; and horſes, great dogs; are ſtruck with admiration, and expreſs a wiſh to live in ſuch a fine fruitful country, till

* *Geſch. von Grœnland,* 'Hiſtory of Greenland, p. 225.

they

they are informed, that it frequently thunders, and no ſeals are to be procured there. They willingly hear of God and divine things, alſo, as long as you do not contradict their ſuperſtitious fables.' From the ſame author * I will compoſe a catechiſm of their theologico-natural philoſophy, ſhowing, that they can neither anſwer nor comprehend european queſtions, otherwiſe than according to the circle of their own conceptions.

*Queſtion.* Who created Heaven and Earth, and every thing that you ſee?

*Anſwer.* That we cannot tell. We do not know the man. He muſt have been a very mighty man. Or elſe theſe things always were, and will always remain ſo.

*Q.* Have you a ſoul?

*A.* O yes. It can increaſe and decreaſe: our angekoks can mend and repair it: when a man has loſt his ſoul, they can bring it back again: and they change a ſick ſoul for a freſh found one from a hare, a rein-deer, a bird, or a young child. When we go a long journey, our ſoul often ſtays at home. At night, when we are aſleep, it wanders out of the body: it goes a hunting, dancing, or viſiting, while the body lies ſtill.

*Q.* What becomes of it after death?

*A.* Then it goes to the happy place at the bottom of the ſea. Torngarſuck and his mother live there. There it is always ſummer, bright ſunſhine, and no night: and there, too, is good water, with plenty of birds, fiſhes, ſeals, and rein-deer, all of which may be caught without any trouble, or taken out of a great kettle ready boiled.

*Q.* And do all men go thither?

*A.* No: only good people, who were uſeful workmen, have done great actions, caught many whales and ſeals, endured much, or been drowned at ſea, died in the birth, &c.

*Q.* How do theſe get thither?

*A.* Not eaſily. They muſt ſpend five days or more in ſcrambling down a bare rock, which is already covered with blood.

*Q.* But do you not ſee thoſe beautiful heavenly bodies? Are not they more probably the place of our future abode?

*A.* It is there, too, in the higheſt Heaven, far above the rainbow; and the journey thither is ſo quick and eaſy, that the ſoul can repoſe the ſame evening in his houſe in the moon, which was once a greenlander, and dance and play at bowls with the other ſouls. Thoſe northern lights are the ſouls playing at bowls and dancing.

* Sect. V, VI.

*Q.* And what do they there beſides?

*A.* They live in tents, by a vaſt lake, in which are multitudes of fiſhes and birds. When this lake overflows, it rains upon Earth; if the banks were to break down, it would cauſe an univerſal deluge.—But in general only the vile and worthleſs go to Heaven; the diligent go to the bottom of the ſea. Thoſe ſouls muſt often ſuffer hunger, are lean and feeble, and can have no reſt for the quick turning round of the ſky. Bad people and ſorcerers go thither: they are tormented by ravens, which they cannot keep out of their hair, &c.

*Q.* What do you believe was the origin of mankind?

*A.* The firſt man, Kallak, came out of the earth, and his wife ſoon after came out of his thumb. She bore a greenland woman, and the woman bore *Kablunæt*, that is, foreigners and dogs: hence both dogs and foreigners are incontinent and prolific.

*Q.* And will the world endure for ever?

*A.* Once already it has been overwhelmed, and every body drowned, except one man. He ſtruck the earth with his ſtaff, a woman came out, and they repeopled the World. It now reſts on it's ſupporters, but they are ſo rotten with age, that they often crack; ſo that it would long ago have fallen down, if our angekoks were not continually repairing them.

*Q.* But what think you of thoſe beautiful ſtars?

*A.* They were all formerly greenlanders, or beaſts, who have travelled up thither on particular occaſions, and appear pale or red according to the difference of their food. They that you ſee there meeting are two women viſiting each other: that ſhooting ſtar is a ſoul gone on a viſit: that great ſtar (the Bear) is a rein-deer: thoſe ſeven ſtars are dogs hunting a bear: thoſe (Orion's belt) are men who loſt themſelves hunting ſeals, could not find the way home, and ſo got among the ſtars. The Sun and Moon are a brother and ſiſter. Malina, the ſiſter, was aſſaulted by her brother in the dark: ſhe endeavoured to eſcape by flight, aſcended into the ſky, and became the Sun: Anninga purſued her, and became the Moon. The Moon is continually running round the virgin Sun, in hopes to catch her, but in vain. When he is weary and exhauſted (in the laſt quarter) he goes ſeal hunting, at which he continues ſome days, and then he returns again as fat as we ſee him in the full Moon. He is glad when women die, and the Sun is pleaſed at the death of men.

I ſhould be little thanked for my trouble, were I to go on thus exhibiting the fancies of various nations. If any one ſhould be found deſirous of travelling through theſe realms of imagination, the true Limbo of vanity, which extend to every part of the World, I wiſh he may be endued with the ſpirit of calm obſervation,

vation, which, free from all hypotheſes of the deſcent and ſimilitude of nations, ſhall be in all places as it were at home, and know how to render every folly of our fellow-creatures inſtructive. For my part, I have only to extract ſome general obſervations from this kingdom of living ſhadows formed by muſing nations.

1. *Climates and Nations are univerſally marked in it.* Compare the greenland mythology with the indian, the laplandic with the japaneſe, the peruvian with that of Negroland; a complete geography of the inventing mind. If the Voluſpa of the icelander were read and expounded to a bramin, he would ſcarcely be able to form a ſingle idea from it; and to the icelander the Vedam would be equally unintelligible. Their own mode of repreſenting things is the more deeply imprinted on every nation, becauſe it is adapted to themſelves, is ſuitable to their own earth and ſky, ſprings from their mode of living, and has been handed down to them from father to ſon. What is moſt aſtoniſhing to a foreigner they believe they moſt clearly comprehend; he laughs at things, on which they are moſt ſerious. The indians ſay, that the deſtiny of a man is written on his brain, the fine lines of which repreſent the illegible letters of the book of Fate: the moſt arbitrary national ideas and opinions are frequently ſuch brain-drawn pictures, lines of the fancy moſt firmly interwoven with both body and mind.

2. Whence is this? Have all theſe tribes of men invented their own mythology, and thus become attached to it as their own property! By no means. They have not invented, but *inherited it.* Had they produced it themſelves, their own reflection might have carried them from the bad to better, which has not been the caſe. When Dobritzhofer * repreſented to a whole tribe of brave and intelligent abiponians, how ridiculous it was in them, to be terrified at the menaces of a conjuror, who threatened to turn himſelf into a tiger, and whoſe claws they fancied they already felt: 'you daily kill real tigers in the field,' ſaid he to them, 'without being afraid; why are you alarmed in ſuch a daſtardly manner at an imaginary one, that does not exiſt?' 'You, father,' anſwered a valiant abiponian, 'have no accurate ideas of our affairs. The tigers in the field we fear not, becauſe we ſee them: there we kill them without difficulty. The artificial tigers we dread, becauſe we cannot ſee them, and conſequently are unable to kill them.'

This, I conceive, is the key of the myſtery. Were all notions as clear to us, as thoſe we acquire by the ſight; had we no other ideas, than thoſe which we

* Hiſtory of the Abiponians, Vol. I.

derive

derive from viſual objects, or can compare with them; the ſource of errour and deception would be ſtopped, or at leaſt ſoon diſcoverable. But at preſent moſt national fictions ſpring from verbal communications, and are inſtilled into the ear. The ignorant child liſtens with curioſity to the tales, which flow into his mind like his mother milk, like choice wine of his father, and form it's nutriment. They ſeem to him to explain what he has ſeen: to the youth they account for the way of life of his tribe, and ſtamp the renown of his anceſtors: the man they introduce to the employment ſuited to his nation and climate, and thus they become inſeparable from his whole life. The greenlander and tungooſe ſee in reality all their lives only what they heard of in their infancy, and thus they believe it to be evidently true. Hence the timid practices of ſo many nations, even far remote from each other, in eclipſes of the Sun or Moon: hence their trembling belief in ſpirits of the air, ſea, and other elements. Wherever there is motion in nature; wherever any cauſe ſeems to exiſt and produce change, without the eye being able to diſcover the laws, by which the change is effected; the ear hears words, which explain to it the myſtery of what is ſeen, by ſomething unſeen. The ear is in general the moſt timorous, the moſt apprehenſive, of all the ſenſes: it perceives quickly but obſcurely: it cannot retain and compare things, ſo as to render them clear, for it's objects haſten to the gulf of oblivion. Appointed to awaken the mind, it can ſeldom acquire clear and ſatisfactory information, without the aid of the other ſenſes, particularly the eye.

3. Thus it appears *among what people the imagination is moſt highly ſtrained:* among thoſe namely, who love ſolitude, and inhabit the wild regions of nature, deſerts, rocks, the ſtormy ſhores of the ſea, the feet of volcanoes, or other moving and aſtoniſhing ſcenes. From the remoteſt times the deſerts of Arabia have foſtered ſublime conceptions, and they who have cheriſhed them have been for the moſt part ſolitary, romantic men. In ſolitude Mohammed began his Koran: his heated imagination rapt him to Heaven, and ſhowed him all the angels, ſaints, and worlds: his mind was never more inflamed, than when it depicted the thunders of the day of reſurrection, the laſt judgment, and other immenſe objects. To what extent has the ſuperſtition of the ſhamans ſpread itſelf! From Greenland and the three Laplands, over the whole benighted coaſt of the Frozen Ocean, far into Tatary, and almoſt throughout the whole of America. Magicians every where appear, and fearful images of nature every where form the world in which they dwell. Thus more than three fourths of the Globe receive this faith: for even in Europe moſt nations of finniſh or ſlavian origin are ſtill addicted to the ſorceries of the worſhip of Nature, and the ſuper-

ſtition of the negroes is nothing but ſhamaniſm moulded to their genius and climate. In the poliſhed countries of Aſia, indeed, this is ſuppreſſed by poſitive, factitious religion, and political inſtitutions: yet it is diſcernible, wherever it can peep out, in ſolitude, and among the populace; till on ſome of the iſlands in the South-Sea it again rules with powerful ſway. Thus the worſhip of Nature has gone round the Globe, and it's reveries have ſeized on thoſe local objects of power and alarm, on which human wants confine. In ancient times it was the worſhip of almoſt all the nations upon Earth.

4. *That the way of life and genius of each nation have powerfully cooperated in this*, ſcarcely requires to be mentioned. The ſhepherd beholds nature with different eyes from thoſe of the fiſherman or hunter: and again, in every region theſe occupations differ as much as the character of the people, by whom they are exerciſed. I was aſtoniſhed, for inſtance, to obſerve in the mythology of the kamtſchadales, dwelling ſo far to the north, a laſciviouſneſs, that might have been more naturally expected from a ſouthern nation: but their climate and genetic character afford us ſome explanation of this anomaly *. Their cold land is not without burning mountains and hot ſprings: benumbing cold and melting heat there contend againſt each other; and their diſſolute manners, as well as their groſs mythological tales, are the natural offspring of the two. The ſame may be ſaid of the fables of the paſſionate, talkative negro, which have neither beginning nor end †: the ſame of the fixed conciſe mythology of the north-american ‡: the ſame of the flowery reveries of the hindoo §, which breathe, like himſelf, the voluptuous eaſe of Paradiſe. The gods of the laſt bathe in ſeas of milk and honey: his goddeſſes repoſe on cooling lakes, in the cups of fragrant flowers. In ſhort, the mythology of every people is an expreſſion of the particular mode, in which they viewed nature; particularly whether from their climate and genius they found good or evil to prevail, and how perhaps they endeavoured to account for the one by means of the other. Thus even in the wildeſt lines, and worſt-conceived features, it is a philoſophical attempt of the human mind, which dreams ere it awakes, and willingly retains it's infant ſtate.

5. Men generally conſider the angekoks, conjurers, magicians, ſhamans, and prieſts, as the inventors of theſe tales, to blind the people; and think they have explained the whole, when they call them deceivers. That they are ſo in moſt places is very true: but let it be remembered, that they alſo are people, and

* See Steller, Kraſcheninikow, &c.

† See Rœmer, Boſſmann, Mueller, Oldendorp, &c.

‡ See Lafiteau, le Beau, Carver, &c.

§ Baldeus, Dow, Sonnerat, Holwell, &c.

the

the dupes of tales older than themſelves. They were born and brought up amid the imaginations of their tribe: their conſecration was attended with faſting, ſolitude, intenſion of the fancy, and exhauſtion of body and mind; ſo that no one became a conjurer, till his familiar had appeared to him, and the buſineſs was firſt accompliſhed in his own imagination, which he afterwards carried on during his whole life for others, with repetition of ſimilar exaltations of the mind, and debilitations of the body. The cooleſt travellers have been aſtoniſhed by many juggling tricks of this kind, ſeeing ſuch effects of the power of imagination, as they could ſcarcely have believed poſſible, and often knew not how to explain. Of all the powers of the human mind the imagination has been leaſt explored, and is probably the moſt inexplicable: for, being connected with the general ſtructure of the body, and with that of the brain and nerves in particular, as many wonderful diſeaſes ſhow, it ſeems to be not only the band and baſis of all the finer mental powers, but the knot, that ties body and mind together; the bud, as it were, of the whole ſenſual organization, expanding to the higher uſe of the thinking faculties. Thus it is neceſſarily the firſt, that deſcends from parents to children; as many inſtances of deviation from the courſe of nature, and the undeniable ſimilitude of the external and internal organization, even in the moſt accidental circumſtances, ſufficiently prove.

It has long been queſtioned, whether there be innate ideas: and in the common acceptations of the words the anſwer muſt certainly be in the negative. But if we underſtand them to ſignify a prediſpoſition to receive, connect, and expand certain ideas and images, nothing appears to make againſt the affirmative, and every thing for it. If a child can inherit ſix fingers, if the family of the *porcupine-man* in England could derive from their parent his unnatural excreſcences, if the external form of the head and face be often tranſmitted, as it evidently is, from father to ſon; would it not be ſtrange, that the form of the brain, perhaps even in it's fineſt organic diviſions, ſhould not be hereditary likewiſe? Diſeaſes of the imagination, of which we have no idea, prevail in many nations: and all the countrymen of thoſe, who are ſo affected, compaſſionate them, becauſe they feel in themſelves the genetic diſpoſition to the ſame diſeaſe. Among the valiant abiponians, for inſtance, a periodical madneſs prevails, of which the madman has no conſciouſneſs in the intervals: he is in health, as he was before, only his ſoul, they ſay, is gone out of him. In many nations, in order to give vent to this evil, dream-feaſts have been eſtabliſhed, in which the viſionaries are permitted to do whatever comes into their minds. Dreams, indeed, are of aſtoniſhing force among all people of warm imaginations: nay probably they were the firſt muſes, the parents of poetry

and

and fiction. They introduced men to forms and things, which no eye had ſeen, but the deſire of which lay in the human mind: for what could be more natural, than that the beloved dead ſhould appear in dreams to thoſe they left behind, and that they, who had lived ſo long with us awake, might now wiſh to live with us at leaſt as ſhades in a dream? The hiſtory of nations will ſhow, how Providence has employed the inſtrument of imagination, by which man might be acted upon ſo powerfully, ſimply, and naturally: but it is horrible, when deceit or deſpotiſm abuſes it, and renders ſubſervient to it's purpoſes that ocean of human fancies and dreams, which no one has yet been able to ſubdue.

Great Spirit of the World, with what eyes doſt thou contemplate all the ſhadowy forms and viſions, that courſe each other on this our globe! for we are ſhadows, and dreams of ſhadows are all that our fancies imagine *. As little as we are capable of reſpiring pure air, as little can pure reaſon impart itſelf wholly at preſent to our compound clay-formed ſhell. Yet, amid all the errours of the imagination, the human ſpecies is moulding to it: men are attached to figures, becauſe they expreſs things; and thus through the thickeſt clouds they ſeek and perceive rays of truth. Happy the choſen few, who proceed, as far as is poſſible in our limited ſphere, from fancies to eſſences, that is from infancy to manhood, and whoſe clear underſtandings go through the hiſtory of their brethren with this end in view. The mind nobly expands, when it is able to emerge from the narrow circle, which climate and education have drawn round it, and learns from other nations at leaſt what may be diſpenſed with by man. How much, that we have been accuſtomed to conſider as abſolutely neceſſary, do we find others live without, and conſequently perceive to be by no means indiſpenſable! Numberleſs ideas, which we have often admitted as the moſt general principles of the human underſtanding, diſappear, in this place and that, with the climate, as the land vaniſhes like a miſt from the eye of the navigator. What one nation holds indiſpenſable to the circle of it's thoughts, has never entered into the mind of a ſecond, and by a third has been deemed injurious. Thus we wander over the Earth in a labyrinth of human fancies: but the queſtion is; where is the central point of the labyrinth, to which all our wanderings may be traced, as refracted rays to the Sun?

* Τι δε τις; τι δ' ουτις;
Σκιας εναρ ανθρωποι. κ. τ. λ. Pindar. F.

## CHAPTER III.

*The practical Understanding of the human Species has every where grown up under the Wants of Life; but every where it is a Blossom of the Genius of the People, a Son of Tradition and Custom.*

It has been customary, to divide the nations of the Earth into hunters, fishermen, shepherds, and husbandmen; and not only to determine their rank in civilization from this division, but even to consider civilization itself as a necessary consequence of this or that way of life. This would be very excellent, if these modes of life were determined themselves in the first place: but they vary with almost every region, and for the most part run into each other in such a manner, that this mode of classification is very difficult to apply with accuracy. The greenlander, who strikes the whale, pursues the reindeer, and kills the seal, is occupied both in hunting and fishing; yet in a very different manner from that, in which the negro fishes, or the araucoan hunts on the deserts of the Andes. The bedouin and the mungal, the laplander and the peruvian, are shepherds: but how greatly do they differ from each other, while one pastures his camels, another his horses, the third his reindeer, and the last his pacoes and llamas. The merchants of England differ not more from those of China, than the husbandmen of Whidah from the husbandmen of Japan.

Want alone, even when there is no deficiency of powers in a nation to obey it's demands, seems equally incapable of producing civilization: for as soon as the Indolence of man has rendered him contented under his Necessities, and both together have begotten the child he names Convenience, he persists in his condition, and cannot be impelled to improve it without difficulty. Other causes cooperate to determine the mode of life of a people: but let us at present consider it as fixed, and inquire what active powers of the mind are displayed in it's various forms.

Men who live on roots, herbs, and fruits, will remain inactive, and their faculties will continue limited, if some particular motives do not impel them to civilization. Born in a fine climate, and descended from a gentle race, they are gentle in their lives: for why should contention take place among men, on whom bountiful Nature bestows every thing without toil? Their arts and inventions, too, extend only to their daily wants. The islanders, whom Nature feeds with vegetable productions, particularly the salubrious bread-

fruit,

fruit, and clothes in a delightful climate with the rind of trees, lead a tranquil happy life. Birds, we are told, ſat on the ſhoulders of the natives of the Ladrone iſlands, and ſang undiſturbed: with the uſe of the bow they were unacquainted, for no beaſt of prey obliged them, to have recourſe to weapons of defence. They were ſtrangers to fire, alſo; for the mildneſs of their climate rendered it unneceſſary. The ſame might be ſaid of the people of the Caroline and other happy iſlands in the ſouthern ocean; only in ſome of them ſociety had arrived at a higher degree of civilization, and more arts and manufactures had ariſen from various cauſes. Where the climate was leſs temperate, men were neceſſitated to live more hardly, and with leſs ſimplicity. The new-hollander purſues his opoſſum and kanguroo, ſhoots birds, catches fiſh, and eats yams: he has united as many ways of life as his rude convenience required, till he had rounded them as it were into a circle, in which he could live happily after his faſhion. It is the ſame with the new-caledonian and new-zealander; nor muſt we except even the miſerable inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego. They had their canoes of bark, bows and arrows, baſkets and pitchers, huts and fire, clothes and hatchets; and conſequently the commencement of all the arts, by means of which the moſt enlightened nations upon Earth have attained their preſent civilization; only with them, under the preſſure of benumbing cold, and amid their dreary rocks, every thing has remained in the rudeſt ſtate. The californian diſplays as much underſtanding, as his country and way of life afford or require. So does the native of Labradore, and of every country on the moſt barren verge of the earth. Every where men have reconciled themſelves to neceſſity, and from hereditary habit live happy in the labours, to which they are compelled. What makes not a part of their wants they deſpiſe: actively as the eſkimaux plies his oar, he has not yet learned to ſwim.

On the great continents of our globe men and beaſts crowd more together; and in conſequence brutes have contributed in various ways, to exerciſe the human intellect. The inhabitants of many moraſſes in America, indeed, have been obliged to have recourſe to ſnakes and lizards, to the iguana, the armadillo, and the alligator: but moſt nations have been hunters in a nobler mode. What does a north or ſouth-american require, to fit him for the way of life, to which he is deſtined? He knows the beaſts of his chace, their abodes, manners, and artifices, and arms himſelf againſt them with ſtrength, addreſs, and exerciſe. The boy is educated, to aſpire to the fame of a hunter; as the ſon of a greenlander, to ſeek renown by catching ſeals: this forms the ſubject of the diſcourſe, the ſongs, the tales of famous deeds, that meet his ears; this is repreſented to his eyes in expreſſive actions, and animating dances. From his

infancy he learns, to fabricate and employ the implements of the chace: weapons are his toys, and women the objects of his contempt; for the narrower the ſphere of life, and the more determinate the object, in which perfection is ſought, the ſooner will this be attained. Nothing interrupts the courſe of the aſpiring youth, but every thing tends rather to ſtimulate and encourage him, as he lives expoſed to the eyes of his countrymen, in the ſtate and occupation of his father. If a man were to compoſe a book of the arts of various nations, he would find them ſcattered over the whole Earth, and each flouriſhing in it's proper place. Here the negro leaps into the ſurf of a ſea, into which no european would venture: there he climbs a tree, on which our eye can ſcarcely follow him. This fiſherman purſues his trade with ſuch art, as if he faſcinated his prey: that ſamoiede encounters the white bear, and oppoſes him ſingly: for yonder negro, uniting ſtrength with addreſs, two lions are not more than a match. The hottentot attacks the rhinoceros and hippopotamus: the inhabitant of the Canary iſles traverſes the ſteepeſt rocks, leaping like a chamois from crag to crag: the ſtrong manly wife of the tibetian carries the ſtranger over the loftieſt mountains of the Earth. The children of Prometheus, compoſed of the parts and inſtincts of all animals, have excelled every one of theſe in arts and capacities, in one place or another, after having learned from them, whatever they have acquired.

That men have learned moſt of their arts from nature and animals, cannot be doubted. Why does the inhabitant of the Ladrone iſlands clothe himſelf with the bark of trees? or the american and papoo adorn themſelves with feathers? Becauſe the former lives amid trees, and obtains from them his food; and the elegant plumage of their birds is the moſt beautiful object, that occurs to the ſight of the latter. The hunter clothes himſelf like the game he purſues, and takes leſſons in architecture from the beaver of his lakes: others build their huts like neſts on the ground, or, with the birds, fix them upon trees. The beak of a bird was the model, from which men formed their arrows and ſpears; as the figure of the canoe was taken from that of a fiſh. From the ſnake they learned the pernicious art of poiſoning their weapons; and the ſingularly extenſive cuſtom of painting the body was equally an imitation of birds and beaſts. What! thought man, ſhall theſe be ſo beautifully adorned, ſo diſtinguiſhingly coloured, while I bear a pale uniform ſkin, becauſe my indolence refuſes, to prepare the covering my climate does not require? Hence he began to paint and embroider himſelf with ſymmetry. Even nations, that were not ſtrangers to the uſe of clothes, envied the ox his horns, the bird his creſt, the bear his tail, and made them objects of imitation. The north-americans relate

relate with gratitude, that maize was brought to them by a bird: and the uſe of moſt indigenous medicines was unqueſtionably learned from animals. But all theſe things required the ſenſual minds of free children of Nature, who, living with theſe animals, think themſelves not infinitely exalted above them. It is difficult for an european in other parts of the world even to diſcover, what the natives daily uſe: after many endeavours, they are obliged to obtain the ſecret from theſe either by force or entreaty.

But man went incomparably farther, when he attracted animals about him, and finally brought them under his yoke. The immenſe difference between neighbouring nations, living with or without theſe auxiliaries to their powers, is evident. Whence came it, that America, on it's firſt diſcovery, was ſo far behind the old world, and the europeans could treat it's inhabitants like a flock of defenceleſs ſheep? It depended not on corporal powers alone, as the examples of all the numerous ſavage nations ſhow: in growth, in ſwiftneſs, in prompt addreſs, they exceed, man for man, moſt of the nations, that play at dice for their land. Neither was underſtanding, as far as it relates to the individual, the cauſe: the american knew how to provide for himſelf, and lived happily with his wife and children. It aroſe, therefore, from art, weapons, cloſe connexion, and principally from domeſticated animals. Had the american poſſeſſed the horſe, the warlike majeſty of which he tremblingly acknowledged; had the fierce dog, which the ſpaniard ſent againſt him as a fellow-ſoldier in the pay of his catholic majeſty, been his; the conqueſt would have been more dearly purchaſed, and at leaſt a retreat to their mountains, deſerts, and plains, would have remained open to a nation of horſemen. Even now, all travellers ſay, the horſe makes the greateſt difference between the american nations. The horſemen in the northern part of America, and ſtill more in the ſouthern diviſion of that continent, are ſo ſuperiour to the poor ſlaves of Mexico and Peru, that a man would ſcarcely ſuppoſe them to be neighbouring ſons of the ſame climate. The former have not only maintained their freedom, but are become more manly both in body and mind, than they were probably at the diſcovery of their country. The horſe, which the oppreſſors of their brethren employed as an unconſcious inſtrument of fate, may at ſome future period perhaps be the deliverer of the whole land; as the other domeſtic animals, that have been introduced into it, have already been in ſome meaſure conducive to a more comfortable life, and may hereafter poſſibly become auxiliary means of a degree of civilization peculiar to the weſt. But as all this is in the hand of Fate, to the ſame Fate muſt be aſcribed, what was in the nature of this quarter of the Globe, that it was ſo long unacquainted with either horſe, aſs, ox, dog, ſheep, goat, hog, cat,

or

or camel. It had fewer kinds of quadrupeds, becauſe the land was leſs extenſive, ſeparated from the old world, and in great part probably later emerged from the boſom of the ocean than the other continents; ſo that it had fewer to tame. The paco and llama, the camel-ſheep of Mexico, Peru, and Chili, were the only tameable and domeſticated beaſts: for even the europeans, with all their underſtanding, have been unable to add any to theſe, or render either the quiqui or puma, the ſloth or tapir, an animal of domeſtic utility.

In the old world, on the contrary, how many animals are domeſticated! and how much have they aſſiſted the active mind of man! But for the horſe and camel, the deſerts of Arabia and Africa would be inacceſſible: the ſheep and the goat have been aids to domeſtic economy; the ox and the aſs, to agriculture and trade. The human animal, in a ſtate of ſimplicity, lives in friendſhip and ſociety with theſe beaſts; he treats them with kindneſs, and acknowledges his obligations to them. It is thus the arab, thus the mungal, lives with his horſe, the ſhepherd with his flock, the hunter with his dogs, the peruvian with his llama *. It is alſo generally known, that all animals ſubſervient to the purpoſes of man are more uſeful, in proportion to the humanity of the treatment they receive: they learn to underſtand and have an affection for man: capacities and inclinations are developed in them, which are to be found neither in the wild animal, nor in ſuch as are abuſed by man, which loſe even the powers and inſtincts of their ſpecies in ſtupid fatneſs, or degraded forms. Thus man and beaſt have improved themſelves together in a certain ſphere: the practical underſtanding of man has been ſtrengthened and extended by the beaſt; the capacity of the beaſt, by man. When we read of the dogs of the kamtſchadales, we are almoſt in doubt, which is the more rational creature, the kamtſchadale or his dog.

In this ſphere the firſt active exertion of the human mind ſtands ſtill: nay it is difficult, for any nation accuſtomed to it, to quit; and every one particularly dreads ſubmiſſion to the yoke of agriculture. Notwithſtanding the fine arable lands to be found in North-America; much as every nation values and defends it's property; however highly ſome have been taught by europeans, to prize gold, brandy, and certain of the conveniencies of life: ſtill the tilling of the ground, with the cultivation of maize, and a few garden vegetables, is left to the women, as well as the whole care of the huts; the warlike hunter could never bend his mind, to become a gardener, ſhepherd, or huſbandman. The ſavage, as he is called, prefers the active free life of Nature to every conſideration: ſur-

* Read in Ulloa, for inſtance, of the childiſh joy, with which the peruvian dedicates a llama to his ſervice. The manner, in which other nations live with their beaſts, is ſufficiently known from the accounts of various travellers.

rounded with perils, it awakens his powers, his courage, his resolution, and rewards him with health in the field, with independent ease in his hut, with respect and honour among his tribe. He wants, he desires, nothing more: and what addition to his happiness could he derive from another state, with the advantages of which he is unacquainted, and to the inconveniences of which he cannot submit? Read the various unadorned speeches of those, whom we call savages, and say, whether sound sense and natural justice be not conspicuous in them. The frame of man, too, in this state, is as much improved, though with a rude hand, and to few purposes, as it is capable of being improved in it: he is formed to a contented equanimity, and to welcome death with calmness, after the enjoyment of a life of permanent health. The bedouin and abiponian are both happy in their condition: but the former shudders at the thought of inhabiting a town, as the latter does at the idea of being interred in a church when he dies; according to their feelings, it would be the same as if they were buried alive.

Even where agriculture has been introduced, it has cost some pains, to limit men to separate fields, and establish the distinction of mine and thine: many small negro nations, who have cultivated their lands, have yet no idea of it; for, say they, the earth is common property. They annually parcel out the ground among them, till it with little labour, and as soon as the harvest is gathered in, the land reverts to it's former common state. Generally speaking, no mode of life has effected so much alteration in the minds of men, as agriculture, combined with the enclosure of land. While it produced arts and trades, villages and towns, and, in consequence, government and laws; it necessarily paved the way for that frightful despotism, which, from confining every man to his field, gradually proceeded to prescribe to him, what alone he should do on it, what alone he should be. The ground now ceased to belong to man, but man became the appertenance of the ground. Soon even the consciousness of powers, that had been used, was lost by their disuse: the oppressed, sunk in cowardice and slavery, were led from wretchedness and want into effeminate debauchery. Hence it is, that, throughout the whole World, the dweller in a tent considers the inhabitant of a hut as a shackled beast of burden, as a degenerate and sequestrated variety of the species. The former feels pleasure in the severest want, while seasoned and rewarded by freedom in act and will: on the other hand, the greatest dainties are poisons, when they benumb the mind, and deprive the frail mortal of worth and independance, the sole enjoyments of his precarious life.

Imagine not, that I seek to derogate from the value of a mode of living, which

which Providence has employed as a principal inſtrument for leading man to civil ſociety: for I myſelf eat the bread it has produced. But let juſtice be done to other ways of life, which, from the conſtitution of our Earth, have been deſtined, equally with agriculture, to contribute to the education of mankind. Land is cultivated in our manner by the ſmalleſt portion of the inhabitants of the Earth, and Nature herſelf has pointed out to the reſt their different modes of living. The numerous nations, that live on roots, rice, fruits, fiſhing, fowling, and hunting, the innumerable nomades, although perhaps they now purchaſe bread from their neighbours, or ſow a little corn themſelves, and all the nations, that cultivate land without having a fixed property in it, or by means of their women and ſlaves, are not, properly ſpeaking, huſbandmen: what a ſmall part of the World remains, therefore, for this artificial way of life! If Nature have any where attained her end, ſhe has attained it every where. The practical underſtanding of man was intended, to bloſſom and bear fruit in all it's varieties: and hence ſuch a diverſified Earth was ordained for ſo diverſified a ſpecies.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The Feelings and Inclinations of Men are every where conformable to their Organization, and the Circumſtances in which they live; but they are every where ſwayed by Cuſtom and Opinion.*

Self-preservation is the firſt object of every exiſting being: from the grain of ſand to the ſolar orb, every thing ſtrives, to remain what it is: for this purpoſe inſtinct is impreſſed on the brute; for this, reaſon, the ſubſtitute of inſtinct, is given to man. In obedience to this law, he every where ſeeks food at the impulſe of inexorable hunger: from his infancy, without knowing why or wherefore, he ſtrives to exerciſe his powers, to be in motion. The weary does not call for ſleep; but ſleep comes, and renovates his exiſtence: the vital powers relieve the ſick, when they can, or at leaſt ſtrive to remove the diſeaſe. Man defends his life againſt every thing, that attacks it; and even without being ſenſible, that Nature has taken meaſures, both within and around him, for his ſupport.

There have been philoſophers, who, on account of this inſtinct of ſelf-preſervation, have claſſed man with the beaſts of prey, and deemed his natural ſtate a ſtate of warfare. It is evident, there is much impropriety in this. Man, it

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is true, is a robber, in tearing the fruit from the tree; a murderer, in killing an animal; and the moſt cruel oppreſſor on the face of the Earth, while with his foot, and with his breath perhaps, he deprives of life innumerable multitudes of inviſible creatures. Every man knows the attempts of the gentle hindoo and extravagant egyptian philoſophy, to render man a perfectly harmleſs creature: but to the eye of the ſpeculatiſt they appear to have been in vain. We cannot look into the chaos of the elements; and if we refrain from devouring any viſible animal, we cannot avoid ſwallowing a number of minute living creatures, in water, air, milk, and vegetables.

But away with theſe ſubtilties, and, conſidering man among his brethren, let us aſk: is he by nature a beaſt of prey toward his fellows, is he an unſocial being? By his make he is not the former; and by his birth the latter ſtill leſs. Conceived in the boſom of Love, and nouriſhed at the breaſt of Affection, he is educated by men, and receives from them a thouſand unearned benefits. Thus he is actually formed in and for ſociety, without which he could neither have received his being, nor have become a man. Inſociability commences with him, when violence is done to his nature, by his coming into colliſion with other men: but this is no exception, as here he acts conformably to the great univerſal law of ſelf-preſervation. Let us inquire what means Nature has invented, to ſatisfy and reſtrain him as much as poſſible even here, and prevent a ſtate of general warfare among mankind.

1. As man is the moſt artfully complicated of all creatures, ſo great a variety of genetic character occurs in no other. Blind imperious inſtinct is wanting to his delicate frame; but in him the varying currents of thoughts and deſires flow into each other, in a manner peculiar to himſelf. Thus man, from his very nature, will claſh but little in his purſuits with man; his diſpoſitions, ſenſations, and propenſities, being ſo infinitely diverſified, and as it were individualized. What is a matter of indifference to one man, to another is an object of deſire: and then each has a world of enjoyment in himſelf, each a creation of his own.

2. Nature has beſtowed on this diverging ſpecies an ample ſpace, the extenſive fertile Earth, over which the moſt different climates and modes of life have room to ſpread. Here ſhe has raiſed mountains, there ſhe has placed deſerts or rivers, which keep men ſeparate: on the hunter ſhe has beſtowed the extenſive foreſt, on the fiſherman the ample ſea, on the ſhepherd the ſpacious plain. It is not her fault, that birds, deceived by the fowler's art, fly into his net, where they fight over their food, peck out each other's eyes, and contaminate the air they breathe: for ſhe has placed the bird in the air, and not in the net of the fowler. See thoſe wild ſpecies, how tamely they live together! no one

envies another; each procures and enjoys what he wants in peace. It is repugnant to the truth of hiſtory, to ſet up the malicious diſcordant diſpoſition of men crowded together, of rival artiſts, oppoſing politicians, envious authors, for the general character of the ſpecies: the rankling wounds of theſe malignant thorns are unknown to the greater part of mankind; to thoſe, who breathe the free air, not the peſtilential atmoſphere of towns. He who maintains laws are neceſſary, becauſe otherwiſe men would live lawleſsly, takes for granted, what it is incumbent on him to prove. If men were not thronged together in cloſe priſons, they would need no ventilators to purify the air: were not their minds inflamed by artificial madneſs, they would not require the reſtraining hand of correlative art.

3. Nature, too, has ſhortened, as far as ſhe could, the time, that men muſt remain together. Man requires a long time to educate; but then he is ſtill weak: he is a child, quickly provoked, and as eaſily forgetting his anger; often diſpleaſed, but incapable of bearing malice. As ſoon as he arrives at years of maturity, a new inſtinct awakes in him, and he quits the houſe of his father. Nature acts in this inſtinct: ſhe drives him out, to conſtruct his own neſt.

And with whom does he conſtruct it? With a creature as diſſimilarly ſimilar to himſelf, and whoſe paſſions are as unlikely to come into colliſion with his, as is conſiſtent with the end of their forming an union together. The nature of the woman is different from that of the man: ſhe differs in her feelings, ſhe differs in her actions. Miſerable he, who is rivalled by his wife, or excelled by her in manly virtues! She was deſtined to rule him by kindneſs and condeſcenſion alone, which render the apple of diſcord the apple of love.

I will not purſue the hiſtory of the diſperſion of mankind any farther: with their diviſion into different houſes and families, the foundations of new ſocieties, laws, manners, and even languages, were laid. What do we learn from theſe different, theſe unavoidable dialects, which occur upon our Earth in ſuch infinite numbers, and frequently at ſuch little diſtance from each other? We learn, that the object of our diffuſive parent was not to crowd her children together, but to let them ſpread freely. As far as it may be, no tree is permitted to deprive another of air, ſo as to render it a ſtunted dwarf, or force it to become a crooked cripple, that it may breathe with more freedom. Each has it's place allotted it, that it may aſcend from it's root by it's own impulſe, and raiſe it's flouriſhing head.

Peace, therefore, not war, is the natural ſtate of mankind when at liberty: war is the offſpring of neceſſity, not the legitimate child of enjoyment. In the hand of Nature it is never an end, cannibaliſm itſelf even included, but here

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and there a ſevere and melancholy mean, with which even the mother of all things could not entirely diſpenſe, but which, as a compenſation, ſhe has employed for various, higher, and more valuable purpoſes.

Before we proceed to the afflicting conſideration of enmity, let us therefore examine delightful love: love, which extends it's ſway over all the Earth, though every where appearing in different forms.

As ſoon as the plant has attained its full growth, it bloſſoms: thus the time of bloſſoming is regulated by the period of growth, and this by the impulſe of the ſolar heat. The early or late arrival of man at maturity equally depends on climate, and the various circumſtances connected with it. The age of puberty differs aſtoniſhingly in different regions, and under different modes of life. The perſian maiden marries at eight, and becomes a mother in her ninth year: our ancient german heroines attained the age of thirty, before they thought of love.

It is obvious to every one, how much this difference muſt alter the relation of the ſexes to each other. The eaſtern virgin is a child, when ſhe is married: ſhe blooms early, and quickly fades: the maturer huſband treats her as a child, or as a flower. Since in thoſe warmer regions the ſtimulus of phyſical deſire not only awakes earlier in both ſexes, but operates more intenſely, what ſtep could be more natural for the man, than to abuſe the ſuperiority of his ſex, and endeavour to form a garden of theſe periſhable flowers? The conſequences of this ſtep to the human ſpecies were far from trifling. It was not merely, that the jealouſy of the huſband confined his numerous wives in a haram, where their improvement could not poſſibly keep pace with that of the men: but as the females were educated from their infancy for the haram, and the ſociety of women, nay the child was frequently ſold or betrothed at two years of age; how could it be otherwiſe, than that the general behaviour of the man, domeſtic economy, education of children, and laſtly even the fecundity of the women, muſt in time be affected by this abuſe? It is ſufficiently proved, for inſtance, that too early marriage on the part of the wife, and too powerful a ſtimulus on the part of the huſband, contribute neither to the fertility of the ſex, nor excellence of form. Indeed the accounts of various travellers render it probable, that in ſeveral of theſe countries more females are actually born than males; and if this be true, it may be both an effect of polygamy, and a cauſe promoting it's continuance. It is certain, this is not the only caſe, in which art, and the licentiouſneſs of man, have turned Nature out of her courſe: for elſewhere Nature maintains a pretty exact proportion between the births of both ſexes. But as woman is the moſt delicate production of our Earth, and love the moſt

powerful engine, that acts throughout the whole creation, the manner, in which women are treated, muſt be the firſt critical point of diſtinction in the hiſtory of our ſpecies. Every where woman has been the firſt object of contentious deſire, and from her nature not leſs the firſt failing ſtone in the human edifice.

For examples let us accompany Cook on his laſt voyage. While in the Society and other iſlands the female ſex appeared to be wholly dedicated to the rites of Cytherea, ſo as not only to refuſe nothing for a nail, an ornament, a feather, but even the huſband was ready to barter his wife for any trifle he wiſhed to poſſeſs; the ſcene completely changed with the climate and character of other iſlanders. Where the men appeared armed with the hatchet of war, the women were more confined to their houſes; and the ruder manners of the huſband rendered the wife more ſtrict, ſo that neither her charms nor deformities were expoſed to the eyes of the world. There is no circumſtance, I believe, which ſo deciſively ſhows the character of a man, or a nation, as the treatment of women. Moſt nations, that acquire ſubſiſtence with difficulty, degrade the female ſex to domeſtic animals, and impoſe on them all the labours of the hut: the huſband imagines bold, dangerous, manly enterpriſe ſufficiently excuſes him from ſubmitting to more trifling occupations, and leaves theſe to his wife. Hence the extreme ſubjection of the women in moſt ſavage nations throughout the World: and hence the little reſpect paid the mother by her ſons, as ſoon as they arrive at years of maturity. They are early initiated in perilous undertakings, ſo that the ſuperiority of the man is frequently occurring to their minds, and a rude diſpoſition to toil or danger ſoon takes place of a more tender affection. From Greenland to Caffraria this contempt of the women prevails in all uncultivated nations; though it appears among every people, and in every particular region, in a different form. The wife of the negro is far beneath her huſband in ſlavery, and at home the wretched carib imagines himſelf a king.

But the feebleneſs of the woman ſeems not to have been the only circumſtance, that has rendered her ſubordinate to the man; in moſt places her greater ſenſibility, her artfulneſs, and in general the more delicate mobility of her mind, appear to have contributed to it ſtill more. The aſiatics, for inſtance, cannot conceive, how the unbounded liberty of the women, as in Europe, the ſeat of female empire, can ſubſiſt without expoſing the men to extreme peril: with them, they are perſuaded, every thing would be in a perpetual ſtate of commotion, if theſe artful creatures, eaſily moved, and ready to attempt any thing, were not under reſtraint. The only reaſons aſſigned for

many

many tyrannical cuſtoms are, that the women formerly brought on themſelves ſuch rigid laws by ſuch or ſuch an action, and the men were compelled to have recourſe to them for their own peace and ſecurity. It is thus they account for the inhuman cuſtom of burning wives with their huſbands in Hinduſtan: the life of the huſband, they ſay, would never have been ſafe, but for this dreadful remedy, which impels the wife, to ſacrifice herſelf with him: and when we read of the ardent paſſions of the women in thoſe countries, the faſcinating charms of the indian dancing girls, and the cabals of the haram among the turks and perſians, we are led to think ſomething of the kind not incredible. The men were incapable of ſecuring from ſparks the inflammable tinder, which their voluptuouſneſs had compoſed; and too weak and indolent, to unravel the immenſe web of female capacities and contrivances, and turn them to better purpoſes: accordingly, as weak and voluptuous barbarians, they ſought their own quiet in a barbarous manner; and ſubjected by force thoſe, whoſe artfulneſs their underſtanding was unable to ſway. Read what the greeks and aſiatics have ſaid of women, and you will find materials for explaining their ſingular fate in moſt warm climates. The whole, it muſt be confeſſed, is ultimately aſcribable to the men, whoſe ſtupid brutality did not eradicate the evil, they have ſo lamely attempted to reſtrain; as appears, not only from the hiſtory of civilization, which, by a rational education, has placed woman on a level with man, but from the example of ſome uncivilized yet intelligent nations. The ancient german, in his wild foreſts, underſtood the worth of the female ſex, and enjoyed in them the nobleſt qualities of man, fidelity, prudence, courage, and chaſtity: but to this his climate, his genetic character, and every part of his way of life, contributed. He and his wife grew, like their oaks, ſlowly, unexhauſted, and ſtrong: the ſtimulus of ſeduction his country did not ſupply; and both the general condition and neceſſity inclined each ſex to virtue. Daughters of Germany, be not inſenſible of the fame of thoſe, from whom ye are deſcended, and aſpire to emulate them: there are few nations, on whoſe females hiſtory has conferred equal renown; and there are few nations, in which the huſband has ſo honoured the virtues of the wife, as in ancient Germany. The women of moſt nations in a ſimilar ſtate were ſlaves: your mothers were the friends and counſellors of their huſbands, and every worthy woman among you is ſo now.

Let us proceed to the virtues of women, as they diſplay themſelves in the hiſtory of mankind. Even among the moſt ſavage people the woman is diſtinguiſhed from the man by more delicate civility, and love of ornament and decoration: and theſe qualities are diſcernible, even where the nation has to

contend againſt an unfriendly climate, and the moſt diſtreſſing want. Every where the woman adorns herſelf, however ſcanty the materials ſhe is able to procure. So in the early ſpring the Earth, rich in life, ſends forth at leaſt a few inodorous bloſſoms, to ſhow what ſhe is capable of effecting in other ſeaſons.

Cleanlineſs is another female virtue, to which woman is impelled by nature, and excited by her deſire to pleaſe. The regulations, nay often ſupererogatory laws and cuſtoms, by which all unvitiated nations keep women when labouring under diſeaſe in a ſtate of ſeparation, that no injury may acrue from them, reflect diſgrace on many civilized people. They are in conſequence unacquainted with a great part of the weakneſſes, which among us are both the effects, and again new cauſes, of that deep degeneracy, which licentious, diſeaſed effeminacy tranſmits to a wretched offspring.

The gentle endurance, the indefatigable activity, for which the ſofter ſex, when not corrupted by the abuſes of civilization, are diſtinguiſhed, deſerve ſtill greater commendation. They bear with reſignation the yoke, that the rude ſuperiority of ſtrength in man, his love of idleneſs and inaction, and laſtly the faults of their anceſtors, have entailed on them as an hereditary cuſtom; and the moſt perfect examples of this are often found among the moſt wretched people. It is not from diſſimulation, that in many regions the marriageable females muſt be compelled by force to ſubmit to the drudgery of the wedded ſtate: they run from their hut, they flee into the deſert: with tears they put on the bridal garland, the laſt flower of their freer, playful youth. Moſt of the epithalamiums of ſuch nations are meant to encourage and conſole the bride, and are compoſed in a melancholy ſtrain*, at which we are apt to laugh, becauſe we are inſenſible of their innocence and truth. The bride takes a tender leave of all, that was dear to her youth, quits the houſe of her parents, as one dead to them for ever, loſes her former name, and becomes the property of a ſtranger, who in all likelihood will treat her as a ſlave. She muſt ſacrifice to him every thing, that is moſt dear to a human being, her perſon, her liberty, her will, nay probably her life and health; and all for the gratification of a paſſion, to which the modeſt virgin is yet a ſtranger, and which will ſoon be drowned in a ſea of inconveniences. Happy is it, that Nature has endowed and adorned the female heart with an unſpeakably affectionate and powerful ſenſe of the perſonal worth of man. This enables her to bear alſo his ſeverities: her mind willingly turns from them to the contemplation of whatever ſhe con-

* See ſome of them in the *Volksliedern*, 'Popular Songs,' Vol. I, p. 33, Vol. II, p. 96–98, 104.

ſiders

ſiders as noble, great, valiant, and uncommon in him: with exalted feelings ſhe participates in the manly deeds, the evening recital of which ſoftens the fatigue of her toilſome day, and is proud, ſince ſhe is deſtined to obedience, that ſhe has ſuch a huſband to obey. Thus the love of the romantic in the female character is a benevolent gift of Nature; a balſam for the woman, and an animating reward for the man: for the moſt valuable prize of the youth was ever the love of a maiden.

Laſtly muſt be mentioned that ſweet maternal affection beſtowed on woman by Nature; almoſt independent of cool reaſon, and far remote from the ſelfiſh deſire of reward. The mother loves her child, not becauſe he is amiable, but as a living part of herſelf, the child of her heart, the copy of her nature. Hence her bowels yearn with compaſſion for his ſufferings; her heart beats higher at his happineſs; her blood flows more placidly, while he receives the ſtream from her breaſt. Theſe maternal feelings pervade every uncorrupted nation upon Earth: no climate, by which all other things are changed, could alter this: the moſt depraved cuſtoms of ſociety alone can in time perhaps render enervating vices more pleaſing than the tender pains of maternal love. The greenlander ſuckles her ſon three or four years, becauſe her climate affords no food proper for infants: ſhe ſubmits to all the perverſities ariſing from the latent inſolence of the future man with indulgent forbearance. The negreſs diſplays more than manly ſtrength, when a monſter attacks her child: we read with aſtoniſhment inſtances of maternal magnanimity contemning life. Laſtly, when the tender mother, whom we call a ſavage, is deprived of her chief conſolation, the object of her care, and that for which ſhe values life, her feelings ſurpaſs deſcription *. How then can theſe nations be deficient in ſentiments of true female humanity, unleſs perhaps want and mournful neceſſity, or a falſe point of honour and ſome barbarous hereditary cuſtom, occaſionally lead them aſtray? The germes of every great and noble feeling not only exiſt in all places, but are univerſally unfolded, as much as the way of life, climate, tradition, or peculiarity of the nation will permit.

If theſe things be ſo, the huſband would not remain inferiour to the wife: and what manly virtue can we conceive, that has not found ſome place of the Earth or other, in which to flouriſh? Aſpiring courage, to be a ſovereign on Earth, and to enjoy life with freedom, but not with inactivity, is the firſt virtue of the man. This has formed itſelf moſt extenſively and diverſely; as it has been almoſt every where foſtered by neceſſity, and every region, every variation

* See Carver's Travels, p. 338 &c., the lamentations of the naudoweſſee woman, who had loſt her huſband, and her ſon of four years old.

of

of manners, has given it a different turn. Thus man ſoon ſought fame in perils; and to ſurmount them was the moſt precious jewel of his life. This diſpoſition deſcended from father to ſon: the rudiments of education promoted it, and in a few generations the tendency became hereditary. No other man is affected by the ſound of the horn, and the voice of the hound, like him who is born a hunter: to this the impreſſions he received in his childhood contribute. Nay frequently the countenance of the hunter, and the ſtructure of his brain, are tranſmitted to his poſterity. It is the ſame with all the other ways of life of free, active nations. The ſongs of a people are the beſt teſtimonies of their peculiar feelings, propenſities, and modes of viewing things; they form a faithful commentary on their way of thinking and feeling, expreſſed with openneſs of heart *. Even their cuſtoms, proverbs, and maxims, expreſs not ſo much as theſe: but ſtill more ſhould we learn from the characteriſtic dreams of a nation, if we had examples of them, or rather if travellers would note them. In dreaming, and at play, man exhibits himſelf juſt as he really is, but in the former moſt.

Paternal love is the ſecond virtue, which is beſt diſplayed by a manly education. The father early inures his ſon to his own mode of life: teaches him his art, awakens in him the ſenſe of fame, and in him loves himſelf, when he ſhall grow old, or be no more. This feeling is the baſis of all hereditary honour and virtue: it renders education a public, an eternal work: it has been the inſtrument of tranſmitting to poſterity all the excellencies and prejudices of the human ſpecies. Hence in almoſt all nations and tribes the mutual joy, when the ſon arrives at manhood, and equips himſelf with the implements or weapons of his father: hence the deep ſorrow of the father, when he loſes this his proudeſt hope. Read the lamentations of the greenlander for the loſs of his ſon †, liſten to the complaints of Oſſian on the death of his Oſcar, and in them you will perceive the bleeding wounds of the paternal heart, the nobleſt of the manly breaſt.

The grateful love of the ſon to his father is certainly but a ſlight return for the affection, with which the father has loved his ſon: but this too is the deſign of Nature. When the ſon becomes a father, his heart acts in the line of deſcent upon his children: the full ſtream is ordained to flow downward, not upward; for thus only the ever growing chain of new races can be upheld. It is not therefore to be reprobated as unnatural, if ſome nations, oppreſſed by want, prefer the child to the decayed parent; or, as ſome accounts ſay, even

* See the *Volkslieder*, 'Popular Songs,' partly in general, partly the northern ſongs in particular, Vol. I, p. 166, 175, 177, 242, 247, Vol. II, p. 210, 245.

† *Volkslieder*, Vol. II, p. 128.

accelerate

accelerate the death of thoſe, who are worn out by age. It is not hatred, but melancholy neceſſity, or rather cool benevolence, from which this ſprings: as they cannot feed the aged, as they cannot take them with them, they chooſe rather with friendly hand, to beſtow on them an eaſy death, than leave them to periſh by the fangs of wild beaſts. Cannot a friend, when impelled by neceſſity, deprive his friend of life, however painful the taſk may be; and thus confer on him, whom he is unable to ſave, the only benefit in his power? But, that the fame of the father lives and acts immortally in the minds of his deſcendants, appears in moſt nations, from their ſongs and wars, their hiſtory and traditions, and ſtill more eſpecially from their rooted eſteem for that way of life, which they have received as an inheritance.

Finally, common perils excite common courage: thus they knit the third and nobleſt tie of man, *friendſhip*. In countries and modes of life, that render union in enterprize neceſſary, heroic minds are found wearing the bonds of friendſhip through life and death. Such were thoſe friends of the heroic ages of Greece, whoſe fame will live immortally: ſuch were thoſe renowned ſcythians; and ſuch are ſtill to be found among nations addicted to hunting, war, or adventures of any kind, amid woods and deſerts. The huſbandman knows only a neighbour, the mechanic a workfellow, whom he aids or envies: the merchant, the man of letters, the courtier—how remote are they from that choſen, active, tried friendſhip, with which the wanderer, the priſoner, the ſlave who groans with another in one chain, are much better acquainted! In times of need, on occaſions of exigence, minds unite: the dying man calls on his friend, to avenge his blood, and rejoices in the hope of meeting him beyond the grave. The friend thirſts with an unquenchable deſire, to take vengeance for the death of him, to whom he is attached, to deliver him from priſon, to aſſiſt him in the combat, and to ſhare with him the meed of glory. An united tribe, among little nations, is nothing but a band of ſworn friends, ſegregated from all the reſt, whether in love or hatred. Such are the arabian tribes; ſuch are many of the tatar hordes; and ſuch are moſt of the nations of America. The bloodieſt wars between them, which ſeem to diſgrace humanity, originally ſprung from the noble ſentiment of an injury done to the honour of the tribe, or an offence committed againſt it's friendſhip.

I ſhall not at preſent purſue this ſubject through the different forms of government of the male or female ſovereigns of the Earth. For, ſince in all, that has hitherto been ſaid, we find no grounds to explain, why one man ſhould rule over thouſands of his fellows by right of birth; why he ſhould exact from them obedience to his will without conditions and without control, ſend

thouſands of them to be killed without contradiction, diſſipate the wealth of the ſtate without rendering any account of it, and beſide this lay the moſt oppreſſive taxes preciſely on the poor: ſince we are ſtill leſs capable of deducing from the original diſpoſitions of Nature, why a bold and valiant people, that is to ſay thouſands of worthy men and women, frequently kiſs the feet of a weak creature, or worſhip the ſceptre, with which a madman tears their fleſh from their bones; ſtill leſs what god or demon it is, that inſpires them, to ſubmit their underſtanding, their abilities, nay frequently their lives, and all the rights of man, to the will of one, and deem it their greateſt joy and happineſs, that the deſpot ſhould beget a future deſpot like himſelf; ſince all theſe things appear at firſt view the moſt inexplicable enigma of human nature, and happily, or unhappily, to the greater part of the Earth this form of government is unknown; we cannot reckon them among the primitive, neceſſary, univerſal laws, that Nature has impoſed upon mankind. Huſband and wife, father and ſon, friend and enemy, are determinate relations and names: but the ideas of leader and king, an hereditary legiſlature and judge, an arbitrary ſovereign and ruler of the ſtate, in his own perſon and in thoſe of all his poſterity yet unborn, require a different explanation, from what we can here beſtow on them. Let it ſuffice, that we have hitherto conſidered the Earth as a ſeminary of natural ſenſes and endowments, arts and capacities, mental faculties and virtues, in conſiderable variety: but how far man is qualified, or enabled, to procure himſelf happineſs thereby, or where the ſtandard of happineſs is to be found, let us now proceed to inquire.

## CHAPTER V.

*The Happineſs of Man is in all Places an individual Good; conſequently it is every where climatic and organic, the Offspring of Practice, Tradition, and Cuſtom.*

THE very name of happineſs * implies, that man is neither ſuſceptible of pure bliſs, nor capable of creating felicity for himſelf. He is the child of Accident,

* Being derived from *hap*, chance. The terms here contraſted in the original are *ſeligkeit* and *glueckſeligkeit*: the former, which I have rendered bliſs, implies the permanent felicity of the other world; to this *glueck*, ſignifying chance, or fortune, is prefixed to expreſs the caſual felicity of this. Our language has not two words expreſſing preciſely the ſame ideas, and contraſted in a ſimilar manner; ſo that I am obliged to content myſelf with the term happineſs, pointing out the contingency implied in it's derivation. T.

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who has placed him on this ſpot, or on that, and determined his capacity of enjoyment, and the kind and meaſure of his joys and ſorrows, according to the country, time, organization, and circumſtances, in which he lives. It would be the moſt ſtupid vanity to imagine, that all the inhabitants of the World muſt be europeans to live happily. Should we ourſelves have become what we are out of Europe? He who placed us here, and others there, undoubtedly gave them an equal right to the enjoyment of life. Happineſs is an internal ſtate; and therefore it's ſtandard is not ſeated without us, but in the breaſt of every individual, where alone it can be determined: another has as little right to conſtrain me to adopt his feelings, as he has power to impart to me his mode of perception, and convert his identity into mine. Let us not place, therefore, from indolent pride, or too common preſumption, the form and ſtandard of human happineſs higher or lower, than it has been fixed by the creator; for he alone knows, what a mortal can attain upon Earth.

1. Our complexly organized bodies, with all their ſenſes and limbs, have been beſtowed on us for uſe, for exerciſe. Without this our fluids ſtagnate; our organs become languid; and the body, a living corpſe, dies long before it's deceaſe; it periſhes by a ſlow, miſerable, unnatural death. If Nature, therefore, would ſecure us the firſt indiſpenſable foundation of happineſs, health, ſhe muſt beſtow on us exerciſe, toil, and labour, and rather compel man thereby to a ſtate of wellbeing, than leave him to diſpenſe with it. Hence, as the greeks ſay, the gods ſold every thing to mortals at the price of labour; not out of envy, but from kindneſs; for the greateſt enjoyment of exiſtence, the ſenſation of active ſtriving powers, lies in this very ſtruggle, in this ſtriving after the comforts of eaſe. Human nature languiſhes only in thoſe climates, or conditions, in which enervating idleneſs, in which voluptuous indolence entombs the body alive, and renders it a pallid carcaſe, or a burden to itſelf; in other countries, in other modes of life, even in the moſt ſevere, the moſt energetic growth, the healthieſt and moſt beautiful ſymmetry of the limbs, prevail. Turn over the hiſtory of nations, and read what Pages ſays, for example, of the make of the chactaws and tegaws, of the characters of the biſſagoans, hindoos, and arabs *: even the moſt unfavourable climates make little difference in the duration of life, and want itſelf ſtrengthens the cheerful ſon of need for the performance of health-giving labour. Even the mal-conformations of the body, that occur here and there upon the Earth as genetic characters or hereditary modes, are leſs detrimental to health, than our artificial embelliſhments, our

* *Voyages de Pages*, 'Pages's Travels,' p. 17, 18, 26, 52, 54, 140, 141, 156, 167, 188, &c.

many forced unnatural ways of life: for what is a larger lobe of the ear of an arracaneſe, the eradicated beard of an eaſt or weſt indian, or perhaps a perforated noſe, to the ſtraitened, tortured breaſt, bent knee, miſhapen foot, diſtorted or ricketty form, and compreſſed bowels, of ſo many delicate male and female europeans? Let us therefore thank Providence, that, as health is the foundation of all phyſical happineſs, it is ſo diffuſed over the Earth. Nations, to whom we are inclined to think Nature has played the ſtep-mother, are perhaps her moſt favoured children: for, if ſhe have prepared them no idle feaſt of pleaſing poiſons, ſhe has preſented to them from the hard hand of labour the cup of health, and an internal invigorating vital warmth. Children of the roſy morn, they bloom to the laſt: a frequently careleſs ſerenity, an internal ſenſation of well-being, is to them happineſs, is to them the end and enjoyment of life: could any other, could happineſs more ſweet and durable, be conferred upon them?

2. We boaſt of the refinement of our mental powers: but let melancholy experience teach us, that every refinement does not promote happineſs; nay, many an inſtrument becomes unfit for uſe by it's very delicacy. Contemplation, for inſtance, can form the pleaſure only of a few idle men: and to them, like opium to the aſiatics, it is frequently an enervating, conſuming, ſtupefying, viſionary pleaſure. The waking, healthy uſe of the ſenſes, an underſtanding employed about the real concerns of life, vigilant attention, accompanied with active recollection, quick determination, and happy effect, alone conſtitute what we call preſence of mind, real mental vigour, which repays itſelf with the conſciouſneſs of a preſent active power, with happineſs and joy. Think not, ſons of men, that a premature diſproportionate refinement or cultivation is happineſs; that the dead nomenclature of all the ſciences, the holiday uſe of all the arts, can ſecure to a living being the ſcience of life: the feeling of happineſs is not acquired from words learned by rote, or a knowledge of the arts. A head ſtuffed with knowledge, even of golden knowledge, oppreſſes the body, ſtraitens the breaſt, dims the eye, and is a morbid burden to the life of him who bears it. The more we divide our mental powers by refinement, the more the inactive powers decay: ſtretched on the ſcaffold of art, our limbs and faculties wither while diſplayed with oſtentation. The bleſſing of health ariſes only from the uſe of the whole mind, and of it's active powers in particular: let us thank Providence, therefore, for not rendering the human ſpecies in general too refined, and the Earth an auditory of the learned ſciences. In moſt nations and conditions of men, the mental powers are kindly left bound together in a firm knot, and developed only where need requires. Moſt nations of the Earth

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act and think, love and hate, hope and fear, laugh and cry, like children: at leaſt, therefore, they enjoy the happineſs of the childiſh dreams of infancy. Unhappy he, who firſt takes the pains, to dive beneath the ſurface for the happineſs of life!

3. As our wellbeing is rather a quiet feeling, than a brilliant thought; ſo our lives are embelliſhed with love and joy much more from the feelings of the heart, than from the effects of the moſt profound underſtanding. How good, therefore, has our common mother been, in rendering the ſource of goodwill toward ourſelves and others, the true humanity of our ſpecies, for which it was created, almoſt independent of motives and artificial incentives. Every living being rejoices in his exiſtence: he inquires not, he does not ſcrupulouſly examine, why he exiſts: his exiſtence is to him an end, and his end is exiſtence. No ſavage commits ſuicide, as no beaſt deſtroys himſelf: he propagates his ſpecies, without knowing to what purpoſe; and in the ſevereſt climate ſubmits to every toil and labour, merely that he may live. The ſimple, rooted feeling of exiſtence, for which there is no equivalent, is happineſs, therefore: a drop from the infinite ocean of the Allbliſsful, who is in all, and feels and enjoys himſelf in all. Hence that imperturbable joy and tranquillity, which many europeans admire in the countenances and lives of foreigners, becauſe their reſtleſs anxiety prevents them from entertaining ſimilar feelings: hence, too, that openhearted benevolence, that anticipating unconſtrained courteſy, which we find in all happy nations, not compelled to defence or revenge. From impartial accounts, this is ſo generally diffuſed over the Earth, that it might be deemed the characteriſtic of man; were it not, alas, equally the character of his equivocal nature, to reſtrain this frank benevolence, this courteous tranquillity and joy in himſelf and others, at the call of reaſon or fancy, to guard againſt future want. Why ſhould not a creature happy in himſelf ſee others happy about him, and endeavour what he can to promote their being ſo? But while we ourſelves, ſurrounded with wants, increaſe our neceſſities ſtill more by our own art and contrivance, our being is contracted, and the clouds of diſtruſt, anxiety, labour, and care, obſcure a countenance formed for open participating joy. Yet even here Nature has taken the human heart in hand, and moulded the ſenſible clay in ſuch various ways, that where ſhe could not gratify with giving, ſhe has ſought at leaſt to ſatisfy in refuſing. The european has no idea of the boiling paſſions and imaginations, that glow in the negro's breaſt; and the hindoo has no conception of the reſtleſs deſires, that chaſe the european from one end of the World to the other. The ſavage cannot gratify his

paſſions in voluptuouſneſs, and therefore they incline more to compoſure and tranquillity: on the other hand, where the flame of benevolence ſcatters light ſparks all around, it quickly kindles, and periſhes in theſe ſparks. In ſhort, the human feelings have received every form, that could find a place in the various climates, ſtates, and organizations of our Globe: yet every where the happineſs of life conſiſts not in a tumultuous crowd of thoughts and feelings, but in their relation to the actual internal enjoyment of our exiſtence, and what we reckon as part of our exiſtence. No where upon Earth does the roſe of happineſs bloſſom without thorns: but what proceeds from theſe thorns is every where, and under all it's forms, the lovely though periſhable roſe of vital joy.

If I err not, from theſe ſimple data, the truths of which every heart muſt feel, a few lines may be drawn, which determine at leaſt many doubts and miſtakes concerning the deſtination of the human ſpecies. How, for inſtance, can it be, that man, as we know him here, ſhould have been formed for an infinite improvement of his mental faculties, a progreſſive extenſion of his perceptions and actions? nay, that he ſhould have been made for the ſtate, as the end of his ſpecies, and all preceding generations properly for the laſt alone, which is to be enthroned on the ruined ſcaffolding of the happineſs of the reſt? The ſight of our fellow-creatures, nay even the experience of every individual life, contradicts this plan attributed to creative Providence. Neither our head nor our heart is formed for an infinitely increaſing ſtore of thoughts and feelings; our hand is not made, our life is not calculated for it. Do not our fineſt mental powers decay, as well as flouriſh? do they not even fluctuate with years and circumſtances, and relieve one another in friendly conteſt, or rather in a circular dance? And who has not found, that an unlimited extenſion of his feelings enfeebles and annihilates them, while it gives to the air in looſe flocks what ſhould have formed the cord of love, or clouds the eyes of others with it's aſhes? As it is impoſſible, that we can love others more than ourſelves, or in a different way; for we love them only as part of ourſelves, or rather ourſelves in them; that mind is happy, which, like a ſuperiour ſpirit, embraces much within the ſphere of it's activity, and in reſtleſs activity deems it a part of itſelf: but miſerable is that, the feelings of which, drowned in words, are uſeful neither to itſelf nor others. The ſavage, who loves himſelf, his wife, and child, with quiet joy, and glows with limited activity for his tribe, as for his own life, is, in my opinion, a more real being, than that cultivated ſhadow, who is enraptured with the love of the ſhades of his whole ſpecies, that is of a name. The ſavage has

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room in his poor hut for every ſtranger, whom he receives as his brother with calm benevolence, and aſks not once whence he comes. The deluged heart of the idle coſmopolite is a hut for no one.

See we not, then, my brethren, that Nature has done all ſhe could, not to diffuſe, but to circumſcribe us, and to accuſtom us to the ſphere of our lives? Our ſenſes and powers have their meaſure: the Hours of our days and lives take hands only in rotation, while thoſe that come relieve thoſe that depart. It is a trick of the fancy, when the old man ſtill dreams, that he is a youth. Is that concupiſcence of the mind, which, forerunning even deſire, is momentarily changing to diſguſt, the pleaſure of Paradiſe? Is it not rather the Hell of Tantalus, the bottomleſs buckets of the vainly labouring Danaids? Thy ſole art below, O man, is moderation: Joy, the child of Heaven, for whom thou panteſt, is around thee, is in thee, the daughter of Temperance and calm Enjoyment, the ſiſter of Content and Satisfaction with thy being in life and death.

Still leſs comprehenſible is it, how man ſhould be made for the ſtate, ſo that his firſt true happineſs muſt neceſſarily ſpring from it's conſtitution: for how many people upon Earth are entirely ignorant of all government, and yet are happier than many, who have ſacrificed themſelves for the good of the ſtate? I will not enter upon the benefits or miſchiefs, which this artificial form of ſociety brings with it: but it may be obſerved, as every art is merely an inſtrument, and the moſt complicated inſtrument neceſſarily requires the moſt prudence and delicacy in managing it, this is an obvious conſequence, that with the greatneſs of a ſtate, and the intricate art of it's conſtitution, the danger of rendering individuals miſerable is infinitely augmented. In large ſtates, hundreds muſt pine with hunger, that one may feaſt and carouſe: thouſands are oppreſſed, and hunted to death, that one crowned fool or philoſopher may gratify his whims. Nay, as all politicians ſay, that every well conſtituted ſtate muſt be a machine regulated only by the will of one, what increaſe of happineſs can it beſtow, to ſerve in this machine as a thoughtleſs member? or, probably indeed, contrary to our better knowledge and conſcience, to be whirled round all our lives on an Ixion's wheel; that leaves the tormented wretch no hope of comfort, unleſs perhaps in ſtrangling the activity of his free, ſelf-governing mind, as a fond father would his darling babe born to miſery; to ſeek happineſs in the inſenſibility of a machine? O, if we be men, let us thank Providence, that this was not made the general deſtination of mankind. Millions on this Globe live without government: and muſt not every one of us, even under the moſt exquiſite government, if he will be happy, begin where the ſavage begins,

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ſeeking to acquire and maintain health of body and ſoundneſs of mind, the happineſs of his houſe and of his heart, not from the ſtate, but from himſelf? Father and mother, huſband and wife, ſon and brother, friend and man, are natural relations, in which we may be happy: the ſtate gives us nothing but inſtruments of art, and theſe, alas! may rob us of ſomething far more eſſential, may rob us of ourſelves.

Kindly conſiderate was it therefore in Providence, to prefer the eaſier happineſs of individuals to the artificial ends of great ſocieties, and ſpare generations theſe coſtly machines of ſtate as much as poſſible. It has wonderfully ſeparated nations, not only by woods and mountains, ſeas and deſerts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations, and characters; that the work of ſubjugating deſpotiſm might be rendered more difficult, that all the four quarters of the Globe might not be crammed into the belly of a wooden horſe. No Nimrod has yet been able to drive all the inhabitants of the World into one park for himſelf and his ſucceſſors; and though it has been for centuries the object of united Europe, to erect herſelf into a deſpot, compelling all the nations of the Earth to be happy in her way, this happineſs-diſpenſing deity is yet far from having obtained her end. Weak and childiſh muſt our creative mother have been, had ſhe conſtructed the ſole and genuine deſtination of her children, that of being happy, on the artificial wheels of ſome latterlings, and expected the end of the creation from their hands. Ye men of all the quarters of the Globe, who have periſhed in the lapſe of ages, ye have not lived and enriched the Earth with your aſhes, that at the end of time your poſterity ſhould be made happy by european civilization: is not a proud thought of this kind treaſon againſt the majeſty of Nature?

If happineſs be to be met with upon Earth, it is in every ſentient being, it muſt be in every one by Nature, and aſſiſting art muſt become nature in him to produce enjoyment. Every man has the ſtandard of his happineſs within himſelf: he bears about him the form, to which he is faſhioned, and in the pure ſphere of which alone he can be happy. For this purpoſe has Nature exhauſted all the varieties of human form on Earth, that ſhe might find for each in it's time and place an enjoyment, to amuſe mortals through life.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK IX.

### CHAPTER I.

*Ready as Man is to imagine he produces every thing from himſelf, he is nevertheleſs dependant on others for the Developement of his Faculties.*

NOT only has the philoſopher exalted human reaſon to an independency on the ſenſes and organs, and the poſſeſſion of an original ſimple power; but even the common man imagines in the dream of life, that he has become every thing that he is of himſelf. This imagination is eaſily explained, particularly in the latter. The ſenſe of ſpontaneity, given him by the creator, excites him to action, and rewards him with the pleaſing recompenſe of a deed performed in obedience to his own will. The days of his childhood are forgotten: the ſeeds, which he then received, and ſtill daily receives, are dormant in his mind: he ſees and enjoys only the budding plant, and is pleaſed with it's flouriſhing growth, with it's fruitful branches. The philoſopher, however, who ſtudies the origin and progreſs of a man's life in the book of Experience, and can trace through hiſtory the whole chain of the formation of our ſpecies, muſt, I think, as every thing brings dependence to his mind, ſoon quit his ideal world, in which he feels himſelf alone and allſufficient, for our world of realities.

As man at his natural birth ſprings not from himſelf, equally remote is he from being ſelfborn in the uſe of his mental faculties. Not only is the germe of our internal diſpoſition genetic, as well as our bodily frame, but every developement of this germe depends on fate, which planted us in this place or in that, and ſupplied us with the means by which we were formed, according to time and circumſtances. Even the eye muſt learn to ſee, the ear to hear; and no one can be ignorant with what art language, the principal inſtrument of our thought, is acquired. Nature has evidently calculated our whole mechaniſm, with the condition and duration of each period of our lives, for this

foreign aid. The brain of infants is ſoft, and ſuſpended from the ſcull: it's ſtrata are ſlowly formed; it grows firmer with increaſing years, and gradually hardens, till at length it will receive no more new impreſſions. It is the ſame with the organs and with the faculties of a child: thoſe are tender, and formed for imitation; theſe imbibe what they ſee and hear with wonderfully active attention, and internal vital power. Thus man is an artificial machine, endued with a genetic diſpoſition, it is true, and plenitude of life; but the machine does not work itſelf, and the ableſt of mankind muſt learn how to work it. Reaſon is an aggregate of the experiences and obſervations of the mind, the ſum of the education of man, which the pupil ultimately finiſhes in himſelf, as an extraneous artiſt, after certain extraneous models.

In this lies the principle of the hiſtory of mankind, without which no ſuch hiſtory could exiſt. Did man receive every thing from himſelf, and develope every thing independantly of external circumſtances, we might have a hiſtory of an individual indeed, but not of the ſpecies. But, as our ſpecific character lies in this, that, born almoſt without inſtinct, we are formed to manhood only by the practice of a whole life, and both the perfectibility and corruptibility of our ſpecies depend on it, the hiſtory of mankind is neceſſarily a whole, that is a chain of ſocialneſs and plaſtic tradition, from the firſt link to the laſt.

There is an education, therefore, of the human ſpecies; ſince every one becomes a man only by means of education, and the whole ſpecies lives ſolely in this chain of individuals. It is true, ſhould any one ſay, that the ſpecies is educated, not the individual, he would ſpeak unintelligibly to my comprehenſion; for ſpecies and genus are only abſtract ideas, except ſo far as they exiſt in individuals: and were I to aſcribe to this abſtract idea all the perfections of human nature, the higheſt cultivation, and moſt enlightened intellect, that an abſtract idea will admit; I ſhould have advanced as far towards a real hiſtory of our ſpecies, as if I were to ſpeak of animalkind, ſtonekind, metalkind, in general, and decorate them with all the nobleſt qualities, which could not ſubſiſt together in one individual.

Our philoſophy of hiſtory ſhall not wander in this path of the averroean ſyſtem, according to which the whole human ſpecies poſſeſſes but one mind; and that indeed of a very low order, diſtributed to individuals only piecemeal. On the other hand, were I to confine every thing to the individual, and deny the exiſtence of the chain, that connects each to others and to the whole, I ſhould run equally counter to the nature of man, and his evident hiſtory. For

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no one of us became man of himſelf: the whole ſtructure of his humanity is connected by a ſpiritual birth, education, with his parents, teachers, friends; with all the circumſtances of his life, and conſequently with his countrymen and their forefathers; and laſtly with the whole chain of the human ſpecies, ſome link or other of which is continually acting on his mental faculties. Thus nations may be traced up to families; families to their founders: the ſtream of hiſtory contracts itſelf as we approach it's ſource, and all our habitable Earth is ultimately converted into the ſchool of our family, containing indeed many diviſions, claſſes, and chambers, but ſtill with one plan of inſtruction, which has been tranſmitted from our anceſtors, with various alterations and additions, to all their race. Now if we give the limited underſtanding of a teacher credit for not having made a ſeparate diviſion of his ſcholars without ſome grounds; and perceive, that the human ſpecies every where finds a kind of artificial education, adapted to the wants of the time and place: what man of underſtanding, who contemplates the ſtructure of our Earth, and the relation man bears to it, would not incline to think, that the father of our race, who has determined how far and how wide nations ſhould ſpread, has alſo determined this, as the general teacher of us all? Will he who views a ſhip deny the purpoſe of it's builder? and who, that compares the artificial frame of our nature with every climate of the habitable Earth, will reject the notion, that the climatic diverſity of various man was an end of the creation for the purpoſe of educating his mind? But as the place of abode alone does not effect every thing, ſince living beings like ourſelves contribute to inſtruct us, faſhion us, and form our habits; there appears to me an education of the ſpecies, and a philoſophy of the hiſtory of man, as certainly, and as truly, as there is a human nature, that is, a cooperation of individuals, which alone makes us men.

Hence the principles of this philoſophy become as evident, ſimple, and indubitable, as the natural hiſtory of man itſelf is: they are called *tradition* and *organic powers*. All education muſt ſpring from imitation and exerciſe, by means of which the model paſſes into the copy; and how can this be more aptly expreſſed than by the term tradition? But the imitator muſt have powers to receive what is communicated or communicable, and convert it into his own nature, as the food by means of which he lives. Accordingly, what and how much he receives, whence he derives it, and how he uſes, applies it, and makes it his own, muſt depend on his own, the receptive powers. So that the education of our ſpecies is in a double ſenſe genetic and organic: genetic, inaſmuch as it is communicated; organic, as what is communicated is received and

applied. Whether we name this ſecond geneſis of man *cultivation* from the culture of the ground, or *enlightening* from the action of light, is of little import; the chain of light and cultivation reaches to the end of the Earth. Even the inhabitant of California or Tierra del Fuego learns to make and uſe the bow and arrow: he has language and ideas, practices and arts, which he learned, as we learn them: ſo far, therefore, he is actually cultivated and enlightened, though in the loweſt order. Thus the difference between enlightened and unenlightened, cultivated and uncultivated nations, is not ſpecific; it is only in degree. This part of the picture of nations has infinite ſhades, changing with place and time: and, like other pictures, much depends on the point of view, from which we examine it. If we take the idea of european cultivation for our ſtandard, this is to be found only in Europe: and if we eſtabliſh arbitrary diſtinctions between cultivation and the enlightening of the mind, neither of which, if it be genuine, can exiſt independently of the other, we are loſing ourſelves ſtill more in the clouds. But if we keep cloſe to the Earth, and take a general view of what Nature, to whom the end and character of her creatures muſt be beſt known, herſelf exhibits to our eyes as forming man, this is no other than *the tradition of an education to ſome form or other of human happineſs and the economy of life.* This is general as the human ſpecies; and often the moſt active among ſavages, though in a narrower circle. If a man remain among men, he cannot avoid this improving or vitiating cultivation: tradition lays hold of him, forms his head, and faſhions his limbs. As that is, and as theſe are faſhioned, ſo is the man, ſo is he formed. Even children, whom chance has thrown among beaſts, have acquired ſome human cultivation, when they have lived for a time among men, as moſt known inſtances ſhow; while a child, brought up from the moment of his birth by a brute, would be the only uncultivated man upon Earth.

What follows from this fixed point of view, confirmed as it is by the whole hiſtory of our ſpecies? Firſt a principle, conſolatory and animating both to our lives, and to this reflection; namely, that, as the human ſpecies has not ariſen of itſelf, and as there are diſpoſitions in it's nature, for which no admiration can be too high, the creator muſt have appointed means, conceived by his paternal goodneſs, for the developement of theſe diſpoſitions. Is the corporal eye ſo beautifully formed in vain? Does it not find before it the golden beams of the Sun, which were created for it, as the eye for them, and fulfil the wiſdom of it's deſign? It is the ſame with all the ſenſes, with all the organs: they find the means of their developement, the medium for which they

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were created. And can it be otherwiſe with the ſpiritual ſenſes and organs, on the uſe of which the character of man, and the kind and meaſure of his happineſs, depend? Shall the creator have failed here of attaining his purpoſe; the purpoſe too of all nature, as far as it depends on the uſe of human powers? Impoſſible! Every ſuch conjecture muſt ariſe from ourſelves; either attributing erroneous ends to the creator, or endeavouring as much as in us lies to fruſtrate his purpoſes. But as this endeavour muſt have it's limits, and no deſign of the Allwiſe can be thwarted by a creature of his thoughts; let us reſt ſecure in the certainty, that, whatever is God's purpoſe with regard to the human ſpecies upon Earth remains evident even in the moſt perplexing parts of it's hiſtory. All the works of God have this property, that, although they belong to a whole, which no eye can ſcan, each is in itſelf a whole, and bears the divine characters of it's deſtination. It is ſo with the brute, and with the plant: can it be otherwiſe with man? Can it be, that thouſands are made for one? all the generations that have paſſed away, merely for the laſt? every individual, only for the ſpecies, that is for the image of an abſtract name? The Allwiſe ſports not in this manner: he invents no fineſpun ſhadowy dreams: he lives and feels in each of his children with paternal affection, as though it were the only creature in the world. All his means are ends: all his ends are means to higher ends, in which the Infinite, filling all, reveals himſelf. What every man, therefore, attains, or can attain, muſt be the end of the ſpecies: and what is this? Humanity and happineſs, on this ſpot, in this degree, as this link, and no other, of the chain of improvement, that extends through the whole kind. What and wherever thou waſt born, O man, there thou art, and there thou ſhouldſt be: quit not the chain, ſet not thyſelf above it, but adhere to it firmly. Life and happineſs exiſt for thee only in it's integrity, in what thou receiveſt or imparteſt, in thy activity in each.

Secondly. Much as it may flatter man, that the deity has admitted him as an aſſiſtant, and left the forming him here below to himſelf and his fellow-creatures, the very choice of theſe means ſhows the imperfection of our earthly exiſtence, inaſmuch as we are not yet men, but are daily *becoming* ſo. How poor muſt the creature be, who has nothing of himſelf, but receives every thing from imitation, inſtruction, and practice, by which he is moulded like wax! Let the man, who is proud of his reaſon, contemplate the theatre of his fellow-beings throughout the wide world, or liſten to their many-toned diſſonant hiſtory! Is there any ſpecies of barbarity, to which ſome man, ſome nation, nay frequently a number of nations, have not accuſtomed themſelves; ſo that many, perhaps moſt, have even fed on the fleſh of their fellow-creatures? Is there a

wild conception the mind can frame, which has not been actually rendered ſacred by hereditary tradition, in one place or another? No creature, therefore, can ſtand lower than man: for, throughout his whole life, he is not only a child in reaſon, but a pupil of the reaſon of others. Into whatever hands he falls, by them he is formed; and I am perſuaded, no form of human manners is poſſible, which ſome nation, or ſome individual, has not adopted. In hiſtory every mode of vice and cruelty is exhauſted, while here and there only a nobler train of human ſentiments and virtues appears. From the means choſen by the creator, that our ſpecies ſhould be formed only by our ſpecies, it could not poſſibly be otherwiſe: follies muſt be inherited, as well as the rare treaſures of wiſdom: the way of man reſembles a labyrinth, abounding on all ſides with divergent paſſages, while but few footſteps lead to the innermoſt chamber. Happy the mortal, who reaches it himſelf, or leads others to it; whoſe thoughts, inclinations, and wiſhes, or even the beams of whoſe ſilent example, have promoted the humanity of his brethren! God acts upon Earth only by means of ſuperiour, choſen men: religion and language, art and ſcience, nay governments themſelves, cannot be adorned with a nobler crown, than the laurels gathered from the moral improvement of human minds. Our body moulders in the grave, and our name ſoon becomes a ſhadow upon the Earth: but incorporated in the voice of God, in plaſtic tradition, we ſhall live actively in the minds of our poſterity, even though our name be no more.

Thirdly. The philoſophy of hiſtory, therefore, which follows the chain of tradition, is, to ſpeak properly, the true hiſtory of mankind, without which all the outward occurrences of this World are but clouds, or revolting deformities. It is a melancholy proſpect, to behold nothing in the revolutions of our Earth but wreck upon wreck, eternal beginnings without end, changes of circumſtance without any fixed purpoſe. The chain of improvement alone forms a whole of theſe ruins, in which human figures indeed vaniſh, but the ſpirit of mankind lives and acts immortally. Glorious names, that ſhine in the hiſtory of cultivation as genii of the human ſpecies, as brilliant ſtars in the night of time! Be it that with the lapſe of ages many of your edifices decay, and much of your gold is ſunk in the ſlough of forgetfulneſs; the labours of your lives were not in vain, for ſuch of your works, as Providence thought fit to ſave, have been ſaved in other forms. In any other way no human monument can endure wholly and eternally upon Earth; being formed in the ſucceſſion of generations by the hand of time for temporal uſe, and evidently prejudicial to poſterity, as ſoon as it renders unneceſſary or retards their farther exertion. Thus the mutable form and imperfection of all human operations entered into

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the plan of the creator. Folly muſt appear, that wiſdom might ſurmount it: decaying fragility even of the nobleſt works was an eſſential property of their materials, that men might have an opportunity of exerting freſh labours in improving or building upon their ruins: for we are all here in a ſtate of exerciſe. Every individual muſt depart, and as it will then be indifferent to him what poſterity may do with his works, it would be repugnant to a good mind, to condemn ſucceeding generations to venerate them with inactive ſtupidity, and undertake nothing of their own. This new labour he wiſhes them; for what he carries with him out of the World is his ſtrengthened power, the internal ripe fruit of his human activity.

Golden chain of improvement, that ſurroundeſt the Earth, and extendeſt through all individuals to the throne of Providence, ſince I perceived thee, and traced thee in thy fineſt links, the feelings of the parent, the friend, and the preceptor, hiſtory no longer appears to me, what it once did, an abominable ſeries of deſolations on a ſacred Earth. A thouſand deeds of ſhame ſtand there veiled with deteſtable praiſe, and thouſands in their native uglineſs, to ſet off the rare true merit of active humanity; which has ever proceeded on it's way quietly and obſcurely, ſeldom aware of the conſequences, that Providence would educe from it's life, as the leaven from the dough. Only amid ſtorms can the noble plant flouriſh: only by oppoſing ſtruggles againſt falſe pretenſions can the ſweet labours of man be victorious. Nay men frequently appear to ſink under their honeſt purpoſes: but it is only in appearance: the ſeed germinates more beautifully in a ſubſequent period from the aſhes of the good, and when irrigated with blood ſeldom fails, to ſhoot up to an unfading flower. I am no longer miſled, therefore, by the mechaniſm of revolutions: it is as neceſſary to our ſpecies, as the waves to the ſtream, that it become not a ſtagnant pool. The genius of humanity blooms in continually renovated youth, and is regenerated as it proceeds, in nations, generations, and families.

## CHAPTER II.

*Language is the ſpecial Mean of improving Man.*

In man, nay even in the ape, there is a peculiar diſpoſition to imitation, which appears to be by no means the conſequence of rational conviction, but the immediate offspring of organic ſympathy. As one ſtring reſounds to another, and the vibrating capacity of all bodies increaſes with their more equable denſity and homogeneity; the human organization, being the moſt exquiſite of all, is of neceſſity more peculiarly formed, to repeat the tones of all other beings, and ſympathiſe with them. The hiſtory of diſeaſes ſhows, that not only hurts and affections of the body, but even mental derangement, may be propagated by ſympathy.

We perceive the operation of this conſent of beings in uniſon in the higheſt degree in children. For this purpoſe their bodies remain, during many years, eaſily reſounding ſtringed inſtruments. Actions and geſtures, nay even paſſions and thoughts, take place in them unnoticed, ſo that they are at leaſt tuned to what they cannot yet practice, and unconſciouſly obey a propenſity, which is a kind of ſpiritual aſſimilation. It is ſo with all ſavage nations, the children of nature. Born pantomimes, they imitate in a lively manner whatever is related to them, or what they wiſh to expreſs; and diſplay their peculiar ways of thinking in dances, games, jeſts, and maxims. Their fancy acquired theſe figures by imitation: the treaſure of their memories and language conſiſts in ſuch types; and hence their thoughts ſo readily paſs into action, and living tradition.

But man did not attain the artificial characteriſtic of his ſpecies, reaſon, by all this mimicry: he arrived at it by ſpeech alone. Let us deſcant on this miracle of divine inſtitution; the greateſt perhaps of our terreſtrial creation, except the generation of living beings.

Should any one aſk, how images depicted on the eye, and all the perceptions of our moſt oppoſite ſenſes, are not only capable of being repreſented by ſounds, but theſe ſounds are endued with ſuch inherent power, that they can expreſs thoughts and excite them; no doubt the problem would be deemed the ſally of a madman, who, ſubſtituting the moſt diſſimilar things for each other, thought of making colour ſound, ſound thought, and thought a depicting voice. This problem the deity has effectively ſolved. The breath of our mouths is the picture of the world, the type that exhibits our thoughts and feelings to the mind of another.

another. All that man has ever thought, willed, done, or will do, of human, upon Earth, has depended on the movement of a breath of air: for if this divine breath had not inſpired us, and floated like a charm on our lips, we ſhould all have ſtill been wanderers in the woods. The whole hiſtory of man, therefore, with all the treaſures of tradition and cultivation, is nothing but a conſequence of the ſolution of this divine problem. What renders it the more wonderful to us is, that we ourſelves, notwithſtanding it's ſolution by the daily uſe of ſpeech, do not in the leaſt comprehend the connection of the inſtruments, by which it is effected. Hearing and ſpeech are connected with each other; for as creatures degenerate, a mutual change of their auditory and vocal organs evidently takes place. We ſee, too, that the whole body is framed, to be in uniſon with them; but we comprehend not the internal mode of their cooperation. That all the paſſions, particularly grief and joy, become ſounds; that what is heard by the ear moves the tongue; that images and ſenſations may become mental characters, and theſe characters ſignificant, nay impreſſive, ſounds; ariſes from a concent of ſo many diſpoſitions, like a voluntary league, which the creator has thought proper to eſtabliſh between the moſt oppoſite ſenſes and inſtincts, powers and members, of his creature, in a manner not leſs wonderful, than that in which the mind and body are conjoined.

How ſingular, that a moveable breath of air ſhould be the ſole, or at leaſt the beſt medium of our thoughts and perceptions! Without it's incomprehenſible connexion with all the operations of our mind, which are ſo diſſimilar to it, theſe operations would never have taken place, the elaborate ſtructure of our brain would have remained idle, the whole purpoſe of our Being unaccompliſhed, as the inſtances of men who have fallen among beaſts ſufficiently prove. They who are born deaf and dumb, though they may live long in a world of geſtures and other characters of ideas, ſtill carry themſelves like children, or human animals. They act analogouſly to what they ſee, and do not underſtand; for all the ſtores of viſion do not render them capable of a proper employment of reaſon. A nation has no idea, for which it's language has no word: the livelieſt imagination remains an obſcure feeling, till the mind finds a character for it, and by means of a word incorporates it with the memory, the recollection, the underſtanding, and laſtly the underſtanding of mankind, tradition: a pure underſtanding, without language, upon Earth, is an utopian land. It is the ſame with the paſſions of the heart, with all the ſocial propenſities. Speech alone has rendered man human, by ſetting bounds to the vaſt flood of his paſſions, and giving them rational memorials by means of words. No cities have been erected

by the lyre of Amphion, no magic wand has converted deſerts into gardens: but language, the grand aſſiſtant of man, has done theſe. By it men welcomed one another into ſociety, and knit the bonds of love. It framed laws, and united families: it alone renders a hiſtory of mankind, in tranſmitted modifications of the heart and mind, poſſible. Even now I behold the heroes of Homer, and feel the complaints of Oſſian, though the ſhades both of the poets and their heroes have ſo long departed from the Earth. A moveable breath of air has rendered them immortal, and brings their forms before me: the voice of the dead is in my ear: I hear their long ſilent thoughts. Whatever the mind of man has conceived, what the ſages of old have thought, comes to me, if Providence think good, by the means of language alone. By it my thinking mind is connected with the mind of the firſt man that thought, and probably of the laſt. In ſhort, language is the mark of our reaſon, by which alone it acquires and propagates forms.

A little cloſer inſpection, however, ſhows how imperfect this mean of our improvement is, not only conſidered as the inſtrument of reaſon, but as the bond between man and man; ſo that a more light, inſubſtantial, fugitive web can ſcarcely be conceived, than that with which the creator thought proper to connect the human ſpecies. Kind father! was no other leſs fallible enumeration of our thoughts, was no more intimate connexion of men's hearts and minds, poſſible?

1. *No language expreſſes things, but names: accordingly no human reaſon perceives things, but only marks of them, which it depicts by words.* This is an humiliating obſervation, which gives the whole hiſtory of our intellect narrow limits, and a very inſubſtantial form. All our ſcience of metaphyſics is properly metaphyſics, that is an abſtracted ſyſtematic index of names following obſervations of experience. As a method, and an index, it may be very uſeful, and muſt guide our artificial underſtanding to a certain degree in all other ſciences: but conſidered in itſelf, and according to the nature of things, it affords not a ſingle perfect and eſſential idea, not a ſingle intrinſic truth. All our ſcience reckons with abſtract, individual, extrinſic characters, which reach not the interiour of the exiſtence of any one thing, as we have no organ to perceive or expreſs it. We know not, and can never learn to know, any power in it's eſſence: for even that, which animates us, and thinks in us, we feel and enjoy it is true, but we do not know. Thus we underſtand no connexion between cauſe and effect, becauſe we can ſee into the interiour neither of what acts, nor of what is produced, and have abſolutely no idea of the entity of a thing. Thus our poor reaſon is nothing

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more than a figuring arithmetician, as it's name in many languages implies.

2. And with what does it reckon? with the characters themſelves it has abſtracted, however imperfect and uneſſential they may be? By no means. *Theſe characters are afterwards changed into arbitrary ſounds, altogether uneſſential to them, with which the mind thinks.* It reckons, therefore, with counters, ſounds, and ciphers; for no one, who is acquainted with two languages, will believe, that there is an eſſential connexion between ſounds and thoughts, not to ſay between ſounds and things. Yet how many more languages than two are there upon Earth! and in all of them reaſon calculates, and ſatisfies itſelf with the magic lantern of an arbitrary connection. And why does it ſo? becauſe itſelf poſſeſſes nothing but uneſſential characters, and it is a matter of indifference to it at bottom, whether it reckon with theſe figures, or with thoſe. Melancholy proſpect for the hiſtory of humankind! Opinions and errours, therefore, are inevitable from our nature; not from any fault of the obſerver, but from the very mode in which our ideas are generated, and in which they are propagated by reaſon and language. If we thought in things inſtead of abſtract characters, and expreſſed the nature of things inſtead of arbitrary ſigns; farewel errour and opinion, we ſhould live in the land of truth. But now how far are we from it, even when we fancy ourſelves ſtanding on it's confines! ſince what I know of a thing is only an external detached ſymbol of it, clothed in another arbitrary ſymbol. If another man underſtand me, if he affix to the word I employ the ſame idea as I affixed to it, or indeed no idea, ſtill he reckons on with the word, and gives it to others perhaps as an empty nutſhell. This is the way of all ſects of philoſophy and religion. The founder had at leaſt clear ideas of what he ſaid, though probably erroneous ones: his ſcholars and followers underſtood him after their own manner; that is, they affixed their own ideas to his words, and at length reechoed nothing but empty ſounds into men's ears. Manifeſt are the imperfections in the ſole means of propagating human thoughts: yet to this our improvement is enchained, and we cannot emancipate ourſelves from it.

From this important conſequences for the hiſtory of man may be deduced. *Firſt*, ſince God has choſen this mean for our improvement, we could ſcarcely have been formed for mere ſpeculation, or for purely contemplative lives; ſince either of theſe can be purſued but very imperfectly in our ſphere. Not for pure contemplation; which is either a deception, ſince no man ſees the interiour of things, or at leaſt remains wholly incommunicable, as it admits not of characters and words. Scarcely is the contemplatiſt able to point out to an-

other the way, in which he attained his nameleſs treaſures; and then it depends altogether on that other, and on his genius, how far he can participate in his contemplations. This neceſſarily opens the door to a thouſand vain perplexities of the mind, and innumerable kinds of artful deceptions, as the hiſtory of all nations ſhows. As little can man have been created for ſpeculation; ſince, from the way in which it is engendered and communicated, it is not a whit more perfect, and too frequently fills the heads of thoſe, who repeat the ſpeculations of others, with empty words. And when theſe two extremes, ſpeculation and contemplation, attempt to unite, and the metaphyſical enthuſiaſt points to a ſpeechleſs reaſon filled with contemplations; alas, poor human nature, thou floateſt in a ſpace of non-entity, between freezing heat and burning cold. By language the deity has led us a ſafer middle way. By it we acquire only ideas of the underſtanding; and they are ſufficient to us for the enjoyment of nature, the application of our powers, the ſound employment of life, the improvement of our humanity. We were not intended to reſpire ether, for which our machine is not adapted, but the wholeſome air of our own Earth.

And can men be as diſtant from one another in the ſphere of true and uſeful ideas, as proud ſpeculation ſuppoſes? Both the hiſtory of nations, and the nature of reaſon and language, forbid me to think ſo. The poor ſavage, who has ſeen but few things, and combined very few ideas, proceeds in combining them after the ſame manner as the firſt of philoſophers. He has language like them; and by means of it exerciſes his underſtanding and memory, his imagination and recollection, a thouſand ways. Whether this be in a wider or narrower circle, is little to the purpoſe; he ſtill exerciſes them after the manner of humankind. The philoſopher of Europe cannot name a ſingle faculty of the mind, that is peculiar to himſelf: nay Nature affords abundant compenſation in the proportion of the faculties and their exerciſe. In many ſavages, for inſtance, the memory, the imagination, practical wiſdom, promptitude of deciſion, accuracy of judgment, and livelineſs of expreſſion, flouriſh in a degree ſeldom attained by the artificial reaſon of european philoſophers. It is true, the man of learning calculates, with his verbal ideas and ciphers, infinitely nice and artificial combinations, which never enter into the thoughts of the man of nature: but is a cloſeted multiplication-table the model of all human perfection, ſtrength, and happineſs? Be it, that the ſavage thinks in images, what he is incapable of conceiving abſtractedly; even if he have no definite thought, that is no word, for God, and enjoys him as the great ſpirit of the creation active in his life; yet ſo he lives grateful, as he lives contentedly: and if he believe in the immortality of the ſoul, though he cannot demonſtrate it in verbal

ciphers, he goes to the land of his fathers with more tranquillity than many a word-learned ſceptic.

Let us then adore kind Providence, for having rendered men intrinſically more ſimilar to each other, by the imperfect but general mean of language, than their exteriour indicates. By ſpeech alone we all attain to reaſon; and by tradition, by belief in the words of our fathers, to ſpeech. As he would be the moſt unteachable learner of language, who ſhould require a cauſe and reaſon for the firſt uſe of words; a ſimilar belief in things ſo difficult as experience and the obſervation of nature muſt lead us, with due precaution, through our whole lives. He who truſts not his ſenſes is a fool, and muſt remain an idle ſpeculatiſt; while he who truſting exerciſes them, and thereby inquires and corrects himſelf, alone obtains a treaſure of experience for his ſublunary life. To him language with all it's limitations is ſufficient: for it is deſigned only, to make the obſerver attentive, and lead him to an active uſe of his own mental powers. A nicer idiom, penetrating like the ſunbeam, on one hand could not be univerſal, and on the other would be a real inconvenience in the preſent ſphere of our groſs activity. It is the ſame with the language of the heart; which can ſay but little, and yet ſays enough: nay, in a certain degree our human language is formed more for the heart than for the head. Geſture, motion, the thing itſelf, may come in to aid the underſtanding: but the feelings of our heart muſt lie hidden in our breaſt, if the melodious ſtream convey them not in gentle waves to the heart of another. For this reaſon the creator choſe the muſic of ſounds as the organ of our improvement; a language of feeling, a language of parent, child, and friend. Creatures, that cannot yet touch each other intimately, ſtand as behind lattices, and coo forth to each other the words of love: in beings, that ſpeak the language of light or ſome other organ, the whole form and chain of their improvement neceſſarily differs.

Secondly. *A philoſophical compariſon of languages* would form the beſt eſſay on the hiſtory and diverſified character of the human heart and underſtanding: for every language bears the ſtamp of the mind and character of a people. Not only do the organs of ſpeech vary with climates, not only are there certain ſounds and letters peculiar to almoſt every nation, but the giving of names, even in denoting audible things, nay in the immediate expreſſions of the paſſions, in interjections, varies over all the Earth. With reſpect to viſible things, and ſubjects of cool reflection, this variation is ſtill greater: and in allegorical expreſſions, in figures of ſpeech, in the ſtructure of a language laſtly, in the relation, arrangement, and connexion of it's parts, it is almoſt infinite: though ſtill the genius of a people is no where more diſplayed than in the phyſiognomy

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of their language. For inſtance, whether a nation have many names, or much action; how it expreſſes time and perſon; to what order of ideas it is attached; is often extremely characteriſtic in nice features. Many nations have a particular language for either ſex: in others even condition is diſcriminated in the ſimple word *I*. The verbs of active nations have an abundance of moods: refined nations have a number of modifications of things, which they have exalted to abſtract notions. Finally, the moſt ſingular part of human languages is the delineation of men's feelings, the expreſſions of love and eſteem, of reproof and adulation, in which the weakneſſes of a people are often laughably diſplayed *. Why can I yet quote no work, that has even in a ſlight degree fulfilled the wiſh of Bacon, Leibnitz, Sulzer, and others, for a *general phyſiognomy of nations from their languages?* Numerous materials for ſuch a work are extant in the grammars and books of travels of particular nations; and it would be neither extremely difficult nor prolix, were every thing ſuperfluous rejected, and good uſe made of what might be placed in a ſtriking light. It would be as far from wanting inſtructive charms, which muſt occur at every ſtep; ſince all the qualities of a people offer themſelves to the various purpoſes of the obſerver in their practical underſtanding, imaginations, manners, and way of life, as a garden of the human ſpecies: and finally the richeſt *architecture of human ideas*, the beſt *logic and metaphyſics of a ſound underſtanding*, would ariſe from it. The laurel is not yet gathered; it waits for the appearance in due time of another Leibnitz.

The hiſtory of the revolutions of any particular language would be a ſimilar taſk. As an example to us germans, I would take the language of our country in particular: for though it has not been intermixed like others with foreign languages, yet it has eſſentially altered, and that even with reſpect to it's grammar, ſince the time of Ottfried. The compariſon of different cultivated languages with the various revolutions of the people that ſpeak them would give, with every ſtroke of light and ſhade, a kind of changeable picture of the varied progreſſive improvement of the human mind, which, I am perſuaded, has flouriſhed in every dialect throughout all ages. Nations exiſt in the infancy, youth, manhood, and old age of the human ſpecies: and how many have been engrafted upon others, or ariſen from their aſhes!

Laſtly the tradition of traditions, *writing*, is to be conſidered. If language be the mean of improving men as *men*, writing is the mean of improving them

* To give inſtances would lead me too far: they belong not to this book, but will appear in a fitter place.

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in *erudition*. All nations, who have been deſtitute of this artificial tradition, have remained, according to our ideas, uncultivated; while they, who have enjoyed it but imperfectly, have immortalized their underſtanding and laws by embalming them in letters. The mortal who invented the art of enchaining the fugitive mind, not by words merely, but by letters, acted as a deity among mankind *.

But what was obvious with reſpect to language is ſtill more evident here, namely, that though this mean of perpetuating our thoughts fixes both the ſpirit and the letter, it in various ways fetters and reſtrains them. Not only are the living accents and geſtures, which formerly gave language ſuch power to penetrate the heart, gradually extinguiſhed by writing; not only are dialects, and conſequently the characteriſtic idioms of particular tribes and nations, rendered leſs numerous; but the memories of men, and the ſpirit of their mental powers, are enfeebled by this artificial aſſiſtance of preſcribed forms of thought. The human mind would long ago have been ſtifled beneath books and learning, had not Providence given it breath by many deſtructive revolutions. The underſtanding, ſhackled with letters, creeps on laborioufly: our beſt thoughts are crippled by dead written characters. All this, however, prevents not the tradition of writing from being the moſt durable, quiet, efficacious inſtitution of God, by means of which nation acts upon nation, age upon age, and through which probably the whole human ſpecies will in time find itſelf encircled in one chain of fraternal tradition.

## CHAPTER III.

### *All the Arts and Sciences of Mankind have been invented through Imitation, Reaſon, and Language.*

As ſoon as man, by whatever god or genius led, was brought to appropriate to himſelf a thing as a ſign, and to ſubſtitute an arbitrary character for the ſign he had found, in other words, as ſoon as the language of reaſon commenced with the ſlighteſt beginnings, he was in the road to every art and ſcience. For what does human reaſon more, in the invention of all theſe, than remark and deſignate? Thus with language, the moſt difficult of arts, a prototype of all the reſt was in a certain degree given.

* The hiſtory of this invention and others, as far as they belong to the picture of man, will follow hereafter.

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The man, for example, who conceived a mark of designation from an animal, in so doing laid the foundations of domesticating tameable animals, benefitting himself by such as were useful, and rendering himself the general lord of every thing in nature: for in every one of his appropriations he does nothing in reality but mark the characters of a tameable, useful being, to be employed for his own convenience, and designate it by language or pattern. In the gentle sheep, for instance, he remarked the milk sucked by the lamb, and the wool that warmed his hand, and endeavoured to appropriate each to his own use. In the tree, to the fruit of which he was guided by hunger, he remarked leaves, with which he might gird himself, wood, that would afford him heat. Thus he leaped on the back of the steed, that he might carry him; and kept him, that he might carry him again. He observed Nature, how she brought up her children, and protected them from danger: he observed the beasts, how they nourished and defended themselves. Thus he got into the road to every art, through nothing but the internal generation of a distinct mark, and the retention of it in a fact, or some other note; in short through language. Through it, and it alone, were observation, recognition, remembrance, possession, and a chain of thought, possible; and thus in time were born the arts and sciences, daughters of designating Reason, and Imitation for some purpose.

Bacon has already wished for an art of invention: but as it's theory would be difficult, and perhaps useless, a *history of inventions* would probably be the most instructive work, that the divinities and geniuses of the human species could frame for an everlasting model to their successors. In this it would every where appear, how accident and fate had presented a new mark to the eye of one inventor, introduced a new character as an instrument into the mind of another, and for the most part by a slight approximation of two long known thoughts given birth to an art, that operated on future ages. Such have often been invented and again forgotten: their theory existed, but they were not yet carried into practice, till some one more fortunate brought the hidden gold into circulation, or from a new station moved worlds with a trifling lever. Perhaps there is no species of history, that so evidently shows a superiour destiny ruling over human affairs, as that of the invention and improvement of arts, of which we are apt to be most vain. The character, and the material of it's designation, had long existed: but it was now for the first time remarked, now first designated. The production of an art, as of a human being, was an instant of pleasure, an union between idea and character, between body and spirit.

It is with reverence I trace the inventions of the human mind to this simple

principle

principle of it's obſerving and deſcribing underſtanding: for this is what is truly divine in man, this is his characteriſtic excellence. All, who uſe a learned language, wander, as if their reaſon were in a dream; they think with the reaſon of others, and are but imitatively wiſe: for is he, who employs the art of another, himſelf an artiſt? But he, in whoſe mind native thoughts ariſe, and form a body for themſelves; he, who ſees not with the eye alone, but with the underſtanding, and deſcribes not with the tongue, but with the mind; he, who is ſo happy as to obſerve Nature in her creative laboratory, eſpy new marks of her operations, and turn them to ſome human purpoſe by implements of art; he is properly a man, and as ſuch ſeldom appear, he is a god among men. He ſpeaks, and thouſands liſp his words: he creates, and others play with what he has produced: he was a man, and children perhaps come after him again for centuries. A view of the World, and the hiſtory of nations, give us numerous proofs, how rarely inventors appear among mankind, and how indolently men adhere to what they poſſeſs, without troubling themſelves for what is ſtill wanting: nay the hiſtory of civilization ſufficiently demonſtrates the ſame.

Thus with the arts and ſciences a new tradition pervades the human ſpecies; and while it is given but to a happy few, to add new links to the chain, the reſt cling to it like induſtrious ſlaves, and mechanically drag it along. As this ſugared water paſſed through many hands ere it came to me, and I have no other merit than that of ſwallowing it; ſo are our reaſon and way of life, our learning and acquired arts, our military and political ſcience, a combination of the thoughts and inventions of others, which have been derived to us from all parts of the World without any merit of our own, and in which we have ſunk or ſwum from our earlieſt youth.

Vain therefore is the boaſt of ſo many europeans, when they ſet themſelves above the people of all the other quarters of the Globe, in what they call arts, ſciences, and cultivation, and, as the madman by the ſhips in the port of Piræus, deem all the inventions of Europe their own, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they were born amid the confluence of theſe inventions and traditions. Poor creature! haſt thou invented any of theſe arts? have thy own thoughts any thing to do in all the traditions thou haſt ſucked in? thy having learned to uſe them is the work of a machine: thy having imbibed the waters of ſcience is the merit of a ſponge, that has grown on the humid ſoil. Steer thy frigate to Otaheite, bid thy cannon roar along the ſhores of the New Hebrides, ſtill thou art not ſuperiour in ſkill or ability to the inhabitant of the South-Sea iſlands, who guides with art the boat, which he has conſtructed with his own hand. Even the ſavages themſelves have had an obſcure perception of this, as

ſoon as they became more intimately acquainted with europeans. In the preparation of their implements they appeared to them unknown ſuperiour beings, before whom they bowed themſelves, and whom they ſaluted with reverence: but when the ſavage perceived, that they were vulnerable, mortal, liable to diſeaſe, and more feeble in bodily exerciſes than himſelf, he dreaded the art, but ſlew the man, whoſe art was no part of himſelf. This is applicable to all european cultivation. If the language of a people, even in books, be delicate and modeſt, every one who reads theſe books, and ſpeaks this language, is not therefore to be concluded modeſt and delicate. How he reads, and how he ſpeaks, are the queſtion: and even then he thinks and ſpeaks only after others, whoſe thoughts and expreſſions he follows. The ſavage, who in his narrower circle thinks for himſelf, and expreſſes himſelf in it with more truth, preciſion, and force; he, who in the ſphere of his activity knows how to employ his mental and corporal faculties, his practical underſtanding, and few implements, with art, and with preſence of mind; is palpably, man for man, more cultivated than the politic or learned machine, that ſits like a child on a lofty ſtage, erected, alas! by the hands of others, nay perhaps by the labour of all preceding ages. The man of nature, on the contrary, more limited indeed, but a ſounder, abler man, ſtands firmly on the ground. No one will deny Europe to be the repoſitory of art, and of the inventive underſtanding of man: the deſtiny of ages has depoſited it's treaſures there: they are augmented and employed in it. But every one, who makes uſe of them, has not therefore the underſtanding of the inventors: nay, this very uſe tends to render the underſtanding inactive; for while I have the inſtrument of another for my purpoſe, I ſhall ſcarcely take the trouble, to invent one for myſelf.

It is a far more difficult point to determine, what the arts and ſciences have contributed to the happineſs of mankind, or how far they have increaſed it: and I do not think the queſtion is to be anſwered with a ſimple affirmative or negative, ſince here, as in every thing elſe, all depends on the uſe made of what has been invented. That there are finer and more artificial implements in the World, ſo that more is done with leſs exertion, and conſequently much human labour is ſpared where it can be diſpenſed with, admits not of queſtion. It is equally inconteſtible, that every art and ſcience knits a new bond of ſociety, of that mutual want, without which men of art cannot live. But, on the other hand, whether this increaſe of wants extend the narrow circle of human happineſs; whether art be capable of actually adding any thing to nature, or whether nature be not rather debilitated and diſpenſed with in many by means of art; whether all talents of art or ſcience have not excited propenſities in the

human

human breaſt, which render the attainment of man's higheſt bleſſing, content, much more rare and difficult, as the internal reſtleſſneſs occaſioned by theſe propenſities muſt be inceſſantly at war with contentment; nay, finally, whether the concourſe of men, and the augmentation of their ſociability, have not converted many towns and countries into poor-houſes and artificial hoſpitals, in the cloſe atmoſphere of which pallid human nature withers; and whether, while men are ſupported by ſo many unearned alms of ſcience, art, and policy, they have not for the moſt part aſſumed the nature of beggars, applying themſelves to all the arts of begging, and conſequently incurring the effects of beggary: theſe, and many others, are queſtions, that luminous Hiſtory, the daughter of Time, alone can ſolve.

Meſſengers of Fate, men of genius and invention, on what beneficial yet dangerous heights have you exerciſed your divine calling. You invented, but not for yourſelves: it was not in your power to determine how the world, how poſterity, ſhould employ your inventions, what they ſhould annex to them, what of new or oppoſite to them they would diſcover from analogy. The jewel often lay buried for centuries, and cocks ſcratched up the ground over it; till at length perhaps it was found by ſome unworthy mortal, and transferred to the crown of a monarch, not always to ſhine with beneficent ſplendour. You, however, performed your work, and gave poſterity a treaſure, dug up by your reſtleſs minds, or thrown into your lap by diſpoſing Fate. Thus alſo you left to diſpoſing Fate the effects and uſes of your diſcoveries, who has done with them what ſeemed to her good. In periodical revolutions ſhe has either perfected thoughts, or permitted them to periſh, always contriving to mix and correct the poiſon with it's antidote, the injurious with the beneficial. The inventor of gunpowder little thought, what deſtruction both of the political and phyſical powers of man would enſue from the exploſion of his black duſt; ſtill leſs could he ſee, what we are ſcarcely able to conjecture, how the beneficent ſeeds of a different conſtitution of poſterity will germinate from this barrel of powder, the fearful throne of many a deſpot. Does not thunder clear the air? When the giants of the Earth are deſtroyed, muſt not Hercules himſelf turn his hand to gentler works? The man, who firſt noticed the polarity of the magnet, ſaw neither the happineſs nor miſery, that this magic gift, aided by a thouſand other arts, would confer on every quarter of the Globe; till here too, perhaps, ſome new cataſtrophe will compenſate old evils, or engender new. So it is with the diſcoveries of glaſs, gold, iron, clothing, writing, printing, aſtronomy, and all the ſciences. The wonderful connexion, that appears to prevail in the developement and periodical improvement of theſe inventions; the

ſingular manner, in which one limits and mitigates the effect of others; all belong to the ſovereign economy of God with regard to our ſpecies, the true philoſophy of our hiſtory.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Governments are eſtabliſhed Regulations among Men, chiefly founded on hereditary Tradition.*

The natural ſtate of man is ſociety: for in this he is born and brought up; to this he is led by the awakening propenſities of his youth; and the moſt pleaſing appellations of father, ſon, brother, ſiſter, lover, friend, are ties of the law of Nature, that exiſt in every primitive ſociety of men. On theſe too the firſt governments have been founded: family regulations, without which the ſpecies could not ſubſiſt; laws, that Nature gave, and ſufficiently limited. We will call this *the firſt ſtep of natural government:* it will ever remain the higheſt, and the laſt.

Here Nature terminated her foundations of ſociety, and left it to the reaſon or neceſſities of men, to erect higher ſtructures upon them. In all thoſe regions, where particular tribes and races have leſs need of each other's aſſiſtance, they concern themſelves leſs about each other, and in conſequence have never thought of forming one large political aſſociation. Such are the coaſts inhabited by fiſhermen, the paſtures of the ſhepherd, the foreſts of the hunter: in theſe, where paternal and domeſtic government ceaſes, the farther connexion between men is founded chiefly on compact, or on ſome office conferred. A nation of hunters, for inſtance, proceed to the chace: if they want a leader, it is a leader of the hunt; and for this purpoſe they elect the moſt ſkilful, whom they obey from their own free choice, and for the common end they have in view. All animals that live in herds have ſuch a leader: in journeyings, defences, attacks, and all common occupations in general of a number, ſuch a king of the game is neceſſary. Such an eſtabliſhment we will call *the ſecond ſtep of natural government:* it is to be found among all people, that care for nothing but the ſupply of their wants, and live, as we term it, in the ſtate of nature. Even the elected judge of a nation belongs to this ſtep of government: for the wiſeſt and beſt is choſen to this poſt, as to an office, and with the execution of his office his ſovereignty terminates.

But how different is it with the third ſtep, hereditary government! In this where

where do the laws of Nature ceaſe? or where do they begin? That the moſt wiſe and juſt of their fellows ſhould be choſen by diſputants as a judge, was in the natural courſe of things; and when he had ſo approved himſelf, he might remain ſo as long as he lived. But when the old man dies, why is his ſon to be judge? His being begotten by a juſt and wiſe father is no reaſon; for neither wiſdom nor juſtice is hereditary. Still leſs, from the nature of the caſe, is the nation bound to acknowledge him as ſuch, becauſe his father was once choſen judge for perſonal reaſons: ſince the ſon is not the father. And if it ſhould think fit to eſtabliſh it as a law for all it's generations yet unborn, to acknowledge him as judge, and enter into a compact, in the name of the reaſon of them all to the end of time, that every future deſcendant of this ſtem ſhould be born the judge, leader, and ſhepherd, of the nation, in other words, the moſt valiant, juſt, and wiſe, of the whole people, by every one of whom he ſhould be ſo acknowledged to be on the ſcore of his birth; it would be difficult, to reconcile an hereditary compact of this kind, I will not ſay with juſtice, but with reaſon. Nature diſtributes not her nobleſt gifts to particular families; and the right of blood, according to which one unborn ſhall have a claim to rule over others yet unborn, in right of his birth, at whatever future period they may happen to come into the World, is to me one of the moſt obſcure phraſes in human language.

There muſt have been other grounds, that introduced hereditary governments among men; and with reſpect to theſe grounds hiſtory is by no means ſilent. What has given Germany, what has given poliſhed Europe it's governments? War. Hordes of barbarians overran this quarter of the Globe: their leaders and nobles divided the land and the inhabitants among them. Hence ſprung principalities and fiefs: henee the villanage of the ſubjugated people: the conquerors were in poſſeſſion; and all the alterations, that have taken place in this poſſeſſion in the courſe of time, have been determined by revolutions, by war, by mutual agreement between the powerful, and in every caſe therefore by the law of the ſtronger. Hiſtory proceeds in this royal way, and hiſtorical facts cannot be diſputed. What brought the World under the ſway of Rome? What made Greece and the eaſt bow to the ſceptre of Alexander? What has founded all the monarchies, that have exiſted ſince the time of Seſoſtris and the fabulous Semiramis, and again overturned them? War. Forcible conqueſt, therefore, has aſſumed the place of right, and has afterwards become law by courſe of years, or as our politicians phraſe it, by a tacit compact: but the tacit compact in this caſe is nothing more, than that the ſtronger takes what he will, and the weaker gives what he cannot preſerve, or endures what

he cannot avoid. Thus the right of hereditary government depends, like almoſt every other hereditary poſſeſſion, on a chain of traditions, the firſt link of which was forged by force or accident, and which has been drawn out occaſionally it is true by wiſdom and goodneſs, but for the moſt part either by fortune or force. Heirs and deſcendants received what their progenitor took: and that to him, who has much, more is ever given, that he might have abundance, requires no farther illuſtration; as it is the natural conſequence of the abovementioned firſt poſſeſſion of lands and men.

Let it not be ſuppoſed, that this is true of monarchies alone, as monſters of conqueſt, and that the primitive kingdoms may have had a different origin; for in what other way could they poſſibly have originated? As long as a father ruled over his family, he was a father, and permitted his ſons likewiſe to become fathers, over whom he ſought no other ſway than that of advice. As long as ſeveral families choſe themſelves from their own free deliberation judges or leaders for a particular purpoſe, they who bore the office were only ſervants of the common weal, the appointed preſidents of the ſociety: the names of ſovereign, monarch, abſolute, arbitrary, hereditary deſpot, were unknown to a people ſo conſtituted. But if the nation ſlumbered, and left their father, leader, and judge, to act for them; if, laſtly, in drowſy gratitude, they put into his hand, whether on account of his merit, power, wealth, or any other cauſe, an hereditary ſceptre, that he might conduct them and their children as a ſhepherd conducts a flock of ſheep; what relation can we perceive between the two parties, but that of feebleneſs on the one ſide, and might on the other; that is, in fact, the right of the ſtronger? When Nimrod firſt killed beaſts, and afterwards ſubjugated men, in both inſtances he was a hunter. The leader of a colony or horde, whom men followed like animals, ſoon availed himſelf of the right of men over animals in his behaviour towards them. Thus it was with thoſe, by whom nations were civilized: while they were employed in civilizing them, they were the fathers, the inſtructors, of the people, the maintainers of the laws for the general good: as ſoon as they became abſolute or indeed hereditary rulers, they were the ſtrong commanding the weak. A fox often ſtepped into the place of the lion, and then the fox was the ſtronger: for ſtrength conſiſts not in force of arms alone; addreſs, cunning, and artful deceit, are commonly ſtill more effectual. In ſhort, the great difference between men in the gifts of body, of mind, or of fortune, has eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm and ſervitude on the Earth, varying in form according to the country, the age, or the way of life of the people; and in many places one kind has only given way to another. Warlike mountaineers, for example, have overrun the

the peaceful plains: climate, neceſſity, want, had rendered them ſtrong and courageous; accordingly they ſpread themſelves over the Earth as it's lords, till they were ſubdued by luxury in milder climates, and then fell under the yoke of others. Thus has our old Earth been a prey to violence; and it's hiſtory forms a melancholy picture of man-hunting, and conqueſts: almoſt every little variation of a boundary, every new epoch, is delineated in the book of Time with the blood of human victims, and the tears of the oppreſſed. The moſt celebrated names are thoſe of murderers of mankind, crowned or crownſeeking executioners; and what is ſtill more to be lamented, the worthieſt men have often been compelled by neceſſity, to appear on the dark ſcaffold, where the chains of their brethren were forged. Whence comes it, that the hiſtories of kingdoms diſplay ſo few rational purpoſes? Becauſe the greateſt and moſt of their events originated not from any rational views: for the paſſions, not humanity, have overpowered the Earth, and urged it's people like wild beaſts againſt each other. Had it pleaſed Providence, to permit us to be governed by ſuperiour beings, how different would the hiſtory of man have appeared! But inſtead of this, they have been for the moſt part *heroes*, that is to ſay ambitious men, poſſeſſed of power, or artful and enterprizing, who have ſpun the thread of events under the guidance of Paſſion, and woven it as it pleaſed Fate. If nothing elſe in the hiſtory of the World indicated the inferiority of the human ſpecies, the hiſtory of governments would demonſtrate it; according to which the greater part of our Earth merits not ſuch a name, but that of Mars or child-devouring Saturn.

Now ſhall we complain of Providence for creating the different regions of our Earth ſo diſſimilar, and dividing her gifts ſo unequally among mankind? Such a complaint would be idle and unjuſt, for it would be at variance with the obvious end of our ſpecies. If the Earth were deſigned to be inhabited, mountains muſt neceſſarily form a part of it, and their ridges muſt produce hardy mountaineers. If theſe poured down and ſubdued the voluptuous inhabitants of the plains, the voluptuous inhabitants of the plains for the moſt part deſerved this ſubjugation: for why did they ſuffer themſelves to be ſubdued? why ſlumbered they on the lap of Nature in childiſh luxury and folly? It may be admitted as a principle in hiſtory, that no people are oppreſſed, but ſuch as ſubmit to oppreſſion, and conſequently deſerve to be ſlaves. The coward only is born a ſlave; the ſimple alone is deſtined by Nature to ſerve the wiſe: thus each is in his place, and would be unhappy were he forced to command.

Beſides, the inequality of men is not ſo great by nature, as it is rendered by education;

education; as the qualities of the very ſame people under different forms of government ſhow. The nobleſt nation ſoon loſes it's dignity under the yoke of deſpotiſm; the very marrow is cruſhed in it's bones; and as it's fineſt and moſt exquiſite talents are abuſed to the purpoſes of falſehood and deceit, of crawling ſervility and diſſolute voluptuouſneſs, can we wonder, that it ultimately habituates itſelf to the yoke, kiſſes it's chains, and decorates them with flowers? Lamentable as this fate of mankind is both in hiſtory and in common life, ſince ſcarcely a nation has ever riſen afreſh out of the abyſs of habitual ſlavery, without the miracle of a complete regeneration; this wretchedneſs is evidently not the work of Nature, but of man. Nature extended the bonds of ſociety only to families: beyond that, ſhe left mankind at liberty to knit them, and to frame their moſt delicate work of art, bodies politic, as they thought proper. If they framed them wiſely, happineſs was their reward: if they choſe, or endured, tyranny and bad forms of government, they had to bear the burden. Their good parent could do no more than inſtruct them by reaſon, by the tradition of hiſtory, or laſtly by their own proper feeling of pain and miſery. Thus the internal degeneration of mankind alone made way for the vices and depravities of governments: for, even under the moſt oppreſſive deſpotiſm, has not the ſlave always ſhared with his lord in plunder, and is not the deſpot always the greateſt ſlave?

But our unwearedly beneficent mother abandons not her children in the deepeſt degeneracy, contriving at leaſt to diminiſh the bitterneſs of oppreſſion by forgetfulneſs and habit. As long as nations retain their vigilance and activity, or where Nature feeds them with the hard bread of induſtry, no effeminate ſultans exiſt: a rude land, a hardy way of life, are the guardians of their freedom. On the other hand, where nations ſleep on her ſofter boſom, and ſuffer the net to be drawn over them, their conſoling parent at leaſt aids the oppreſſed with her milder gifts: for deſpotiſm always preſuppoſes a kind of feebleneſs, and conſequently more conveniencies, ariſing either from the gifts of Nature, or from thoſe of art. In moſt countries under deſpotic government Nature feeds and clothes man almoſt without any labour, ſo that he accommodates himſelf to the paſſing ſtorm, and after it is over inhales the cool air, thoughtleſsly and ignobly indeed, but not without enjoyment. The lot of men, and their deſtination to earthly happineſs, are in general connected neither with ſervitude nor dominion. The poor may be happy, the ſlave may be free in his chains: the deſpot and his inſtruments are for the moſt part, and frequently throughout their whole race, the moſt miſerable and unworthy of ſlaves.

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As all the points on which I have thus far touched muſt receive their proper illuſtration from hiſtory, their diſplay cannot be ſeparated from the thread of it. For the preſent let me be permitted a few general hints.

1. A ready but bad fundamental principle of the philoſophy of hiſtory would be: 'man is an animal, that needs a maſter, and muſt derive the happineſs of his deſtination from this maſter, or from a connexion with him.' The propoſition ought to be reverſed: 'the man who needs a maſter is a mere animal; as ſoon as he becomes a man, a maſter is no longer neceſſary to him.' Nature has pointed out no maſter to the human ſpecies: brutal vices and paſſions render one neceſſary. The wife requires a huſband; the huſband, a wife; the untutored child has need of inſtructing parents; the ſick, of a phyſician; the diſputer, of a judge; the herd, of a leader. Theſe are natural relations, exiſting in the notions of the things themſelves. The idea of his wanting a deſpot in the form of a man like himſelf is not natural to the mind of man: we muſt firſt ſuppoſe him weak, to need a protector; incapable of managing his own concerns, to require a guardian; wild, that ſome one may be neceſſary to tame him; deteſtable, to demand a miniſter of vengeance. Thus all human governments aroſe from neceſſity, and exiſt only in conſequence of it's continuance. As he is a bad father, who educates his child in ſuch a manner, that he may continue all his lifetime in a ſtate of incapacity, and never ceaſe to want a tutor; as he is a bad phyſician, who cheriſhes a diſeaſe, that the poor patient may not be able to diſpenſe with his attendance till death; apply the ſame reaſoning to the teachers of the human ſpecies, to the fathers of countries and their pupils. Either theſe muſt be altogether incapable of improvement; or, during the thouſands of years that men have been governed, what they can become, and to what purpoſes they have been trained by their teachers, muſt be perceptible. The purpoſes will clearly be ſeen in the courſe of this work.

2. Nature educates families: the moſt natural ſtate therefore is *one* nation, with one national character. This it retains for ages, and this is moſt naturally formed, when it is the object of it's native princes: for a nation is as much a natural plant as a family, only with more branches. Nothing therefore appears to directly oppoſite to the end of government as the unnatural enlargement of ſtates, the wild mixture of various races and nations under one ſceptre. A human ſceptre is far too weak and ſlender for ſuch incongruous parts to be engrafted upon it: glued together indeed they may be into a fragile machine, termed a machine of ſtate, but deſtitute of internal vivification and ſympathy of parts. Kingdoms of this kind, which render the name of fathers of their country ſcarcely applicable to the beſt of potentates, appear in hiſtory like that type of

monarchies in the viſion of the prophet, where the lion's head, the dragon's tail, the eagle's wings, and the paws of a bear, combined in one unpatriotic figure of a ſtate. Such machines are pieced together like the trojan horſe; guaranteeing one another's immortality, though, deſtitute of national character, there is no life in them, and nothing but the curſe of Fate can condemn to immortality the forced union: for the very politics that framed them are thoſe, that play with men and nations as with inanimate ſubſtances. But hiſtory ſufficiently ſhows, that theſe inſtruments of human pride are formed of clay, and, like all other clay, will diſſolve, or crumble to pieces.

3. As, in all aſſociations between men, mutual aſſiſtance and ſecurity are the chief ends of their union; ſo, in all ſtates, the natural order is the beſt: namely, that each of it's members ſhould be what he was deſigned by Nature. As ſoon as the ſovereign ſteps into the place of the creator, and, prompted by his own will or paſſions, endeavours to make the creature what God never intended: this heaven-controlling deſpotiſm becomes the parent of every diſorder, and inevitable misfortune. Now as all ranks of men eſtabliſhed by tradition counteract in a certain degree Nature, who has confined her gifts to no rank; it is not to be wondered, that moſt nations, after having tried various forms of government, and experienced the inconveniencies of each, have at length recurred in deſpair to that which renders them altogether machines, to deſpotic hereditary government. They ſaid, like the king of the jews, when three evils were offered to him: 'let us rather fall into the hands of the lord, than into the hands of men:' and ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion to the will of Providence, ſubmitting to whatever ruler Heaven might ſend them: for the tyranny of ariſtocracy is a ſevere tyranny, and popular ſway is a very leviathan. Accordingly, all chriſtian potentates ſtyle themſelves ſo *by the grace of God*; thus acknowledging, that they derive their crowns, not from their own merit, which indeed could not exiſt before they were born, but from the will of Providence, which permitted them to be born on a throne. The claim of deſert they muſt acquire by their own labours; with which it is incumbent on them to juſtify Providence, for acknowledging them worthy of their high office: for the office of a prince is nothing leſs than that of a god among men, a ſuperiour being in a mortal form. The few, that have been ſenſible of this diſtinguiſhed calling, ſhine like ſtars amid the endleſs night, dark with clouds of ordinary rulers; and animate the loſt wanderer in his melancholy progreſs through the political hiſtory of mankind.

O for another Monteſquieu, to feaſt us with the ſpirit of laws and governments on our Globe only during the centuries beſt known to us! not according

cording to the empty names of three or four forms of government, which are alike in no two places, and never remain the ſame: not according to the political maxims of ſtates; for no ſtate is founded on verbal principles, and ſtill leſs could any one adhere to them invariably at all times, and under all circumſtances: not from detached examples, taken from all nations, times, and climates, out of which, in this confuſion, the genius of our Earth himſelf could not form a whole: but ſolely by a philoſophical animated repreſentation of civil hiſtory; in which, uniform as it appears, no one ſcene occurs twice; and which, fearfully inſtructive, completes the picture of the vices and virtues of mankind and their governors, according to place and time always changing, always the ſame.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Religion is the moſt ancient and ſacred Tradition upon the Earth.*

WEARY and tired of all theſe changes of climates, times, and nations, can we find on the Globe, no ſtandard of the common property and excellence of our fraternity? Yes: the diſpoſition to *reaſon*, *humanity*, and *religion*, the three graces of human life. All ſtates have had a late origin, and arts and ſciences have ariſen in them ſtill later; but families are the eternal work of nature, the progreſſive eſtabliſhment, in which ſhe plants the ſeeds of humanity, and foſters it's growth. Languages vary with every people, in every clime; but in all languages one and the ſame typeſearching human reaſon is conſpicuous. Thus traces of religion, however different it's garb may be, are found even among the pooreſt and rudeſt nations on the verge of the Earth. The greenlander and kamtſchadale, the peſheray and papoo, have notions o religion, as cuſtoms or traditions ſhow: nay, were there a ſingle people totally deſtitute of religion among the anſicans, or thoſe ſavages of the indian iſlands, who have been compelled to hide themſelves in the woods, this very want would be a proof of the highly ſavage ſtage, to which they were reduced.

Now whence is the religion of theſe people derived? Can theſe poor creatures have invented their religious worſhip as a ſort of natural theology? Certainly not; for, abſorbed in labour, they invent nothing, but in all things follow the traditions of their forefathers. At the ſame time, they have been totally deſtitute of hints for this invention from external objects: for, if they learned to make bows and arrows, fiſhing tackle and clothing, from animals or from nature; in what beaſt, in what natural object, could they ſee religion? or from

what one could they learn, to worſhip a deity? Here therefore *tradition has been the propagator of their religion and ſacred rites, as of their language and ſlight degree of civilization.*

Hence it directly follows, that *religious tradition could employ no other means, than thoſe which were uſed by reaſon and ſpeech, namely ſymbols.* If thoughts, to be propagated, muſt become words; if every inſtitution muſt have a viſible ſign, in order to be tranſmitted to others and to poſterity; how can that which is unſeen be rendered perceptible, or an ancient hiſtory be preſerved to future ages, but by words or characters? Hence, among the moſt uncultivated people, the language of religion is ever the moſt ancient and obſcure; often unintelligible even to the initiated, much more to ſtrangers. The moſt expreſſive ſacred ſymbols of every people, however nicely adapted to the climate and nation, frequently become void of meaning in a few generations. And no wonder: for this muſt happen to every language, to every inſtitution with arbitrary characters, unleſs they be often brought into compariſon with their objects by common uſe, and thus retained in ſignificant remembrance. In religion this actual compariſon is difficult, if not impracticable; for the ſymbol refers either to an inviſible idea, or an ancient hiſtory.

Thus it muſt inevitably follow, that *prieſts, the original philoſophers of a nation, could not always remain ſo:* for as ſoon as the ſignification of the ſymbols were loſt to them, they muſt become either the blind ſervants of idolatry, or the lying preachers of ſuperſtition. And ſo they have richly proved themſelves almoſt every where; not from any particular propenſity to deception, but from the natural courſe of things. In language, in every ſcience, in every art and inſtitution, the ſame deſtiny prevails: the ignorant, who endeavours to ſpeak, or to teach an art, muſt conceal, muſt feign, muſt diſſemble: a falſe appearance aſſumes the place of loſt truth. This is *the hiſtory of all the myſteries* upon Earth: at firſt they concealed much, that was well worthy of being known; but in the end, particularly when the wiſdom of men ſeparated itſelf from them, they degenerated into deſpicable nonſenſe; and thus, the ſanctuary being reduced to an empty ſhell, the prieſts at length became wretched deceivers.

They by whom the prieſts were chiefly expoſed as ſuch were the *princes* and *philoſophers.* The princes, being ſoon led by their high rank, in which all power was veſted, to the uncontrolled exerciſe of their own will, thought it a duty of their rank, to reſtrain an inviſible ſuperiour power, and conſequently to annihilate it's ſymbols, or tolerate them as wires to move the puppet people. Hence the unhappy conflict between the throne and the altar in all half-civi-

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lized nations, till men at length attempted to unite them, and thus produced to the world the incongruous ſtructure of a throne on the altar, or an altar on the throne. In this unequal conteſt, the degenerate prieſts muſt neceſſarily continue to loſe ground; for inviſible belief had to contend againſt viſible power, and the ſhadow of an ancient tradition againſt the ſplendour of that golden ſceptre, which the prieſts themſelves had formerly conſecrated, and placed in the hand of the monarch. Thus with increaſing civilization the days of prieſtly dominion paſſed away: the deſpot, who originally wore his crown in the name of the deity, now found it more eaſy to ſupport it in his own; and to this the people were accuſtomed both by the ſovereign and the philoſopher.

Now, in the firſt place, it is unqueſtionable, that *religion alone introduced the firſt rudiments of civilization and ſcience among all people; nay, that theſe rudiments were originally nothing more than a kind of religious tradition.* The little civilization and ſcience we find in all ſavage nations, even at preſent, are connected with their religion. The language of their religion is an exalted ſolemn language, which not only accompanies their ſacred rites with ſong and dance, but for the moſt part proceeds from the tales of the primitive world; and is accordingly the only relic theſe people have of ancient ſtory, their ſole memorial of antiquity, their ſingle glimmer of ſcience. The numbering and obſervance of days, the foundation of all chronology, is or was every where ſacred: the magi of all quarters of the Globe appropriated to themſelves the knowledge of the heavens and of nature, however humble it was. The arts of phyſic and ſoothſaying, the occult ſciences and interpretation of dreams, the knowledge of writing, acts of atonement to the gods, of ſatisfaction to the dead and obtaining accounts from them, in ſhort, the whole of the dark realm of doubts, reſpecting which human curioſity is ever on the wing, are in the hands of their prieſts; ſo that, in many nations, one common worſhip, and religious feſtivals, are all that imparts to independent families the ſhadow of a whole. The hiſtory of civilization will ſhow, that this was the caſe with the moſt cultivated nations. The ſcience of the egyptians, and of all the people of the eaſt to the utmoſt verge of Aſia, as well as of all the poliſhed nations of antiquity in Europe, the etruſcans, greeks, and romans, began in the boſom and under the veil of religious tradition: thus were poetry and arts, muſic and writing, hiſtory and phyſic, natural philoſophy and metaphyſics, aſtronomy and chronology, and even morals and politics, imparted to them. The moſt ancient philoſophers did nothing but ſeparate the ſeed that was given them, and raiſe plants from it; and theſe plants continued to be propagated through ſubſequent ages. We of

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the north, too, have received our ſciences in no other way but under the garb of religion: ſo that we may boldly affirm, from the hiſtory of all nations, the Earth is indebted for the ſeeds of all ſuperiour degrees of cultivation to religious traditions, oral or written.

Secondly. The nature of the caſe itſelf confirms this hiſtorical aſſertion: for what raiſed man above the brute, and prevented him, even in his rudeſt ſtate, from being degraded to the rank of a beaſt? It will be ſaid, reaſon and ſpeech. But as without ſpeech he could not attain to reaſon; ſo he could acquire neither but by the obſervation of unity in multiplicity, by the perception of the inviſible in the viſible, by the connection of cauſe with effect. Thus a kind of religious feeling of inviſible operative powers, in the whole chaos of being that ſurrounded him, muſt have preceded that firſt formation and connection of abſtract ideas, and formed their baſis. Savages have this feeling of the powers of nature, even when they have no expreſs idea of God: a lively and active feeling, as their idolatry and ſuperſtition evince. In all ſenſitive ideas of merely viſible things man acts like an animal: the conception of ſomething inviſible in what is viſible, of a power in it's action, muſt lift him to the firſt ſteps of ſuperiour reaſon. This conception is almoſt the only one, referrible to tranſcendant reaſon, that uncultivated nations poſſeſs, and which others have developed in a greater variety of words. It is the ſame with regard to the duration of the ſoul after death. In whatever way men acquired this notion, man in dying is diſtinguiſhed from the brute by this general article of belief alone. No ſavage nation can philoſophically demonſtrate the immortality of the human ſoul: which is perhaps more than any one philoſopher can do; for even he can only confirm by rational arguments the belief of this immortality, which is rooted in man's heart: yet this belief is univerſal. Even the kamtſchadale diſplays it, when he places a dog by the ſide of his dead; as the new-hollander does, when he ſinks the corpſe of the deceaſed in the ſea. No nation buries it's dead, as a man would bury a dog: every ſavage, when he dies, departs for the country of his fathers, for the land of ſouls. Thus religious traditions, and the internal feeling of an exiſtence which knows no proper annihilation, precede ſcrutinizing reaſon; elſe this would not eaſily have attained the notion of immortality, or would have preſented it in an abſtract, unenergetic form. Accordingly, the univerſal belief in the continuance of our exiſtence is the pyramid raiſed by Religion over the graves of all nations.

Laſtly, ſhall the divine laws and rules of humanity, which diſplay themſelves, though but in fragments, among the moſt ſavage nations, have been diſcovered by reaſon, after the lapſe perhaps of thouſands of years, and be in-

debted for their foundation to this changeable image of human abſtraction? I cannot think ſo, even on the ground of hiſtory. Had men been diſperſed over the Earth like brutes, to invent the internal form of humanity for themſelves; we muſt ſtill find nations without language, without reaſon, without religion, and without morals: for as man has been, ſo man is ſtill. But no hiſtory, no experience, informs us of any place where human ourang-outangs dwell; and the fables, which the late Diodorus, or ſtill later Pliny, relates of the men without feeling and other not human men, have the marks of falſhood on the very face of them; or at leaſt are not to be credited on the teſtimony of ſuch writers. In like manner the accounts of the uncultivated nations of antiquity, which poets give to exalt the fame of their Orpheus and their Cadmus, are certainly exaggerated: for the times in which theſe poets lived, and the aim of their legends, exclude them from the rank of authentic hiſtorians. To reaſon from the analogy of climate, no european, not to ſay grecian, nation, has ever been more ſavage, than the new-zealander or the peſheray: yet theſe ſcarcely human beings poſſeſs humanity, reaſon, and language. No cannibals devour their children or brothers: their inhuman practice is a ſavage right of war, to nouriſh their valour, and terrify their enemies. It is, therefore, nothing more or leſs, than the work of a groſs political reaſon; which in thoſe nations has overpowered humanity with regard to theſe few ſacrifices to their country, as it is overpowered by us europeans, even in the preſent day; in ſome other reſpects. Before ſtrangers they are aſhamed of this barbarous practice, though we europeans bluſh not at killing men: nay they behave nobly and like brethren to every priſoner of war, on whom the fatal lot does not fall. All theſe things, even when the hottentot buries his child alive, and the eſkimaux abridges the days of his aged parent, are conſequences of lamentable neceſſity; which, in the mean time, are not inconſiſtent with the original feeling of humanity. Miſguided reaſon, or unbridled luxury, has engendered many more ſingular abominations among us, to which the polygamy of the negro is not to be compared. But as no one will on this account deny, that the figure of humanity is engraven on the heart of the ſodomite, the oppreſſor, the aſſaſſin, though almoſt effaced by his licentious manners and paſſions; permit me, after all I have read and examined concerning the nations of the Earth, to conſider this internal diſpoſition to humanity to be as univerſal as human nature, or rather to be properly ſpeaking human nature itſelf. It is older than ſpeculative reaſon, which firſt formed itſelf in man by means of obſervation and language; nay, which would have had no ſtandard in practical caſes, had it not borrowed one from the obſcure image within us. If all the duties of man be merely conventional,

ventional, invented by himſelf as the inſtruments of happineſs, and confirmed by experience; they inſtantly ceaſe to be my duties, if I renounce happineſs, their end. The ſyllogiſm of reaſon is thus completed. But how entered they into the head of him, who never ſpeculated concerning happineſs, and the means that produce it? how came the duties of marriage, of parental and filial affection, of ſocial and domeſtic love, into the mind of man, before he had gathered experience of the advantages and diſadvantages attending each of them, and thus muſt have been in a thouſand different ways ſomething leſs than human, before he became a man? No, benevolent God, thou didſt not leave thy creature to murderous chance. To the brute thou gaveſt inſtinct; and on the mind of man didſt thou impreſs thy image, religion and humanity: the outline of the ſtatue lies there, deep in the block; but it cannot hew out, it cannot faſhion itſelf. Tradition and learning, reaſon and experience, muſt do this; and thou haſt ſupplied ſufficient means. The rule of juſtice, the principles of ſocial rights, even monogamy as the ſpecies of nuptial love moſt natural to man, affection towards children, gratitude towards friends and benefactors, and even a ſenſe of the moſt mighty and beneficent of beings, are traces of this image, which, in this place and in that, are at one time ſuppreſſed, at another brought forward to view, but every where diſplay, notwithſtanding, the primitive diſpoſitions of man, which he cannot renounce, wherever he perceives them. Theſe diſpoſitions, and their improvement, form the proper kingdom of God upon Earth; of which all men are citizens, only in different claſſes and degrees. Happy he, who can contribute to the extenſion of this kingdom of the true internal human creation! he envies no inventor his knowledge, no king his crown.

But who is the man, that will inform us, where and how this enlivening tradition of religion and humanity aroſe, and ſpread to the utmoſt borders of the Earth, where it loſes itſelf in the obſcureſt traces? Who taught man language, which every child now learns from others, and no one diſcovers by his own reaſon? What were the firſt ſymbols man conceived, ſo that the firſt germes of civilization came to nations under the veil of a coſmogony and religious ſtories? On what hangs the firſt link of the chain of our ſpecies, and it's ſpiritual and moral formation? Let us hear what the natural hiſtory of the Earth, and the moſt ancient tradition, tell us on theſe heads.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK X.

### CHAPTER I.

*Our Earth is an Earth peculiarly formed for it's animate Creation.*

AS the philoſopher is much in the dark reſpecting the origin of human hiſtory, and ſingularities occur in it's remoteſt periods, which will not accord with this ſyſtem or with that, men have fallen on the deſperate mode of cutting the knot, and have not only conſidered the Earth as the ruins of a former habitation, but have ſuppoſed the human ſpecies to be a remnant of the former inhabitants of this planet, who eſcaped perhaps in caves or mountains, from the revolution of it's Laſt day. Thus it's reaſon, arts, and traditions, are treaſures ſaved from the wrecks of the primitive World *; whence on the one hand, they appear from the beginning with a ſplendour derived from the experience of thouſands of years; and on the other, never can be clearly traced, while the remnant of the human ſpecies has ſerved like an iſthmus, at once to unite and to confound the cultivation of two worlds. If this opinion were true, there could be no ſuch thing as a pure philoſophy of the hiſtory of man; for the human ſpecies itſelf, and all it's arts, would be nothing more than the recrement ariſing from the deſtruction of a former world. Let us inquire what foundation there is for an hypotheſis, which makes an inexplicable chaos of our Earth itſelf, and of the hiſtory of it's inhabitants.

In the original formation of our earth, in my opinion, it has none: for the firſt apparent ravages and revolutions it has undergone preſuppoſe no ancient hiſtory of man, but belong to the creative ſeries, by which our Earth was

* See in particular the acute Eſſay on the Origin of the Diſcovery of Truth and Science, *Verſuch ueber den Urſprung der Erkenntniſs der Wahrheit, &c.* Berlin, 1781. Many natural philoſophers have maintained in common the hypotheſis, that our Globe is formed from the ruins of another world, on very different grounds.

rendered habitable *. The ancient granite, the kernel of our Globe, exhibits, as far as we have any knowledge of it, no trace of organic beings deſtroyed: we neither find any ſuch included in it, nor do it's component parts pre-require them. It's higheſt pinnacles probably roſe above the waters of the creation, for they diſcover no marks of the action of a ſea: but on theſe bare heights no human being could find nouriſhment, or even breathe. The air, that ſurrounded theſe maſſes, was not yet ſeparated from water and fire: loaded with the various ſubſtances, which depoſited themſelves in various combinations, and at various periods, on the baſis of the Earth, and gradually gave the World it's form, it was equally as incapable of ſupporting the reſpiration of the moſt exquiſite creature upon the Globe, as of imparting to it the breath of life. Thus the firſt living creatures muſt have originated in water: and this was endued from it's formation with a primitive creating power, which could yet act no where elſe, and accordingly firſt organized itſelf in an infinite multitude of ſhellfiſh, the only animals, that could live in this teeming ſea. As the formation of the Earth proceeded, their deſtruction largely enſued, and their ſcattered parts became the baſes of finer organizations. In proportion as the primitive rock was freed from water, and enriched by it's depoſits, or the elementary particles and organized beings mingled with it; the vegetable creation ſucceeded to that of the waters, and on every naked region what could vegetate vegetated. But no land animal could yet live in this hothouſe of the vegetable kingdom. On heights, on which the plants of Lapland now grow, we find petrified productions of the torrid zone; a clear proof, that their atmoſphere had once the heat of the equatorial regions. Yet this atmoſphere muſt already have been rendered in a conſiderable degree more pure, ſince ſo many ſubſtances had been precipitated from it, and ſince the life of a tender plant requires light: but as no animal, that lives on the face of the Earth, not to ſay no human ſkeleton, has ever been found along with theſe impreſſions of vegetables, it is highly probable, that no ſuch animal then exiſted, becauſe no nouriſhment was yet ready for it, and becauſe the matter, out of which it was to be formed, was not yet prepared. Thus we proceed, till in very ſuperficial ſtrata of ſand or clay the ſkeletons of the elephant and rhinoceros firſt appear: for thoſe bones, that occur in deeper ſtrata, which ſome have fancied to be human, are altogether equivocal, and more accurate examiners of nature have declared them to be the remains of aquatic animals. Thus Nature began on the Earth with the creatures of the

* The facts, on which the following aſſertions are built, are ſcattered through various modern books of geology, and are in part ſo well known from Buffon and others, that I ſhall not make a parade of quoting authorities for every thing I advance.

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warmeſt climates, and as it appears, with the moſt bulky; as in the ſea ſhe firſt produced the mailed ſhell-fiſh and large cornua ammonis: at leaſt it is certain, that among the numerous ſkeletons of elephants, which have been waſhed together at a late period, and in ſome places preſerved even with their ſkins, ſnakes, marine animals, and the like, have been found, but no human bodies. And even had human bodies been diſcovered, they would have been unqueſtionably of a very modern date, compared with the ancient mountains, in which none of theſe remains of living creatures exiſt. So ſays the moſt ancient book of the Earth; thus it is written on it's leaves of marble, lime, ſand, ſlate, and clay: and what ſays it for a new formation of the Globe, which a race of men, whoſe remains we are, had ſurvived? All it ſays tends rather to prove, that our Earth has faſhioned itſelf, from it's chaos of ſubſtances and powers, through the animating warmth of the creative ſpirit, to a peculiar and original whole, by a ſeries of preparatory revolutions, till at laſt the crown of it's creation, the exquiſite and tender creature man, was enabled to appear. Thoſe ſyſtems, therefore, which talk of various changes of the poles and climates, of reiterated deſtructions of an inhabited and cultivated ſoil, of the driving of men from region to region, or of their graves under rocks and ſeas, and depict nothing but horrour and deſtruction in all ancient hiſtory, are contradictory to the fabric of the Earth, or at leaſt unſupported by it, notwithſtanding all the revolutions it has unqueſtionably undergone. The fiſſures and veins in ancient ſtones, or the broken walls of our Earth, ſay nothing of a habitable World before the preſent: nay, had fate melted together the ancient maſs, aſſuredly no living remnant of the primitive World could have ſurvived. The Earth, therefore, as it now is, as well as the hiſtory of it's inhabitants, remains a ſimple and complete problem to be ſolved by the inquirer. Let us proceed then, and aſk:

## CHAPTER II.

### *Where was the Place of the Formation and moſt ancient Abode of Man?*

THAT this place could have been no late-formed verge of the land requires no proof; we recur immediately, therefore, to the ſummits of the eternal, primitive mountains, and the lands gradually annexed to them. Have men ſprung up every where, as every where ſhell-fiſh have ſprung up? Did the Mountains of the Moon produce negroes, the Andes americans, Ural the aſiatics, and

the Alps of Europe europeans? and had each of the principal mountains of the World it's own variety of the human ſpecies? As every region of the Earth has it's peculiar ſpecies of animals, which cannot live elſewhere, and conſequently muſt have been born in it, why ſhould it not have it's own race of men? and are not the varieties of national features, manners, and character, and particularly the great difference in languages, proofs of this? No one of my readers can be ignorant of the dazzling light, in which theſe arguments have been placed by many learned and acute inveſtigators of hiſtory, ſo that they have at length conſidered it as one of the moſt ſtrained hypotheſes, to ſuppoſe, that Nature could every where produce apes and bears, but not men; and thus, in complete contradiction to the courſe of her other operations, expoſe the moſt delicate of her creatures to a thouſand perils, by this ſingular frugality, in creating only a ſingle pair. 'Behold even now,' they ſay, 'the prodigality of all-teeming Nature! What innumerable germes, not only of plants, but of animals and man, does ſhe ſcatter into the lap of Deſtruction! And is it poſſible, that at the very juncture when the human ſpecies was to be produced, our prolific mother, whoſe virgin youth was ſo rich in the ſeeds of all beings and forms, that, as the ſtructure of the Earth ſhows, ſhe could ſacrifice millions of living creatures at one revolution, to produce new kinds, ſhould have exhauſted herſelf in inferiour beings, and have completed her wild labyrinth of life with two weak human creatures?' Let us examine how far this apparently brilliant hypotheſis anſwers to the progreſs of the civilization and hiſtory of our ſpecies, or is conſiſtent with it's form, character, and relation to the other living creatures of the Earth.

In the firſt place, it is evidently contrary to Nature, that all living beings ſhould have received life in equal number, or at the ſame time: the ſtructure of the Earth, and the internal conſtitution of the creatures, render this impoſſible. Elephants and worms, lions and animalculæ, exiſt not in equal numbers: from their eſſence, too, they could not have been created originally in like proportions, or at the ſame time. Millions of teſtaceous animals muſt have periſhed, before the bare rock of our Earth could have been covered with a ſoil to nouriſh more exquiſite life: a world of plants is deſtroyed annually, to ſupport the life of ſuperiour creatures. Thus, ſetting the final cauſes of the creation altogether aſide, the making of one out of many, and the deſtruction of multitudes by the revolving wheel of creation, for the purpoſe of animating leſs numerous but more noble productions, ariſe out of the very ſubſtance of Nature. Thus ſhe proceeded on an aſcending ſcale; and while ſhe every where left enough of ſeed, to maintain thoſe ſpecies, which ſhe meant

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to perpetuate, ſhe cleared the way for others more ſelect, more exquiſite, and of a ſuperiour order. If man were to be the crown of the creation, he could not have the ſame maſs, the ſame day of production, the ſame place, and the ſame dwelling, as the fiſh, or the ſea-blubber. His blood was not to be water: and therefore the vital warmth of Nature muſt have been ſo far elaborated and refined, as to give it redneſs. All his veſſels and fibres, and even his bony frame itſelf, were to be formed from the pureſt clay: and as the omnipotent acts but by ſecond cauſes, ſuch cauſes muſt have previouſly prepared the materials for this purpoſe. Such had pervaded even the groſſer animal creation: when and where each animal could ariſe, it aroſe: energies thronged through every gate, and formed themſelves to life. The cornu ammonis exiſted before the fiſh: the plant preceded the animal, which could not live without it: here crawled the crocodile and caiman, before the ſagacious elephant there waved his trunk, and ſelected his food. Carnivorous animals prerequired a numerous and already much increaſed progeny of ſuch as were to form their nouriſhment: conſequently they could not come into exiſtence at the ſame time, and in equal number with theſe. Man, too, if he were to be the inhabitant of the Earth, and the lord of the creation, muſt find his habitation and his kingdom prepared: and accordingly muſt come late, and in ſmaller number than thoſe he was to govern. If Nature could have produced from the materials of her terreſtrial manufactory any thing more exquiſite, more beautiful, and ſuperiour to man, why ſhould ſhe not have produced it? And her not having done this ſhows, that with man ſhe cloſed her work, and now completed with the choiceſt frugality the forms, which ſhe had commenced with the moſt abundant ſuperfluity in the depths of the ſea. 'God created man,' ſays the moſt ancient written tradition, 'in his own image: in the likeneſs of God he created him, one man and one woman: after the multitudes he had created, the ſmalleſt number: there he reſted, and created nothing more.' This was the ſummit, that completed the living pyramid.

Now where could this ſummit be placed? Where did the pearl of the finiſhed Earth diſplay itſelf? Neceſſarily in the centre of the moſt active organic powers, where, if I may be allowed ſuch expreſſions, the creation was moſt widely extended, and moſt exquiſitely laboured. And this could be no where, perhaps, but in Aſia, as the ſtructure of the Earth itſelf gives us room to conjecture. In Aſia were thoſe great and extenſive heights of the Globe, which the waters never covered, and the rocky ridges of which branched out far and wide. Here too was the greateſt attraction of active powers; here friction circulated the electric ſtream; here the materials of prolific chaos were moſt abundantly precipitated.

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The moſt ſpacious quarter of the Globe was formed round theſe mountains, as it's figure ſhows: and on theſe mountains lived the greater number of all the ſpecies of the animal creation, which probably roamed over them in the enjoyment of exiſtence, while the reſt of the World lay under water, ſcarcely exhibiting the naked or woodcrowned ſummits of it's mountains. The mountain, that Linnè imagined as the hill of creation *, exiſts in nature: not merely as a mountain, but as an extenſive amphitheatre, a conſtellation of mountains, the arms of which ſtretch out into various climates. 'I muſt obſerve,' ſays Pallas †, 'that all the animals, which live in a tame ſtate in the northern or ſouthern countries, are to be found wild in the temperate climate of the middle of Aſia; the dromedary excepted, neither ſpecies of which thrives out of Africa, or can be brought to endure the climate of Aſia without difficulty. The native places of the wild ox and the buffalo, of the muſimon, from which our ſheep are deſcended, of the bezoar-goat and ibex, the intermixture of which has produced the fertile race of tame goats, are to be found in the mountainous chains, that embrace the middle of Aſia and part of Europe. The reindeer abounds on the high mountains, that ſkirt Siberia, and cover it's eaſtern parts, where it is employed as a beaſt of draught and burden. It is alſo to be found on the Uralian chain, whence it has ſpread into the more northern countries. The camel with two bunches is to be found wild in the great deſerts between Tibet and China. Wild ſwine inhabit the woods and moraſſes throughout all the temperate part of Aſia. The wild cat, from which our domeſtic cat is derived, is ſufficiently known. Laſtly, the chief breed of our domeſtic dogs is certainly deſcended from the jackal; though I do not think it's blood wholly uncontaminated, for I am perſuaded, that it has been intermixed, from a very remote period, with that of the common wolf, the fox, and even the hyena, which has occaſioned the extreme variety of ſize and figure in our dogs.' Thus Pallas. And who is unacquainted with the richneſs of Aſia, particularly of it's ſouthern countries, in natural productions? It appears, as if not only the moſt ſpacious, but alſo the moſt fertile land, had ſettled itſelf round theſe the loftieſt heights of the Globe, attracting to itſelf from the beginning the greateſt ſhare of organic warmth. The moſt ſagacious elephants, the moſt cunning apes, and the moſt lively animals, are produced in Aſia: and, notwithſtanding it's decline, it has probably, with regard to genetic diſpoſition, the moſt ingenious and exalted men.

* *Linnæi Amœnitates academicæ*, Vol. II, p. 439, Diſcourſe on the habitable World. This oration has been repeatedly tranſlated.

† Remarks on Mountains, tranſlated in the Materials for Phyſical Geography, *Beytræge zur phyſikaliſchen Erdbeſchreibung*, Vol. III, p. 250, and elſewhere.

But what is to be ſaid of the other quarters of the Globe? It is demonſtrable from hiſtory, that Europe was ſupplied both with men and animals chiefly from Aſia, and was probably in great part covered with water, or with foreſts and moraſſes, when the higher land of Aſia was already cultivated. With the interiour part of Africa, indeed, we have yet but little acquaintance: both the figure and altitude of it's central ridge of mountains in particular are totally unknown to us: yet it is on many accounts probable, that this ridge, in a quarter of the Globe ſo ſcantily watered, and having ſuch extenſive tracts of low ground, can ſcarcely equal in height and breadth that of Aſia. This continent, therefore, was probably covered for a longer period; and though the torrid zone has not refuſed the animal or vegetable creation there a peculiar, powerful impreſſion, yet it appears, as if Africa and Europe were but children, hanging to the breaſt of their mother Aſia. Theſe three quarters of the Globe have moſt animals in common, and form on the whole but one continent.

Laſtly, when we conſider the ſteep mountains, too lofty to be inhabited, that ſtretch through America, their ſtill raging volcanoes, the low land at their feet, large tracts of which are on a level with the ſea, and it's living creation, which conſiſts principally of plants, amphibia, inſects, and birds, with fewer ſpecies of the more perfect and lively animals enjoyed by the old World; and when to theſe we add the rude immature governments of it's nations in general; it will be difficult to conceive, that this continent was the earlieſt inhabited. Compared with the other half of the Globe, it rather offers to the natural philoſopher a rich problem of the difference between two oppoſite hemiſpheres. Even the beautiful valley of Quito could not eaſily be the birthplace of an original couple of human beings, ready as I ſhould be to allow this honour to it, and to the Mountains of the Moon in Africa, and unwilling to contradict any one, who ſhould diſcover proofs of it.

But enough of mere conjecture, which I wiſh not to be abuſed, ſo as to deny the Omnipotent power and materials to create men, wherever he pleaſed. The word, that every where filled both ſea and land with their proper inhabitants, could alſo have given each quarter of the Globe it's native lord, had it thought fit. But are there not reaſons diſcoverable in the character of man, as hitherto unfolded, why it did not think proper? We have ſeen, that the reaſon and humanity of man depended on education, language, and tradition: and that in this reſpect he differs totally from the brute, which brings it's infallible inſtinct into the World with it. If this be ſo, man could not, from his ſpecific character, have been generally diſperſed over the deſert World like the beaſts. The tree, which could every where be propagated by art alone, was rather to ſpring from

from one root, in a place where it would proſper beſt, where it could be foſtered by him, by whom it was planted. Mankind, deſtined to humanity, were to be from their origin a brotherly race, of one blood, and formed by one guiding tradition; and thus the whole aroſe, as each individual family now riſes, branches from one ſtem, plants from one primitive nurſery. In my opinion, this ſtriking plan of God with regard to our ſpecies, which diſtinguiſhes it in it's very origin from the brute, muſt appear the moſt adequate, beautiful, and excellent, to every one, who weighs the characteriſtics of our nature, the frame and quality of our reaſon, the mode by which we acquire ideas, and the manner in which humanity is faſhioned in us. According to this ſcheme, man was the favourite of Nature, whom ſhe produced, as the fruit of her matureſt induſtry, or, if you pleaſe, as the child of her age, in the ſpot which ſhe deemed beſt for her tender laſtling. Here ſhe foſtered him with maternal hand, and placed around him whatever could promote from the beginning the formation of his human character. As only one kind of human reaſon was poſſible upon this Earth, and as Nature therefore produced but one ſpecies of rational creatures, ſhe left this creature capable of reaſon, to be educated in one ſchool of language and tradition, and took upon herſelf this education through a ſeries of generations from one origin.

## CHAPTER III.

*Hiſtory, and the Progreſs of Civilization, afford hiſtorical Proofs, that the human Species originated in Aſia.*

WHENCE are all the nations of Europe? From Aſia. Of moſt of them we know this with certainty: we know the origin of the laplanders, fins, germans and goths, gauls, ſlavians, celts, cimbrians, and others. Partly from their languages, or the remains of their languages, and partly from accounts of their ancient ſeats, we can trace them to a conſiderable diſtance on the borders of the Black Sea, or in Tatary, where ſome remains of their languages ſtill exiſt. We know leſs of the deſcent of other nations, becauſe we are leſs acquainted with their early hiſtory: for the ignorance of former times alone makes them indigenes. If Buettner, the ableſt philologer of all, who have ſtudied the hiſtory of ancient and modern nations, would impart to us the treaſures his modeſty conceals, and trace, as he undoubtedly could, a ſeries of nations to their parental ſtock, of which they themſelves are ignorant, he would confer no ſmall benefit on mankind *.

* This learned man is buſied in a work of this kind on a very comprehenſive plan.

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The origin of the africans and americans, it muſt be confeſſed, is more obſcure: but from all we have learned of the northern frontier of Africa, and a compariſon of the moſt ancient traditions reſpecting the origin of it's inhabitants, it is aſiatic. As we proceed ſouthward we muſt be ſatisfied, if we find nothing in the negro figure and complexion inconſiſtent with this origin, but rather a progreſſive climatic change of national features, as was attempted to be ſhown in the ſixth book of this work. America more recently peopled is in a ſimilar predicament; the appearance of it's natives renders it probable, however, that they originally came from the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

But the languages of nations are leſs equivocal than their features: and where, throughout the whole Earth, are the moſt anciently cultivated languages to be found? In Aſia. Would you ſee the miracle of people ſpeaking ſimple monoſyllabical languages throughout a ſpace of ſome thouſands of miles; viſit Aſia. The countries beyond the Ganges, Tibet and China, Pegu, Ava, Arracan, and Brema, Tonquin, Laos, Cochin-China, Cambodia, and Siam, converſe in ſimple uninflected monoſyllables. It is probable, the early rules of their language and writing fixed this; for in this corner of Aſia, the moſt ancient inſtitutions have remained in almoſt all things unchanged. Would you have languages, the extreme and almoſt ſuperabundant copiouſneſs of which is connected with a very few roots, ſo that they combine richneſs and poverty, with a ſingular regularity and the almoſt childiſh art of expreſſing a new idea by a trifling change of the radical word; obſerve the ſouth of Aſia, from India to Syria, Arabia, and Ethiopia. The language of Bengal has ſeven hundred roots, the elements of reaſon as it were, from which nouns, verbs, and all the other parts of ſpeech are formed. The hebrew and it's cognate languages, ſo very different in kind as they are, excite aſtoniſhment, when their ſtructure is conſidered, even in the moſt ancient writings. All their words may be traced up to roots of three letters, which at firſt too were probably monoſyllables, but afterwards, through the means of their peculiar alphabet in all likelihood, were brought into this form at an early period, and thence by means of very ſimple additions and inflections the whole language was conſtructed. In the poliſhed arabic language, for example, an infinite copiouſneſs of ideas is compoſed from a few roots; ſo that the patchwork of moſt european languages, with their uſeleſs auxiliaries and tedious inflexions, cannot be more ſtrikingly diſplayed, than by comparing them with the languages of Aſia. Hence, too, theſe are difficult for an european to learn in proportion to their age; for he muſt relinquiſh the uſeleſs riches of his own tongue, when he approaches their finely conceived and deeply regulated hieroglyphic of the inviſible language of thought.

The moſt certain mark of the cultivation of a language is it's writing: the more ancient this is, and the more art and reflection it diſplays, the more highly poliſhed is the language. Now, if we except the ſcythians, perhaps, who were alſo an aſiatic people, no european nation can boaſt of the invention of an alphabet: in this point the people of Europe rank as barbarians with the negro and american. To Aſia alone belonged the art of writing, and this in the moſt ancient times. The earlieſt poliſhed nation of Europe, the greeks, borrowed an alphabet from the eaſt; and Buettner's tables ſhow, that all the reſt of the alphabetical characters uſed in Europe were borrowed, or altered, from thoſe of the greeks *. The moſt ancient literal writing of the egyptians alſo, as it appears on their mummies, is phenician, and, like the coptic alphabet, a corrupt greek. Among the negroes and americans nothing like an originally invented alphabet is to be ſuppoſed; for even the mexicans never went beyond their rude hieroglyphics, or the peruvians beyond their knotted cords. Aſia, on the other hand, has exhauſted the art of writing as it were in letters and artful hieroglyphics, ſo that among it's characters may be found almoſt every kind, to which human ſpeech may be limited. The bengal alphabet has fifty conſonants, and twelve vowels: the chineſe out of their multitude of characters have choſen no leſs than a hundred and twelve as vowels, and thirty ſix as conſonants. The tibetian, ſingaleſe, mahratta, and mantchou alphabets are conſtructed on ſimilar principles, though the directions of the ſtrokes, that form their characters, vary. Some of the aſiatic alphabets are evidently ſo ancient, that we may obſerve, how the language has been formed with them, and to them; and the beautifully ſimple writing on the ruins of Perſepolis is altogether unintelligible to us.

If we proceed from the inſtruments of civilization to civilization itſelf, where did it earlier appear, or where could it appear earlier, than in Aſia? whence it was farther propagated through channels, of which we are not ignorant. The ſovereignty over animals was one of the firſt ſteps towards it; and in Aſia this may be traced back beyond all the revolutions of hiſtory. Not only that, as has been ſhown, the greater number of animals, and the more tameable, were to be found on this primary mountain of the World; but the ſociety of men tamed them ſo early, that our moſt uſeful animals, the ſheep, goat, and dog, had their origin probably from this circumſtance, and are in fact new ſpecies of animals produced by aſiatic art. If a man would place himſelf in the centre

* See Comparative Tables of the Writing of various Nations, *Vergleichungs-tafeln der Schriftarten verſchiedner Vælker*, by Buettner: Gottingen, 1771.

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of the diſtribution of tame animals, he muſt repair to the heights of Aſia: the more diſtant from theſe, reckoning on the grand ſcale of nature, the fewer tame animals are to be found. In Aſia, even to it's ſouthern iſlands, every place abounds with them: in New Guinea and New Zealand we find only the dog and the ſwine; in New Caledonia, the dog alone; and throughout the whole extent of America, the guanaco and llama were the only tame animals. The beſt breeds in Aſia and Africa, too, are of the nobleſt and moſt beautiful kind. The dſhiggetaï and arabian horſe, the wild and tame aſs, the argali and the ſheep, the wild and Angora goat, are the pride of their ſpecies: the ſagacious elephant was managed with the greateſt art in Aſia from the earlieſt times, and the camel was indiſpenſable to this quarter of the Globe. Africa comes next to Aſia with regard to the beauty of ſome of theſe animals; but in the management of them is far behind. Europe is indebted to Aſia for all it's tame animals; being able to reckon as it's own only fifteen or ſixteen wild ſpecies, chiefly mice or bats *.

The cultivation of the Earth and it's plants have proceeded in a ſimilar manner. A great part of Europe at a very late period was covered with wood; and it's inhabitants, if they lived on vegetable food, could procure only roots and wild herbs, acorns and crabs. In many of the regions of Aſia, of which we are ſpeaking, corn grows ſpontaneouſly, and huſbandry dates from time immemorial. The fineſt fruits of the Earth, the grape and the olive, the orange and the fig, the pomegranate and the almond, nuts, cheſnuts, and all the productions of our gardens and orchards, were firſt brought from Aſia into Africa and Greece, and thence ſpread into remoter countries. A few other vegetables we have derived from America: and with reſpect to moſt we know both the place from which they were procured, and the time when they were introduced. And theſe gifts of Nature were conferred on mankind by the aid of tradition: no wine is produced in America, and vineyards have been planted in Africa only by the hands of europeans.

That arts and ſciences were firſt cultivated in Aſia, and in the adjacent country of Egypt, requires no elaborate proof. Ancient monuments, and the hiſtory of nations, affirm it; and the teſtimonies adduced by Goguet † are in every hand. In this part of the World both the uſeful and fine arts have been purſued very early, in ſome place or other, but every where in the marked aſia-

* See Zimmermann's Geographical Hiſtory of Man, *Geographiſche Geſchichte der Menſchen*, Vol. III, p. 183.

† *L'Origine des Loix, des Arts, des Sciences, & de leur Progrès chez les anciens Peuples*, 'The Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, and their Progreſs among the Ancients,' 3 vols. 4to. 1758.

tic taſte; as the ruins of Perſepolis, and the hindoo temples, the pyramids of Egypt, and many other works, of which there are ſtill remains, or of which accounts are handed down to us, ſufficiently prove: for almoſt all of theſe were prior to the civilization of Europe, and in Africa and America there is nothing to compare with them. The lofty poetry of many of the ſouthern aſiatics is univerſally known *: and the more ancient it is, the more it diſplays of that nobleneſs and ſimplicity juſtly called divine. What acute thought, nay I may ſay what ingenious hypotheſis, has ever entered into the mind of a modern inhabitant of the weſt, the germe of which is not diſcoverable in ſome earlier eaſtern maxim or fiction? at leaſt if the foundations of it were within the ſphere of an aſiatic's knowledge. The trade of the aſiatics is the moſt ancient upon Earth, and the moſt important inventions relative to commerce are theirs. So are aſtronomy and chronology. Without laying the leaſt ſtreſs on the hypotheſes of Bailly, who can avoid aſtoniſhment at the early and extenſive propagation of many aſtronomical obſervations, periods, and practices, to which the moſt ancient nations of Aſia have a claim not eaſy to be diſputed †? It ſeems as if their ancient philoſophers were particularly the philoſophers of the heavens, the obſervers of ſilently progreſſive time; this calculating, numbering ſpirit diſplaying it's effects among them then, as it does even now, notwithſtanding the deep decline of many of their nations ‡. The bramin reckons immenſe ſums by memory: the diviſions of time, from the ſmalleſt meaſure to the greateſt revolutions of the heavens, are familiar to his mind; and he commits few miſtakes in them, though he has none of the helps, which europeans employ. Antiquity has tranſmitted to him the formulæ, which he now does nothing but apply: and even our diviſion of the year is aſiatic; our arithmetical figures, and the conſtellations of our aſtronomers, are of egyptian or indian origin.

Laſtly, if forms of government be the moſt difficult of the arts of civilization, where do we find the moſt ancient and extenſive monarchies? where have the empires of the World found their firmeſt eſtabliſhment? China has maintained it's ancient conſtitution for ſome thouſands of years: and though this unwarlike country has been more than once overrun by tatar hordes, the vanquiſhed have always civilized their vanquiſhers, and inured them to the chains of their

* See *Jones Poeſeos Aſiatic. Commentar.*, 'A Commentary on Sir W. Jones's *Poeſes Aſiaticæ*.'

† See Bailly's *Hiſtoire de l'Aſtronomie ancienne*, 'Hiſtory of the Aſtronomy of the Ancients.'

‡ See le Gentil's *Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, 'Voyage in the Indian Seas:' Walter on the Indian Computation of Time, appended to Beger's *Hiſtoria Regni Græcorum Bactriani*, 'Hiſtory of the Bactrian Kingdom of the Greeks,' Peterſburg, 1738.

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old conſtitution. What form of government in Europe can make a ſimilar boaſt? The moſt ancient hierarchy upon Earth reigns on the mountains of Tibet: and the caſts of the hindoos indicate their primeval eſtabliſhment, from the deeprooted power, which has been for ages a ſecond nature to the gentleſt of people. Warlike or peaceable eſtabliſhed monarchies, on the Tigris and Euphrates, on the banks of the Nile and the mountains of Media, interfere in the hiſtory of the weſtern nations in the remoteſt times: and even on the heights of Tatary the unreſtricted liberty of the hordes was interwoven with a deſpotiſm of the khans, whence the principles of many european forms of government have been derived. From every corner of the World, the nearer we approach Aſia, the nigher we come to firmly eſtabliſhed kingdoms, in which the unlimited power of the monarch has been for thouſands of years ſo deeply impreſſed on the minds of the people, that the king of Siam laughed at a nation without a king, as an abortive birth deſtitute of a head. The moſt eſtabliſhed deſpotiſms in Africa are ſeated neareſt to Aſia: the more diſtant they are from it, the ruder the ſtate of tyranny, till at length it is loſt among the caffres in the patriarchal condition of the ſhepherd. In the ſouthern ocean, the nearer we come to Aſia, the deeper we find arts, manufactures, pomp, and the ſpouſe of pomp, monarchical deſpotiſm, rooted: the farther we are from it, as in the remote iſlands, in America, and on the barren verge of the ſouthern world, the more ſimple conſtitutions of ſociety occur in a ruder ſtate, the freedom of voices and independance of families; ſo that ſome hiſtorians have deduced even the two american monarchies of Mexico and Peru from the neighbourhood of deſpotic governments in Aſia. The general aſpect of this quarter of the Globe, particularly about the mountains, indicates the moſt ancient habitation: and the traditions of it's nations, with their religions and computations of time, aſcend, as is well known, to the primitive ages. All the mythologies of the europeans and africans, from whom I exclude the egyptians, and ſtill more of the americans and inhabitants of the weſtern iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, are but ſcattered fragments of modern fables, compared with the gigantic ſtructures of ancient coſmogony in India, Tibet, the old Chaldea, and even in the much inferiour Egypt; but confuſed ſounds of an evaneſcent echo from the voice of the primitive aſiatic world, loſing itſelf in fiction.

What then if we were to follow this voice; and, as mankind had no means of being formed but by tradition, endeavour to trace it to it's original ſource? This, it muſt be confeſſed, is a treacherous path, as if a man were to purſue the rainbow, or chace an echo: for as a child is incapable of giving an account

of

of his birth, though preſent at it, as little may we hope, that the human ſpecies can tell us of it's creation and firſt leſſons, the invention of language, and it's primitive ſeat, with the ſtrict accuracy of authentic hiſtory. Yet a child remembers at leaſt ſome circumſtances of his later youth: and if ſeveral children, who were educated together, and afterward ſeparated, relate the ſame or very ſimilar things, why ſhould we not give them credit? why ſhould we refuſe at leaſt to reflect, on what they ſay or dream has occurred, particularly if we have no other documents? And as it has been the palpable deſign of Providence to inſtruct man by means of man, that is by progreſſively operating tradition; let us not doubt, that in this point we are favoured with every thing, that it is neceſſary for us to know.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Aſiatic Traditions on the Creation of the Earth and the Origin of the human Species.*

But in what part of this wild waſte, where ſo many deceitful voices call, and ſo many treacherous lights appear to miſlead us, ſhall we begin? I have no inclination, to add a ſyllable to the library of dreams on this ſubject, which human memory has committed to the preſs; and ſhall ſeparate, therefore, as far as I am able, the conjectures of different nations, or the hypotheſes of their philoſophers, from traditional facts; diſtinguiſhing in theſe their age, and degree of certainty. The remoteſt people of Aſia, who boaſt of the higheſt antiquity, the chineſe, have no authentic hiſtory prior to the year 722 before our era. The reigns of Fohi and Hoangti are mythological; and what precedes Fohi, the ages of ſpirits, or of the elements perſonified, is conſidered as allegorical fiction by the chineſe themſelves. Their moſt ancient book *, which was recovered, or rather reſtored from two copies ſaved out of the general burning of their books, in the year 176 before the birth of Chriſt, contains neither a coſmogony, nor the origin of the nation. In it we find Yao reigning with the mountains of his empire, the grandees: he had but to iſſue the command, and ſtars were obſerved, aqueducts were conſtructed, diviſions of time were eſtabliſhed. Thus we have nothing left but the chineſe metaphyſics of the great firſt Y†; how four and eight aroſe from one and two; how, after the

* *Le Chou-King, &c.*, 'The Shoo-King, one of the ſacred Books of the Chineſe,' Paris, 1770.

† See an Inquiry into the times anteriour to thoſe in which the Shoo-King ſpeaks, by Premare, prefixed to the edition of the Shoo-King by De Guignes.

opening

opening of the heavens, Puanku and the three Hoangs reigned in miraculous ſhapes; till ſomething more reſembling human hiſtory begins with the firſt founder of their laws, Gin-Hoang, who was born on the mountain Hingma, and divided the land and water into nine portions. And ſtill this ſort of mythology proceeds down through ſeveral generations; ſo that nothing can be built upon it, except perhaps the ſeat on which they place theſe kings and their miraculous forms, the high mountains of Aſia, which they deem ſacred, and honour with all their moſt ancient fables. A great mountain in the centre of the earth is highly celebrated, even among the names of theſe fabulous beings, whom they ſtyle kings.

If we aſcend to Tibet, we find the poſition of the earth round a lofty central mountain ſtill more perſpicuous; for the whole mythology of this eccleſiaſtical empire is founded on it. It's height and circumference are tremendouſly depicted: monſters and giants are it's guards: ſeven ſeas, and ſeven mountains of gold, ſurround it. The lahs dwell on it's ſummit, and other beings on various inferiour ſtages. Thoſe contemplators of Heaven had been ſinking for æons of mundane ages into groſſer bodies, till they arrived at the human form, in which a frightful pair of apes were their progenitors. The origin of beaſts likewiſe is deduced from degraded lahs *. A harſh mythology, which frames the world deſcending into the ſea, peoples it with monſters, and ultimately throws the whole ſyſtem of beings into the throat of a demon, eternal neceſſity. This degrading tradition, however, which deduces man from apes, is ſo interwoven with later fancies, that much is requiſite, to make it paſs for a pure original doctrine of the primitive world.

If we could procure the oldeſt traditions of the ancient people the hindoos, they would form a valuable treaſure. But, beſide that the firſt ſect of Brahma has been long extinguiſhed by the followers of Viſhnoo and Sheva, we poſſeſs, in what has hitherto been brought to Europe of their myſteries, evidently modern fables alone, being only a popular mythology, or an explanatory ſyſtem of the philoſophers. Theſe two divaricate after the manner of fables according to the different provinces, ſo that we have probably long to wait for the true Vedas of the hindoos, as well as for the proper ſanſcrit language; and even in them we can expect little of their moſt ancient traditions, as they themſelves deem the firſt part loſt. Yet a few grains of primitive hiſtoric gold glitter through many of theſe later fables. The Ganges, for inſtance, is ſacred throughout all Hindoſtan, and flows immediately from the holy mountains, the

* Georgii Alphabet. Tibetan. Rom. 1762, p. 181 and elſewhere.

feet

feet of Brahma, the creator of the world. Viſhnoo appeared in his eighth metamorphoſis as Praſſarama: the water ſtill covered all the land, except the mountain Gatee: he entreated the god of the ſea, to give him room, and to withdraw the flood, as far as he could ſhoot an arrow. The god promiſed; Praſſarama ſhot; and the land dried as far as the arrow flew, which was to the coaſt of Malabar. This evidently inſtructs us, as Sonnerat alſo remarked, that the ſea once reached to the mountain Gatee, and that the coaſt of Malabar is more recent land. Other indian tales relate the origin of the earth from out of the water in another manner. Viſhnoo ſwam on a leaf: the firſt man ſprung out of it as a flower. On the ſurface of the waves floated an egg, which Brahma hatched, and it's ſhell formed the atmoſphere and the heavens, as it's contents did man and animals. Theſe tales, however, ſhould be read in the infantile ſtyle of the hindoos themſelves *.

The doctrine of Zoroaſter † is evidently a philoſophic ſyſtem, which, if it were not intermingled with the fables of other ſects, could ſcarcely paſs for an original tradition. Traces of ſuch a tradition, however, are diſcernible in it. The great mountain Albordy appears again in the centre of the Earth, and with it's neighbouring mountains ſtretches round it. About it the Sun revolves: from it the rivers flow, and ſeas and lands are diſtributed. The forms of things exiſted firſt in prototypes, in germes: and, as in all the other mythologies of higher Aſia the primitive World abounds with monſters, this too has the great bull Cayamort, from the carcaſe of which iſſued all the creatures of the Earth. On the top of this mountain, as on that of the lahs, is Paradiſe, the ſeat of bleſſed ſpirits and enlightened men, and the primary ſource of rivers, the water of life. For the reſt, the Light, that divides, diſſipates, and overcomes darkneſs, that fructifies the earth, and animates all creatures, is evidently the firſt phyſical principle of the whole fire-worſhip of the parſees; which ſimple idea they have applied theologically, morally, and politically, in a thouſand ways.

The farther weſt we wander beneath the aſiatic mountains, the ſhorter we find the periods of time, and the tales of the primitive World. We perceive in them all a later origin, and the application of foreign traditions from higher regions to lower lands. They become leſs and leſs adapted to local circumſtances; but on this account the ſyſtem itſelf gains in fulneſs and clearneſs; as only a few fragments of the ancient fable occaſionally appear, and theſe few are clad in a more modern national garb. I am aſtoniſhed, therefore, how Sanchoniathon has been repreſented on the one hand as a complete impoſtor, and on

* See Sonnerat, Baldeus, Don, Holwell, &c. † Zend Aveſta.

the other as the firſt prophet of the primitive world, to which he could not have belonged from the phyſical ſituation of his country. That the beginning of all things was an air void of light, a dark and troubled chaos; and that this chaos, without limits and without form, floated in the void ſpace from infinite time, till the moving ſpirit fell in love with it's own principles, and a beginning of the creation aroſe from their conjunction; belong to a mythology ſo ancient, and ſo common to the moſt different nations, that the phenician had here little to invent. Almoſt every people of Aſia, with the egyptians and greeks, related the tradition of chaos, or of a fecundated egg, in a ſimilar manner: why therefore ſhould not written traditions of this kind be found in a phenician temple? That the firſt ſeeds of creatures lay enveloped in mud; and the firſt rational creatures were a kind of wonderful beings, mirrors of Heaven *(zophaſemim)*, who, rouſed by the ſound of thunder, awoke, and produced the various animals out of their miraculous forms; are likewiſe extenſively prevailing tales, here only abridged, which ſpread in different garbs over the mountains of Media and Tibet to Hindoſtan and China, and deſcended likewiſe to Phrygia and Thrace, for remains of them are to be found in the mythologies of Orpheus and Heſiod. Now when we read long genealogies of the wind Colpias, that is, the voice of the breath of God, and his wife Night, their children Firſt-born and Æon, their grand-children Genus and Species, their great-grandchildren Light, Fire, and Flame, their great-great-grandchildren the mountains Caſſius, Libanus, Antilibanus, &c., and find human inventions aſcribed to theſe allegorical names; a very indulgent prejudice is requiſite, to diſcover a philoſophy of the World, and a primitive hiſtory of man, in this miſconceived confuſion of ancient traditions, which the compoſer probably found before him as proper names, and out of which he formed perſons.

We will not take the trouble to ſearch farther down into Egypt for traditions of the primitive World. In the names of it's ancient deities are unqueſtionable remains of a ſiſter tradition to that of the phenicians; for ancient Night, the Spirit, the Creator of the World, the Mud wherein lay the ſeeds of things, here again occur. But as all we know of the moſt ancient mythology of Egypt is recent, doubtful, and obſcure; and, beſides, every mythological image in this country is altogether moulded to the climate; it would not anſwer our purpoſe, to grope among theſe idol forms, or farther on among the negro fables, for traditions of the primitive World, on which to build a philoſophy of the moſt ancient hiſtory of man.

We have nothing hiſtorical, that remains, therefore, but the written tradition, which we commonly call the moſaic. Laying aſide all prejudice, and

without entering into the queſtion of it's origin, we know, that this is above three thouſand years old, and the moſt ancient book we poſſeſs. A bare inſpection of it's ſhort and ſimple pages will acquaint us with their deſign and value, conſidering them not as hiſtory, but as tradition, or an ancient *philoſophy of the hiſtory of man*, which I will therefore ſtrip of it's oriental poetic ornaments.

## CHAPTER V.

*The moſt ancient written Tradition concerning the Origin of the Hiſtory of Man.*

When the creation of our Earth and our Heaven began, ſays this narration, the Earth was a void ſhapeleſs maſs, on which a dark ſea flowed, and a living fecundifying power moved on this water.——Now if the moſt ancient ſtate of the Earth were to be deduced from all our late obſervations, as they offer themſelves to the inquiring mind, without having recourſe to gratuitous hypotheſes, we ſhould have preciſely this old deſcription. A vaſt rock of granite, for the moſt part covered with water, and on it natural powers big with life, are the circumſtances we know: more we know not. That this rock was ejected glowing from the Sun, is a gigantic idea, but founded neither on the analogy of Nature, nor on the progreſſive developement of our Earth: for how came water on this glowing maſs? whence acquired it a round form? whence it's revolution, and it's poles? ſince the power of a magnet is deſtroyed by fire. It is much more probable, that this wonderful primitive rock formed itſelf by it's intrinſic powers; in other words, that it was depoſited by condenſation from the pregnant Chaos, from which our Earth was to be produced. All, that this philoſophic fragment has in common with the fables we have noticed, perhaps is confined to the elohim, which may be compared poſſibly with the lahs, the zophaſemim, &c., but here exalted to the idea of an operating One; not of creatures, but of a creator.

The creation of things began with light: this ſeparated the ancient night, this divided the elements.—And what other ſeparating and animating principle in nature do we know from ancient or modern experience beſide light, or, if you will, elementary fire? It is univerſally diffuſed throughout nature, though unequally diſtributed according to the affinities of bodies. In conſtant motion and activity, fluid and active of itſelf, it is the cauſe of all fluidity, warmth, and motion. Even the electric principle ſeems only a modification of it: and as all life throughout nature is unfolded ſolely by warmth, and diſplays itſelf

by

by the motion of fluids; as not only the ſeed of animals operates in a manner ſimilar to light, by an extenſile, ſtimulating, animating power, but light and electricity have been remarked in the ſeminification of plants: ſo in this ancient philoſophic coſmogony light alone appears as the firſt operator. And, indeed, not light proceeding from the Sun; but a light ſpringing from the interiour of the organic maſs; which is equally conſonant to experience. It is not from the beams of the Sun, that all creatures derive life and nouriſhment: every thing is pregnant with internal warmth; even the rock, and the cold iron, have it within them; nay it is only in proportion to the quantity of this genetic fire it contains, and it's more ſubtle efficiency through the powerful circulation of internal motion, that a creature poſſeſſes life, perception, and activity. Thus here was fanned the firſt elementary flame; not a volcanic eruption, not a pile of burning ſubſtances, but the ſeparating power, the warm, cheriſhing balſam of nature, which gradually ſet all things in motion. How much more groſs and far from the truth are the expreſſions of the phenician tradition, which awakens the powers of nature as a ſleeping animal by thunder and lightning! In this more refined ſyſtem, which will certainly be ſtill farther confirmed from time to time by experience, light is the agent of creation.

To remove the falſe notion of days from the following expoſition, let me here obſerve, what is obvious to every one on a bare inſpection *, that the whole ſyſtem of this repreſentation of a ſelf-accompliſhing creation reſts on a compariſon, by means of which the ſeparations do not take place phyſically, but ſymbolically. As our eye, for inſtance, is incapable of comprehending at one view the whole creation, and it's complicated operations, it was neceſſary to form claſſes; and it was moſt natural, to diſtinguiſh in the firſt place the Heavens from the Earth, and in the next the ſea from the land; though they ſtill remain in nature one connected realm of active and paſſive beings. Thus this ancient document is the firſt ſimple *table of a natural order*, in which the term days, while it is ſubſervient to another purpoſe of the author, is employed only as a *nominal ſcale* for the diviſion. As ſoon as light exiſted as the agent of creation, it muſt operate at one and the ſame time both on the Heaven, and on the Earth. There it purified the air; which, as a thinner water, and according to innumerable modern experiments the all-connecting vehicle of creation, aiding both light and the powers of terreſtrial and aquatic beings in a thouſand combinations, could be purified, or brought to it's elaſtic fluidity, by no other principle of nature, with which we are acquainted, than light, or

* *Aelteſte Urkunde des Menſchengeſchlechts*, 'The moſt ancient Documents of the Human Race,' Vol. I.

elementary fire. But how could this purification be effected, unleſs by the depoſition of all groſſer matters in various precipitations and revolutions, whereby water and earth, as well as water and air, gradually became diſtinct regions? Thus the ſecond and third operations contributed to the mutual accompliſhment of each other, as they are placed together in the ſymbol of coſmogony, productions of the firſt principle, the ſeparating light of the creation. Theſe operations continued without doubt for ſome thouſands of years, as the formation of mountains and ſtrata, and the excavation of valleys to the beds of rivers, inconteſtibly ſhow. Three powerful agents acted in this grand period, water, air, and fire: thoſe depoſiting, abrading, precipitating; this organically operating in them both, and in the ſelf-forming earth, wherever it could ſo operate.

We come next to another grand view of this primitive naturaliſt, to which the comprehenſion of very few in our own times is equal. The internal hiſtory of the Earth ſhows, that in it's formation the organic powers of nature were every where active at the ſame time, and that wherever any one could exert itſelf, there it was exerted. The earth vegetated as ſoon as it was capable of vegetation, though whole realms of plants were thus deſtroyed by ſubſequent depoſitions from air and water. The ſea ſwarmed with living beings, as ſoon as it was ſufficiently purified for this; though in conſequence of overflowings of the ſea millions of theſe found their graves, and thereby afforded materials for other organizations. Yet in each period of theſe purifying operations every creature of every element could not live: the different kinds of creatures followed each other, as their nature and their element would permit. And behold our natural philoſopher includes all this in one word of the creator, which, as it called forth the light, and thereby commanded the air to purify itſelf, the ſea to ſink, and the land gradually to ariſe, that is, ſet in motion the ſimple active powers of nature, commanded *the earth, the waters, the duſt, to bring forth organic beings, each after it's kind, and the creation thus to animate itſelf by it's own organic powers implanted in theſe elements.* Thus ſpoke the ſage, and dreaded not the inſpection of nature, which we ſtill perceive, wherever organic powers exalt themſelves into life according to their elements. Only he places the kingdoms of nature, which muſt be divided, ſeparate from each other, as the naturaliſt ſeparates them; though he well knew, that they acted not diſtinct from each other. Vegetation precedes: and as modern phyſics have ſhown how much plants in particular are nouriſhed by light, a few rocks pulverized by the weather, a little mud waſhed together, aided by the powerful warmth of the brooding creation, ſufficed to render vegetation poſſible.

ſible. The prolific boſom of the ſea followed with it's productions, and promoted farther vegetation. The earth, impregnated by theſe ſpoils, and by light, air, and water, delayed not, but proceeded to bring forth; though not all ſpecies at once; for as carnivorous beaſts cannot live without animal food, their origin preſumes the deſtruction of prior animals, which the natural hiſtory of the earth confirms. Marine or graminivorous animals are what we find in the inferiour ſtrata of the earth, as depoſits of the firſt ages; carnivorous animals never, or very rarely. Thus the creation has grown up in an aſcending ſcale of ſtill more exquiſite organizations, till at length man came into exiſtence, the moſt elaborate performance of elohim, the crown that completed creation.

But before we approach this crown, let us conſider a few more maſter ſtrokes, which animate the picture of the ancient ſage. *Firſt.* He does not introduce the Sun and ſtars as agents in his operative circle of creation. He makes them the central point of his ſymbol: for they maintain in motion our Earth and all it's organic productions, and are thus, as he ſays, the rulers of time; but they do not impart the organic powers themſelves, and tranſmit them to the Earth. The Sun ſtill ſhines, as it ſhone in the beginning of creation; but it awakens and organizes no new ſpecies of beings: and even in putrefaction heat would not develope the minuteſt living creature, if the power, that creates it, were not already there, prepared for the change. The Sun and ſtars therefore enter into this picture of nature as ſoon as they can, namely, as ſoon as the air is purified, and the Earth conſtructed: but only as witneſſes of the creation, only as rulers of a ſphere organic in itſelf.

*Secondly.* The Moon appears from the beginning of the World: to my mind a powerful teſtimony for this ancient picture of nature. The opinion of thoſe, who deem it a younger neighbour of the Earth, and aſcribe all the diſorders in and upon the Globe to it's arrival, is to me far from convincing. It is deſtitute of all phyſical proof, ſince every apparent diſorder of our planet is not only explicable without this hypotheſis, but, from this better explanation, ceaſes to be diſorder. For it is evident, that our Earth, with the elements contained in it's ſhell, could not be formed otherwiſe than by revolutions; and ſcarcely by theſe, except in the neighbourhood of the Moon. The Moon gravitates to the Earth, as the Earth does to it and the Sun: not only the movement of the ſea, but vegetation alſo, at leaſt as far as we are acquainted with the mechaniſm of the celeſtial and terreſtrial powers, are connected with it's revolution.

*Thirdly.* With equal truth and acuteneſs this natural philoſopher places the creatures of air and water in one claſs; and comparative anatomy has ſhown a wonder-

a wonderful ſimilitude in their internal ſtructure, particularly in the brain, the proper index of the organization of animals. The difference of figure is generally adapted to the medium, for which an animal is formed: accordingly, in theſe two claſſes of aerial and aquatic animals the internal ſtructure muſt bear the ſame analogy, as exiſts between air and water. Upon the whole, this hiſtory of the complete living circle of creation tends to ſhow, that, as each element produced what it was capable of producing, and all the elements belong to one whole, properly ſpeaking only *one organic formation could appear on our planet*, which commences in the loweſt of living beings, and is completed in the laſt and nobleſt work of the elohim.

With joy and wonder therefore I approach the rich deſcription of the creation of man: for it is the ſubject of my book, and happily it's ſeal. *The elohim took counſel together*, and impreſſed the image of this counſel on the future man: underſtanding and reflection therefore are his diſtinguiſhing characters. *They formed him in their own image*, which all the orientals place chiefly in the erect poſition of the body. *On him was ſtamped the character of dominion over the Earth*: to the human ſpecies therefore was given the organic excellence of being able to occupy it in every part, and, as the moſt fruitful among all the nobler animals, of living in all climates as the vicegerent of the elohim, as viſible Providence, as acting God. Behold the moſt ancient philoſophy of the hiſtory of man.

And now, when the circle of being was completed to the laſt ruling ſpring, *elohim reſted, and created nothing more:* he is as inviſible on the theatre of creation, as if every thing had produced itſelf, and thus had been eternal in neceſſary generations. The latter, however, cannot be: for the ſtructure of the Earth, and the organizations of creatures founded on each other, ſufficiently prove, that every thing on Earth had a beginning as a work of art, and was improved from lower to higher. But how was the firſt produced? Why did the work of creation cloſe, and earth and ſea no longer ſwarm with new kinds of living creatures, ſo that the creative power appears to reſt, and acts only through the organs of eſtabliſhed orders and ſpecies? Of theſe points our natural philoſopher gives us a phyſical explication in the agent, which he makes the main ſpring of the whole creation. If it were light, or elementary fire, which divided the maſs, raiſed the heavens, rendered the air elaſtic, and prepared the earth for vegetation; it formed the ſeeds of things, and organized itſelf from the loweſt to the moſt exquiſite life: thus the creation was completed, ſince, according to the word of the eternal, that is according to his ordaining wiſdom, *theſe vital powers were diſtributed, and had aſſumed all forms, that could and ſhould be*

*be maintained on our planet.* That motive warmth, with which the brooding ſpirit hovered over the waters of the creation, and which had already diſplayed itſelf in the earlier ſubterranean forms, and that with a copiouſneſs and energy, with which neither land nor ſea is now capable of producing any thing; that primitive warmth of the creation, without which it was impoſſible for any thing then to be organized, as it is now for aught to aſſume organization without genetic warmth; diſtributed itſelf among all the productions that actually were, and is ſtill the prime ſpring of their being. What an infinite quantity of groſs fire, for inſtance, did the rocky maſs of our Earth abſorb, which ſtill lies dormant, or acts in it, as volcanoes, inflammable minerals, and every little pebble that is ſtruck, demonſtrate! That inflammable matter pervades all vegetation, and that animal life is wholly occupied on the elaboration of this phlogiſton, a number of modern facts and experiments ſhow: ſo that the whole living circle of creation appears to conſiſt in this, that fluids become ſolid, and ſolids fluid; that fire is evolved, and recombined; that living powers are enchained by organization, and again ſet at liberty. Now ſince the maſs deſtined for the formation of our Earth had it's number, weight, and meaſure, the internal ſpring operating in it neceſſarily had it's limits. The whole creation now lives in mutual dependance: the wheel of created beings revolves without addition: it deſtroys, and conſtructs, within the genetic limits, in which it was placed by the firſt creative period. Perfected by the power of the creator, nature is become an art; and the energies of the elements are circumſcribed by a circle of determinate organizations, from which they cannot deviate, as the plaſtic ſpirit has incorporated in it every thing of which it was ſuſceptible. But, that ſuch a fabric cannot eternally ſubſiſt, that the courſe, which had a beginning, muſt neceſſarily have an end, ariſes from the nature of things. The beautiful creation, as it produced itſelf from a chaos, is working itſelf to a chaos again: it's forms wear out: every organization refines itſelf, and grows old. Even the grand organiſm of the Earth muſt find it's grave, whence, in due time, it will ariſe in a new form.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Continuation of the moſt ancient written Tradition concerning the Commencement of the Hiſtory of Man.*

If my reader be pleaſed with the ſimple notions of this ancient tradition, which I have preſented without embelliſhment, and free from all hypotheſis, let us purſue it farther, after caſting a ſingle look at this picture of creation as a whole. How does it ſo ſingularly diſtinguiſh itſelf above all the fables and traditions of upper Aſia? By connexion, ſimplicity, and truth. However numerous the ſeeds of hiſtory and natural philoſophy theſe contain, they all lie in wild confuſion, neceſſarily ariſing from the tranſmiſſal of unwritten or figurative popular and ſacerdotal traditions, a fabulous chaos as at the beginning of creation. Our philoſopher has unravelled this chaos, and exhibited to us a ſtructure, which in ſimplicity and connexion imitates the order of Nature herſelf. But whence acquired it this order and ſimplicity? We need only compare it with the fables of other nations, and we ſhall perceive the grounds of it's purer philoſophy to be the hiſtory of the Earth and of man.

*Firſt.* Every thing incomprehenſible to man, and lying out of his ſphere of viſion, it excludes; and confines itſelf to what we can ſee with our eyes, and comprehend with our minds. What queſtion, for inſtance, has given birth to more controverſy, than thoſe concerning the age of the World, and the duration of our Earth and the human ſpecies? Men have deemed the aſiatic nations, with their infinite computations of time, infinitely wiſe; and the tradition of which we are ſpeaking infinitely childiſh, becauſe, contrary to all reaſon as they ſay, nay contrary to the obvious teſtimony of the ſtructure of the Globe, it hurries over the creation as a matter of ſmall importance, and makes the human ſpecies ſo young. In my opinion this is palpable injuſtice. Had Moſes been nothing more than the collector of theſe ancient traditions, he, a learned egyptian, could not have been ignorant of thoſe æons of gods and ſemigods, with which the egyptians, as well as all the nations of Aſia, began the hiſtory of the World. Why therefore did he not interweave them into his account? Why, as if in contempt and deſpite of them, did he ſymbolically compreſs the origin of the World into the ſmalleſt portion of time? Evidently becauſe he was deſirous of obliterating them from men's minds as uſeleſs fables. In this he appears to me to have acted wiſely: for previous to the completion of our Earth, that is before the origin of the human ſpecies and it's connected

hiſtory

history, there could be for us no chronology deserving the name. Let Buffon assign numbers as great as he pleases to the first six epochs of nature, of twenty six, thirty five, fifteen, ten thousand years; human intellect, feeling it's limits, laughs at these numbers of the imagination, should it even admit the truth of the developement of the epochs themselves; and still less does the historian wish to burden his memory with them. Now the primitive immense chronologies of different nations are evidently of the same kind as these of Buffon; for they run into those ages, in which the powers of the gods and of the World bore sway; consequently into the time of the Earth's formation, such as those nations, who were extremely fond of infinite numbers, framed from revolutions of the heavens, or from half-understood symbols of the most ancient figurative traditions. Thus among the egyptians Vulcan, the creator of the World, reigned an infinite time; the Sun, his child and successor, 30000 years; and then Saturn, and the other twelve gods, 3984, before the demigods, and their later successors, men. It is the same with the traditions of upper Asia concerning the creation, and the duration of time. According to the parsees, the holy angels of light reigned three thousand years without an enemy: three thousand followed, before the monstrous bull arose, from whose seed different creatures first sprung; and last of all *Meschia* and *Meschiana*, man and woman. The first epoch of the tibetians, when the lahs reigned, is infinite; the second, 80000 years; the third, 40000; the fourth, 20000; whence they will descend to a period of ten years, and then gradually ascend again to 80000. The periods of the hindoos, abounding with metamorphoses of their gods, and those of the chinese, as abundant in metamorphoses of their most ancient kings, ascend still higher: infinitudes with which nothing could be done, except discarding them, as Moses did; since, from the information of the traditions themselves, they belong to the creation of the Earth, not to the history of man.

*Secondly.* If it be disputed, whether the World be young or old; both the disputants have right on their side. The rock of our Earth is very ancient, and it's covering has required long revolutions, of which there can be no doubt. Here Moses leaves every one at liberty to frame epochs as he pleases, and, with the chaldeans, to let king *Alorus*, or light, *Uranus*, Heaven, *Gea*, the Earth, *Helios*, the Sun, and so on, reign as long as he thinks proper. He reckons no epochs of this kind; and, to obviate them, has represented his connected systematic picture in the readiest cycle of a terrestrial revolution. But the older these revolutions are, and the longer their duration, the younger the human species must necessarily be, which, according to all traditions, and to the nature of the thing itself, was the last production of the finished Earth.

I thank the philoſopher, therefore, for this bold amputation of monſtrous ancient fables: for Nature as ſhe now is, and mankind as they at preſent exiſt, are ſufficient to the circle of my comprehenſion.

With regard to the creation of man, too, the hiſtory repeats *, that it took place, as ſoon as it naturally could. 'While there was neither plant nor tree upon the Earth,' it proceeds, 'man, deſtined by Nature to cultivate it, could not live: no rain yet deſcended, but miſts aroſe, and from ſuch an earth moiſtened with dew he was formed, and, animated with the breath of life, became a living being.' To me this ſimple narrative appears to ſay all, that man is capable of knowing of his organization, after every phyſiological inquiry, that has been made. In death our artificial frame diſſolves into earth, water, and air, now organically united in it: but the internal economy of animal life depends on the inviſible ſtimulus or balſam contained in the element of air, which ſets in motion the more perfect circulation of the blood, nay the whole of the internal conteſt between the vital powers of our machine: and thus man actually became a moving ſoul through the breath of life. Through it he acquires and exerts the power of generating vital warmth, and of acting as a ſelf-moving, ſentient, thinking being. In this the moſt ancient philoſophy is conſiſtent with the moſt modern experiments.

*The firſt abode of man was a garden:* and this is ſuch a feature of tradition as philoſophy alone could invent. For new-born man it was the eaſieſt way of life, ſince every other, that of the huſbandman not excepted, requires art and experience of various kinds. This trait alſo indicates, what the whole diſpoſition of our nature confirms, that man was not formed to live wild, but in tranquillity: and thus, as the creator beſt knew the deſtination of his creatures, man, like all the reſt, was created as it were in his element, in the ſeat of that kind of life, for which he was intended. Every degree of wildneſs in the human race is a degeneracy, to which man has been impelled by neceſſity, climate, or the habitual ſway of ſome paſſion: wherever this impulſe ceaſes to act, men live more peaceably, as the hiſtory of nations ſhows. Man has been rendered wild by the blood of animals alone; by hunting, war, and, alas! many other miſchiefs of human ſociety. The moſt ancient tradition of the earlieſt nations of the World knew nothing of thoſe foreſt monſters, who murderouſly roamed about for thouſands of years as inhuman by Nature, and thus fulfilled their original deſtination. Theſe wild tales firſt began in diſtant ruder regions, after the wide diſperſion of mankind; later poets willingly copied them, theſe the

* Geneſis II. 5—7.



compiling

compiling hiſtorian followed, and him the metaphyſician: but neither metaphyſics, nor the deſcriptions of poets, give a true original hiſtory of man.

*Where then lay the garden, in which the creator placed his gentle, defenceleſs creature?* As this tradition is from the weſt of Aſia, it places it eaſtwards, 'farther up toward the riſing of the Sun, on a height from which flowed a ſtream, that afterwards divided itſelf into four great rivers *.' No tradition can diſplay leſs partiality: for while every ancient nation is deſirous of repreſenting itſelf as the firſt, and it's land as the birthplace of mankind, this removes the primitive country to a diſtance, on the higheſt ridge of the habitable earth. And where is this height? where do the four rivers, that are mentioned, ariſe from one ſtream, as the original writing plainly ſays? No where in our geography: and it is in vain to torture the names of the rivers in a thouſand ways, for an impartial view of the map of the World informs us, that the Euphrates and three other rivers flow from one ſource, or ſtream, nowhere upon Earth. But if we recollect the traditions of all the upper aſiatics, we ſhall find in them all this Paradiſe on the loftieſt land of the Globe, with it's original living fountain, with it's rivers fertilizing the World. Chineſe and tibetians, hindoos and perſians, ſpeak of this primitive mountain of the creation, round which lands, ſeas, and iſlands lie, and from the cloud capped ſummit of which the Earth has received the boon of it's rivers. This tradition is not void of phyſical principles: without mountains our Earth could have no running waters, and the map ſhows, that all the rivers of Aſia flow from theſe heights. Accordingly the tradition we are explaining paſſes by every thing fabulous reſpecting the rivers of Paradiſe, and names four of the moſt generally known, which flow from the mountains of Aſia. It is true, theſe proceed not from one ſtream; but to the later collector of theſe traditions it was ſufficient, to indicate a remote part of the eaſt as the primitive ſeat of mankind.

And there can be no doubt, that he conſidered this primitive ſeat as a region between the indian mountains. The land abounding with gold and precious ſtones, which he names, can ſcarcely be any other than India, which has been famed from all antiquity for theſe treaſures. The river that compaſſeth it is the ſacred winding Ganges †, which all India acknowledges as the river of Paradiſe. That Gihon is the Oxus cannot be diſputed: the arabs ſtill give it this

* Geneſis II, 10—14.

† The word Piſon ſignifies a fertilizing, inundating ſtream, and ſeems a tranſlation of the name Ganges: thus an ancient greek tranſlation explains it the Ganges; while the arabs render it the Nile, and the country through which it flows India, an incongruity hitherto deemed irreconcilable.

name, and traces of the country it was ſaid to water may be perceived in ſeveral neighbouring indian appellations *. The laſt two ſtreams, the Tigris and Euphrates, flow widely to the weſt it is true; but as the collector of theſe traditions lived at the weſtern extremity of Aſia, theſe regions were neceſſarily loſt to him in the diſtance, and it is poſſible, that the third ſtream which he mentions ſignifies a more eaſtern Tigris, the Hindus †: for it was the cuſtom of all ancient nations, when they migrated, to appropriate the tales of the mountains of the primitive World to the mountains and rivers of their new country, and to naturalize them by a local mythology, as might be ſhown from the mountains of Media to Ida and Olympus. From his ſituation, therefore, the collector of theſe traditions could do no more, than indicate the remoteſt region they offered him. The indians of Paropamiſus, the perſians of Imaus, the iberians of Caucaſus, were compriſed therein, and they were all in the habit of placing their Paradiſe reſpectively in that part of the chain of mountains, which their tradition indicated. Our ſtory, however, points properly to the moſt ancient of the traditions; for it places it's Paradiſe above India, and gives the reſt as ſupplementary. Now if we find ſuch a delightful vale as Caſhmire, ſituate nearly in the centre of theſe ſtreams, walled round with mountains, famed no leſs for it's ſalubrious refreſhing water, than for it's fertility and freedom from wild beaſts, and even now eſteemed, from the beauty of it's inhabitants, as the Paradiſe of Paradiſes; may not this have been the primitive ſeat of the human race? The ſequel, however, will ſhow, that all reſearches of this kind on our preſent Earth are vain: accordingly, we ſhall mark the region as indeterminately as the tradition leaves it, and purſue the thread of the narrative.

Of all the miraculous things and romantic forms, with which the ſtories of all Aſia have abundantly ſtored their Paradiſe of the primitive World, this tradition has only two marvellous trees, a ſpeaking ſerpent, and a cherub: the innumerable multitude of others the philoſopher has rejected, and theſe too he has introduced in a ſignificant tale. In Paradiſe is one ſingle forbidden tree; and this tree, in the perſuaſion of the ſerpent, bears the fruit of divine knowledge, for which man longs. Could he long for any thing ſuperiour? Could he be more ennobled in

* Caſhgar, Caſhmire, the Caſhian mountains, Caucaſus, Cathay, &c.

† The third river is named Hiddekel; and, according to Otter, the Hindus is ſtill called by the arabs Eteck, and by the ancient hindoos Enider. The termination of the word alſo appears indian: dewerkel, as the ſemigods of the hindoos are called, is the plural of dewin. It is probable, however, that the collector of the traditions took it for the Tigris, as he places it to the eaſt of Aſſyria. The remoter lands were too diſtant from him. The Phraath too was probably ſome other river, here tranſlated *appellatively*, or as the moſt celebrated eaſtern river.

his

his fall? Compare this narrative, conſidered merely as an allegory, with the tales of other nations: it is of all the moſt refined and beautiful, a ſymbolical repreſentation of what has ever been the cauſe of human happineſs and miſery. Our ambiguous ſtriving after knowledge not ſuited to us, the irregular uſe and abuſe of our liberty, the reſtleſs extenſion and infraction of thoſe limits, within which it is neceſſary moral laws ſhould confine a creature ſo feeble, who has to learn to govern himſelf, form the fiery wheel, under which we groan, and which ſtill conſtitutes nearly the whole circle of our life. The ancient philoſopher of human hiſtory knew this, as well as we know it; and delivers it in a popular tale, which embraces almoſt all the purpoſes of man. Thus the hindoos tell of giants digging for the fruit of immortality; the tibetians talk of their lahs, degraded by miſdeeds: but nothing, in my opinion, equals the unſullied profundity, the infantile ſimplicity, of this tale; which has only ſo much of the marvellous, as ſerves to indicate it's country and date. All the dragons and wondrous forms of the ancient fairyland ſtretching over the aſiatic mountains, the ſimurgh and ſoham, the lahs, dewetas, gins, deeves, and peries, a mythology of this quarter of the Globe widely ſpread in a thouſand tales of Ginniſtan, Righiel, Meru, Albordi, &c., diſappear in the moſt ancient written tradition, and only a cherub keeps watch at the gate of Paradiſe.

On the other hand, this inſtructive hiſtory informs us, that the firſt created men converſed with the inſtructing elohim; that, under their guidance, they acquired language and ſovereign reaſon, through the knowledge of beaſts; that, as man was deſirous of reſembling them in the knowledge of evil, acquired by a forbidden mode, he obtained it to his own injury, and thenceforward, removed into another place, began a new and more artificial way of life: plain traits of tradition, which conceal beneath the veil of a fabulous narrative more human truths, than voluminous ſyſtems of the ſtate of nature of indigenous mortals. If, as we have ſeen, the excellencies of man are born with him only as capacities, but properly acquired and tranſmitted only by means of education, language, tradition, and art; the threads of this humanity formed in him muſt not only be derived to all nations and ends of the World from one origin, but they muſt have been artfully knit together from the beginning, if mankind were to be what they are. Impoſſible as it is for a child to be abandoned and left to himſelf for years, without periſhing or becoming degenerate, as little could the human ſpecies be left to itſelf in it's firſt germinating ſhoot. Men, once accuſtomed to live as ourang-outangs, would never of themſelves labour againſt themſelves, and learn to paſs from ſpeechleſs inveterate brutality to manhood. Thus if the deity willed, that man ſhould exerciſe reaſon and foreſight, he muſt have

conferred

conferred on him foreſight and reaſon. Education, art, cultivation, were indiſpenſable to him from the firſt moment of his exiſtence; and thus the ſpecific character of mankind itſelf is a teſtimony of the intrinſic truth of this moſt ancient philoſophy of our hiſtory *.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Concluſion of the moſt ancient written Tradition concerning the Commencement of the Hiſtory of Man.*

In every thing elſe, which this ancient tale relates, reſpecting names, years, the invention of arts, revolutions, &c., we find it the echo of national report. We know not what the firſt man was called, or what language he ſpoke: for Adam ſignifies a man of earth, Eve a living creature, in the language of the people, who employ theſe names: theſe appellations therefore are ſymbols of their hiſtory, and other ſignificant names are given them by other nations. The inventions here noticed are ſuch only as ſuit a paſtoral and agricultural people in the weſt of Aſia; and even of them, the tradition records nothing but names. The enduring race, it ſays, endured; the poſſeſſor poſſeſſed; he who was lamented was murdered: in ſuch verbal hieroglyphics are drawn the genealogical trees of people living in two different modes, of ſhepherds, and of huſbandmen or dwellers in caves. The hiſtory of the ſethites and cainites is at bottom nothing more than an account of the followers of the two moſt ancient modes of life, called in the arabic bedouins and cabiles †, who ſtill remain diſtinct, and at enmity with each other, in the eaſt. The genealogical tales of a paſtoral people of this country would note only theſe caſts.

It is the ſame with regard to Noah's flood, as it is called. For, certain as it appears from natural hiſtory, that the habitable earth has been ravaged by an inundation, and Aſia particularly bears inconteſtible marks of ſuch a deluge; yet what is delivered to us in this narration is nothing more or leſs than a national ſtory. The compiler has collected together ſeveral traditions with great

* But how did the elohim confer theſe on man? that is to ſay, how did they teach, warn, and inſtruct him? If it be not equally as bold to aſk this queſtion, as to anſwer it, the tradition itſelf will give us a ſolution in another place.

† Cain is called by the arabs Cabil: the tribes of the cabiles are called cabeil. The bedouins, according to the ſignification of their name, are wandering ſhepherds, *inhabitants of the deſert*. Thus it is with the names Cain, Enoch, Nod, Jabal, Jubal, or Tubal-Cain, expreſſive of the tribes and way of life.

care *, and delivers the journal of this tremendous revolution poſſeſſed by his tribe: at the ſame time the ſtyle of the narrative is ſo completely adapted to the mode of thinking of this tribe, that it would be highly injurious to it, to extend it beyond thoſe limits, which alone ſtamp on it credibility. As one family of this people, with a conſiderable houſhold, eſcaped, ſo other families of other nations may have been ſaved, as their traditions ſhow. Thus in Chaldea Xiſuthrus eſcaped with his family, and a number of cattle, which were then neceſſary to the ſupport of men's lives, in a ſimilar manner: and in India Viſhnu himſelf was the rudder of the ſhip, that conveyed the diſtreſſed people to land. Similar tales exiſt among all the ancient nations in this quarter of the Globe, adapted to the traditions and circumſtances of each: and convincing as they are, that the deluge of which they ſpeak was general throughout Aſia, they help us at once out of the ſtrait, in which we unneceſſarily confine ourſelves, when we take every circumſtance of a family-hiſtory excluſively for a hiſtory of the World, and thus deprive the hiſtory itſelf of it's wellfounded credibility.

The genealogical table of this race after the deluge proceeds in a ſimilar manner: it is confined within the limits of the country and it's topography, not ſtretching beyond them into Hindoſtan, China, eaſtern Tatary, &c. The three chief branches of thoſe who were ſaved are evidently the people on either ſide the weſtern aſiatic mountains, including the eaſtern coaſt of Europe, and the northern of Africa, as far as they were known to the collector of the traditions †. He traces them as well as he can, and endeavours to connect them with his genealogical table; but does not give us a general map of the World, or a genealogy of all nations. The pains that have been taken, to make all the people of the Earth, according to this genealogy, deſcendants of the hebrews, and half-brothers of the jews, are contradictory not only to chronology and univerſal hiſtory, but to the true point of view of the narrative itſelf, the credibility of which has been nearly deſtroyed by it's being thus overſtretched. On all the primitive mountains of the World, nations, languages, and kingdoms, were formed, after the deluge, without waiting for envoys from a chaldean family:

* Geneſis VI—VIII. See Eichhorn's *Einleitung ins alte Teſtament*, 'Introduction to the Old Teſtament,' Vol. II, p. 370.

† Japhet is, both according to his name and his bleſſing, *far extended*, as the people north of the mountains were in their mode of life, and partly even in their names. Shem compriſed tribes with whom the names, that is the ancient traditions of religion, writing, and cultivation, chiefly remained, and who conſequently appropriated to themſelves the advantages of civilized nations over others, particularly the hamites. Ham, or Cham, derived his name from heat, and belonged to the torrid zone. In the three ſons of Noah, therefore, we find nothing more than the three quarters of the Globe, Europe, Aſia, and Africa, as far as they lay within the ſphere of this tradition.

and

and in the east of Asia, man's primitive and most populous seat, we still evidently find the most ancient customs and languages, of which this western race of a later people knew nothing, and could not be otherwise than ignorant. It would not be much less impertinent to inquire, whether the chinese descended from Cain or Abel, that is from a tribe of troglodytes, husbandmen, or shepherds, than to what beam of Noah's ark the american bradypus hung: but on this subject I shall not here enlarge; and even the investigation of points so important to our history as the abridgment of the duration of man's life, and the general deluge itself, I must defer to another place. Suffice it, that the firm central point of the largest quarter of the Globe, the primitive mountains of Asia, prepared the first abode for the human race, and has maintained itself through every revolution of the Earth. Not first raised naked from the bottom of the sea by the deluge, but, as both natural history and the most ancient traditions testify, the original country of man, it was the first grand theatre of nations, the instructive inspection of which we shall now pursue.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XI.

THE moſt ancient kingdoms and ſtates of the Earth have been formed, as far as we learn from hiſtory, ſouthwards, at the feet of the great mountains of Aſia: the natural hiſtory of this quarter of the Globe too preſents us with reaſons, why they could not ſo eaſily be formed to the north as to the ſouth. Needy man, ſeeking to ſupport his earthly frame, readily bends his courſe to thoſe regions, where the ſunbeams ſhed a more genial warmth: for theſe muſt cover the earth with vegetation for his uſe, and ripen it's wholeſome fruits. In the north of Aſia, on this ſide of the mountains, moſt parts are much higher and colder: the chains of mountains wind with more intricacy, and frequently ſeparate lands by their ſnowy ſummits, precipices, and waſtes: fewer ſtreams water the ground, and theſe ultimately flow into the frozen ocean, the barren coaſts of which, the abodes of the white bear and reindeer, could not early have attracted inhabitants. This high, broken, ſteep land, the mountains and precipices of our ancient world, muſt have been for a conſiderable period the habitation of ſcythians and ſarmatians, mungals and tatars, half-ſavage hunters and nomades; and many parts of it will remain ſo probably for ever. Neceſſity and the circumſtances of the country rendered men barbarous: a thoughtleſs way of life, once become habitual, confirmed itſelf in the wandering tribes, or thoſe that ſeparated from them; and faſhioned amid rude manners that almoſt eternal national character, which ſo completely diſcriminates all the northern aſiatic races from thoſe of the ſouth. As this middle chain of mountains is a permanent ark, a nurſery of almoſt all the wild animals of our hemiſphere, it's inhabitants muſt long remain the companions of theſe animals, taming them with rude hand, or guarding them with gentle care.

To the ſouthward, where the ſurface of Aſia gently declines, where the mountainous chains ſurround more temperate vales, and protect them from the cold northeaſtern wind, migrating colonies, led chiefly by the rivers, gradually drew toward the ſea-coaſts, aſſembled in towns, and formed nations; while a milder climate awakened in them more refined ideas, and gave riſe to leſs rude regu-

lations. At the ſame time, as Nature afforded man more leiſure, and pleaſurably ſtimulated more of his propenſities, his heart expanded in paſſions and irregularities, the flowery weeds of which could not burſt through the ice of the north, or ſpring up under the preſſure of neceſſity: hence various laws and inſtitutions to check them were required. The mind imagined, and the heart luſted: the unruly paſſions of men perpetually claſhed with each other, and were at length obliged, to ſubmit to reſtraint. But as deſpotiſm muſt accompliſh what reaſon is yet unable to perform, thoſe ſtructures of policy and religion, which preſent themſelves to us as pyramids and temples of the ancient world in eternal traditions, aroſe in the ſouth of Aſia: valuable documents for the hiſtory of our ſpecies, teaching us, in every fragment, how much the cultivation of human reaſon has coſt mankind.

## CHAPTER I.

### *China.*

In the eaſtern corner of Aſia, at the feet of the mountains, lies a country, which calls itſelf the oldeſt of nations, the central flower of the world; and it certainly is one of the moſt ancient, and moſt remarkable. This is China. Not ſo large as Europe, it boaſts a greater number of inhabitants in proportion than this populous quarter of the Globe; for it reckons within it's limits upwards of 25200000 huſbandmen paying taxes, 1572 towns great and ſmall, 1193 caſtles, 3158 ſtone bridges, 2796 temples, 2606 monaſteries, 10809 ancient edifices, &c. *; all of which, with the mountains and rivers, ſoldiers and men of letters, manufactures and produce, are annually entered in long catalogues by the eighteen governments, into which the kingdom is divided. Various travellers agree, that, except Europe, and perhaps ancient Egypt, there is no country where ſo much induſtry has been employed on roads and rivers, bridges and canals, and even artificial mountains and rocks, as in China; all which,

* Leontiew's extracts of the geography of the empire of China in Bueſching's *Hiſtor. und geogr. Magazin*, Vol. XIV, p. 411, &c. In Hermann's *Beitrægen zur Phyſik*, 'Eſſays on Natural Philoſophy,' Vol. I, Berlin, 1786, the extent of the empire is eſtimated at 110000 german miles ſquare [about 1222222 ſquare miles engliſh], and the population at 104069254, nine perſons being reckoned to a family. [Sir G. Staunton gives the population of China proper, within the great wall, from apparently authentic documents, in round numbers, 333000000. It's area, from meaſurement, he ſets down at 1297999 ſquare miles. See Account of an Embaſſy to China, Vol. II, Appendix, Table I. His account of the population of this country, however, has been diſputed by the german critics. T.]

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with it's great wall, bear teſtimony to the patient labour of human hands. Ships proceed from Canton nearly up to Pekin; and the whole empire, divided as it is by mountains and deſerts, has been laborioufly united by means of roads, canals, and rivers. Villages and towns float on the waters, and the internal commerce between the provinces is briſk and lively. Agriculture is the grand pillar of the conſtitution: we are told of luxuriant fields of corn and rice, of deſerts watered by art, of barren mountains rendered fertile: every plant and herb is cultivated and uſed, of which any uſe can be made: it is the ſame with metals and minerals, gold excepted, their mines of which they do not work. The land abounds with animals; the rivers, and lakes, with fiſh: the ſilk-worm alone ſupports thouſands of induſtrious perſons. People of all ranks and every age, even the blind, the deaf, and the decrepit, find ſome ſpecies of labour, ſome kind of manufacture, to employ them. Gentleneſs and ſubmiſſion, courteous civility and affable behaviour, are what the chineſe ſtudy from infancy, and practiſe through life. Regularity, and preciſely determined order, are the eſſence of their legiſlation and police. The whole ſyſtem of the ſtate, in all the relations and duties, between it's different claſſes, is founded on the reſpect, which the ſon owes to his father, and every ſubject to the father of the nation, who protects and governs them as children, by means of the magiſtrates. Can there be a nobler principle for the government of men? There we find no hereditary nobility; merit alone ennobles in every rank: men of approved worth fill the poſts of honour, and theſe poſts alone confer ſuperiority. The ſubject is forced to embrace no mode of worſhip on compulſion, and the followers of no religion are perſecuted, unleſs their tenets be inimical to the ſtate. The adherents of Confucius, of Laotſee and Fo, and even jews and jeſuits, when received into the ſtate, dwell together in peace. Their laws are unalterably founded on morals; their morals, on the ſacred book of experience: their emperor is their ſovereign pontif, the ſon of Heaven, the protector of ancient cuſtom, the ſoul of the body politic pervading all it's members. If theſe principles be carried into actual practice, and held inviolate, can we conceive a political conſtitution more perfect? The whole empire would form one family of virtuous, welleducated, orderly, induſtrious, happy children and brothers.

Every one knows the advantageous picture of the chineſe government, ſent to Europe by the miſſionaries in particular, and there admired as a maſterpiece of policy, not only by ſpeculative philoſophers, but even by ſtateſmen; till at length, as it is uſual for the tide of opinion to take oppoſite directions, incredulity aroſe, and would admit neither it's high degree of civili-

zation, nor even it's peculiarities. Some of theſe european objections have had the fortune to be anſwered in China itſelf, though pretty much in the chineſe taſte *: and as moſt of the books that form the foundation of their laws and manners, with an ample hiſtory of the empire, and ſome unqueſtionably impartial accounts, are before us †; it would be ſtrange if ſome medium between extravagant praiſe and immoderate blame could not be found, which would probably be the path of truth. We will not diſpute about the queſtion of the chronological antiquity of their empire; for as the origin of every kingdom upon Earth is enveloped in obſcurity, it may be deemed a matter of indifference by the inquirer into the hiſtory of mankind, whether this ſingular nation demanded ten or twenty centuries more or leſs for it's formation: it is ſufficient, if it formed itſelf, and we can perceive in it's ſlow progreſs the obſtacles, that prevented it's farther advance.

Now theſe obſtacles are evident to our eyes in it's character, the place of it's abode, and it's hiſtory. That the nation is of mungal origin appears from the figure of the chineſe, their groſs or infantile taſte, nay even their mechanical ingenuity, and the ſeat of their firſt cultivation. The earlieſt kings ruled in the north of China: here were laid the foundations of that ſemitatarian deſpotiſm, which being afterwards gilded over with ſplendid maxims, ſpread itſelf through various revolutions down to the coaſts of the ſea on the ſouth. A tatarian feudal conſtitution was for ages the tie, that bound the vaſſals to their lords: and the many wars between theſe vaſſals; the frequent ſubverſion of the throne by their hands; nay the whole economy of the emperor's court, and his ruling by mandarins; which are ancient eſtabliſhments, not firſt introduced by Gengis khan or the mantchous; all ſhow what kind of nation it is, and evince it's genetic character: a character, which equally meets the eye on contemplation of the whole, and inſpection of it's parts, even to dreſs, food, cuſtoms, domeſtic economy, arts, and amuſements. This northeaſtern mungal nation could no more change it's natural form by artificial regulations, even though enduring for thouſands of years, than a man can change his nature, that is, the

* *Mémoires concernant l'Hiſtoire &c.*, 'Memoirs of the Hiſtory, Sciences, Arts, Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the Chineſe', Vol. II, p. 365 and fol.

† Beſide the ancient editions of ſome claſſical books of the chineſe by father Noel, Couplet, and others, the edition of the Shoo-King by Deguignes, the *Hiſtoire général de Chine* by Mailla, the Memoirs quoted in the preceding note, conſiſting of ten volumes quarto, in which tranſlations of ſome original works of the chineſe are inſerted, &c., afford materials enough, for giving juſt ideas of theſe people. Among the various miſſionaries, who have given accounts of them, father le Comte is particularly to be eſteemed, for the ſoundneſs of his judgment: *Nouveaux Mémoires ſur l'Etat préſent de la Chine*, 'New Memoirs of the preſent State of China,' 3 vols, 8vo, Paris, 1697.

innate

innate character of his race and complexion. It was planted on this ſpot of the Globe: and as the magnet has not the ſame variation in China as in Europe, ſo this race of men, in this region, could never become greeks or romans. Chineſe they were, and will remain: a people endowed by nature with ſmall eyes, a ſhort noſe, a flat forehead, little beard, large ears, and a protuberant belly: what their organization could produce, it has produced; nothing elſe could be required of it *.

All accounts agree, that the mungal nations on the north-eaſtern heights of Aſia are diſtinguiſhed by an acuteneſs of hearing, as eaſily to be accounted for among them, as it would be vain to ſeek it in other people. The language of the chineſe bears teſtimony to this delicacy of ear. The auditory organs of a mungal alone could be capable of forming a language out of three hundred and thirty ſyllables, diſtinguiſhed in different words by five or more accents, to prevent the ſpeaker from ſaying beaſt inſtead of lord, and falling into the moſt laughable confuſion of words every moment; ſo that an european ear, and european organs of ſpeech, can with the utmoſt difficulty, if at all, accuſtom themſelves to this forced ſyllabical muſic. What a want of invention in the great, and what miſerable refinement in trifles, are diſplayed in contriving for this language, the vaſt number of eighty thouſand compound characters from a few rude hieroglyphics, ſix or more different modes of writing which diſtinguiſh the chineſe from every other nation upon Earth. Their pictures of monſters and dragons, their minute care in the drawing of figures without regularity, the pleaſure afforded their eyes by the diſorderly aſſemblages of their gardens, the naked greatneſs or minute nicety in their buildings, the vain pomp of their dreſs, equipage, and amuſements, their lantern feaſts and fire-works, their long nails and cramped feet, their barbarous train of attendants, bowings, ceremonies, diſtinctions, and courteſies, require a mungal organization. So little taſte for true nature, ſo little feeling of internal ſatisfaction, beauty, and worth, prevail through all theſe, that a neglected mind alone could arrive at this train of political cultivation, and allow itſelf to be ſo thoroughly modelled by it. As the chineſe are immoderately fond of gilt paper and varniſh, the neatly painted lines of their intricate characters, and the jingle of fine ſentences; the caſt of their minds reſembles this varniſh and gilt paper, theſe characters and clink of ſyllables. Nature ſeems to have refuſed them, as well as many other nations in this corner of the World, great invention in ſcience: while on the other hand ſhe has bountifully conferred on their little eyes a ſpirit of application, adroit diligence and nicety, a talent of imitating

* See Book VI, chap. II, p. 138.

with

with art whatever their cupidity deems uſeful. Eternally moving, eternally occupied, they are for ever going and coming, in queſt of gain, or in fulfilment of their offices, ſo that they might be taken for wandering mungals, notwithſtanding the artificial conſtitution of their ſtate: for with all their innumerable regulations, they have not yet found the art of combining occupation with reſt, ſo that every buſineſs ſhall find every man in his place. Their art of phyſic, reſembling their trade, conſiſts in a nice, deceitful feeling of the pulſe, which depicts their whole character, in it's acuteneſs of the organs of ſenſe, and uninventive ignorance of mind. The character of this people is a remarkable point in hiſtory, for it ſhows what a mungal nation, unmixed with any other, can or cannot be rendered by political cultivation carried to the higheſt pitch: for the vain pride of the chineſe ſhows, if it ſhow nothing elſe, that they have kept themſelves, like the jews, unmixed with other people. Let them have acquired particular branches of knowledge where they will, the whole ſtructure of their language and conſtitution, their inſtitutions and mode of thinking, are peculiarly their own. Juſt as they are averſe to the grafting of trees, ſo they themſelves, notwithſtanding their various intercourſe with other nations, remain an original mungal ſtock, in a corner of the earth degraded to the ſlaviſh modes of chineſe cultivation.

Man is artificially formed by education alone: the mode of education purſued by the chineſe conſpired with their national character, to render them juſt what they are, and nothing more. Filial obedience, after the manner of the wandering mungals, being made the baſis of all their virtues, both civil and domeſtic; that apparent modeſty, that anticipating courteſy, which are celebrated as characteriſtic features of the chineſe even by the tongues of their enemies, could not avoid growing up in time. But good as this principle may be for a wandering horde, what would be it's conſequences in an extenſive community? In ſuch a ſtate filial obedience finding no limits; the ſame duty being impoſed on men arrived at years of maturity, having themſelves children and manly occupations, as ſuits only their uneducated offſpring; nay this duty being required by every magiſtrate, who ſupports the name of father, in a figurative ſenſe alone, by force and neceſſity, not by the gentle affections of nature: what could, what muſt enſue, but that the endeavour, to form a new human heart in deſpite of nature, muſt accuſtom the real hearts of men to falſhood? If the full grown man be compelled to yield the obedience of a child; he muſt give up all that freedom of action, which Nature has made the duty of his years; empty ceremony will ſtep into the place of heartfelt truth; and

the ſon, whoſe conduct overflowed with childiſh ſubmiſſion to his mother during his father's life, will neglect her after his death, if the law but term her a concubine. It is the ſame with the filial dutiest oward the mandarins: they ſpring not from nature, but from authority: they are mere cuſtoms, and, when they claſh with nature, they are falſe, enfeebling cuſtoms. Hence the diſagreement between the chineſe laws and morals, and the actual hiſtory of China. How often have the children of the ſtate depoſed their father from the throne! How often has the father treated his children with barbarity! Covetous mandarins have ſuffered thouſands to ſtarve: and when their crimes have reached the ears of the ſovereign father, they have been ineffectually chaſtiſed with paltry ſtripes like children. Hence the want of manly force and honour, to be obſerved even in the portraits of their great men and heroes: honour is converted into filial ſubmiſſion, force has degenerated into modiſh punctuality toward the ſtate: we find in the harneſs no noble ſteed, but a tame aſs, frequently playing the part of the fox in preſcribed cuſtoms from morning till night.

This childiſh reſtraint of the reaſon, powers, and feelings of men muſt neceſſarily have a debilitating influence on the whole frame of the ſtate. When once education is confined to modes, when forms and cuſtoms not only bind but overpower all the intercourſe of life, what a maſs of activity is loſt to the public! and that activity the nobleſt of the heart and mind. Who is not aſtoniſhed, when he remarks in the hiſtory of the chineſe the courſe and management of their affairs, and with what extenſive apparatus a trifle is accompliſhed? Here a college is employed, on what, to be well done, ſhould be performed by an individual: there inquiry is made, in what place an anſwer is to be found: they go and they come, they put off and they avoid, that the ceremonials of childiſh reſpect for the ſtate may not be infringed. A nation, that ſleeps on warm ſtoves, and drinks warm water from morning till night, muſt be equally deſtitute of a warlike ſpirit and profound reflection. Regularity in a beaten track; acuteneſs in diſcovering which way intereſt inclines, and a thouſand ſly arts; childiſh multiplicity of occupation, without the reflection of the man, who aſks himſelf whether a thing be neceſſary to be done, and whether it may not be performed in a better manner; are the only virtues, to which the royal path in China is open. The emperor himſelf is harneſſed to this yoke: he muſt ſet a good example to all, and go through his exerciſe like a drill corporal for a pattern to the reſt. He not only ſacrifices in the hall of his predeceſſors on feſtivals, but in every occupation, in every moment of his life, he ſacrifices to them,

and

and all the praiſe and all the blame beſtowed upon him are perhaps equally undeſerved *.

Is it to be wondered, that a nation of this kind ſhould have invented little in the ſciences according to the european ſtandard? or that it has remained for ſome thouſands of years at the ſame point? Even their books of law and morality continually pace round the ſame circle, and carefully and preciſely ſay the ſame things of childiſh duties, in a hundred different ways, with ſyſtematic hypocriſy. In it muſic and aſtronomy, poetry and tactics, painting and architecture, are as they were centuries ago, the children of it's eternal laws, and unalterably childiſh inſtitutions. The empire is an embalmed mummy, wrapped in ſilk, and painted with hieroglyphics: it's internal circulation is that of a dormouſe in it's winter's ſleep. Hence the ſyſtem of keeping foreigners ſeparate, acting the ſpy over them, and throwing obſtacles in their way: hence the pride of the nation, which compares itſelf with itſelf alone, and neither knows nor loves ſtrangers. It is a nation thruſt into a corner, and ſhut up from general concourſe by Fate; being ſeparated from the reſt by mountains, deſerts, and a ſea, in which ſcarce a haven is to be found. In any other ſituation it could not eaſily have remained what it is: for that it's conſtitution held out againſt the mantchous only proves, that it derived it's foundation from them, and that the leſs civilized conquerors found ſuch a ſyſtem of childiſh ſlavery a very convenient ſeat for their dominion. They durſt not alter it, but ſat themſelves down in it, and ruled: while the nation ſerved ſo obſequiouſly in every member of this machine of ſtate, which itſelf had erected, as if it had been invented for the very purpoſe of this ſlavery.

All accounts of the language of the chineſe agree, that it has contributed unſpeakably to the form of this people in their artificial mode of thinking: for is not the language of every country the medium, in which the ideas of it's inhabitants are formed, preſerved, and imparted? particularly when a nation is ſo firmly attached to it's language as this, and deduces all civilization from it. The language of the chineſe is a dictionary of morals, that is, of courteſy and good manners: not only provinces and towns, but even conditions and books are diſtinguiſhed in it, ſo that the greater part of their learned induſtry is applied merely to an implement, with which nothing is performed. Every thing in it turns on ſyſtematic niceties: it expreſſes much with a few ſounds, while

* Even the eſteemed emperor Kien-Long was deemed a cruel tyrant in the provinces: and in ſuch an extenſive kingdom, with ſuch a conſtitution, this muſt ever be the caſe, let the emperor's way of thinking be what it will.

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it depicts one ſound with many lines, and ſays one and the ſame thing in a multiplicity of books. What a waſte of induſtry is employed in pencilling and printing their works! but this is their chief art and delight; for fine writing is to them more beautiful than the moſt enchanting picture, and the uniform jingle of their maxims and compliments is prized by them as the ſum of elegance and wiſdom. Nothing but ſuch an extenſive empire, and chineſe laborioufneſs, could have produced forty books, painted in eight large volumes, on the ſingle town of Kai-fong-fu *, and extended this tireſome accuracy to every command and eulogy of the emperor. The monument of the emigration of the torguts is a monſtrous book upon ſtone †, and the whole of the learning of the chineſe is exhauſted in artificial and political hieroglyphics. The difference, with which this mode of writing alone operates upon the mind that thinks in it, muſt be incredible. It enervates the thoughts, and reduces the whole national way of thinking to painted or air-drawn arbitrary characters.

This exhibition of the peculiarities of the chineſe has not been coloured by enmity or contempt: every line is taken from their warmeſt advocates, and might be ſupported by a hundred proofs from every claſs of their inſtitutions. It is nothing more, than ariſes from the nature of the caſe; the repreſentation of a people formed from remote antiquity with ſuch an organization, in ſuch a part of the World, after ſuch principles, with ſuch aids, and under ſuch circumſtances; and which, contrary to the uſual courſe of things in other nations, has ſo long retained it's way of thinking. If the ancient egyptians were ſtill before our eyes, we ſhould obſerve, without venturing to think of a reciprocal derivation, a reſemblance between them in many points; the traditions received being only modified ſomewhat differently by the climate. It was the ſame with other nations, that once ſtood on the ſame ſtep of cultivation; but theſe have advanced farther, or have been deſtroyed and mingled with others; while ancient China ſtands as an old ruin on the verge of the World, in it's ſemi-mungalian form. It would be difficult to prove, that the fundamental lineaments of it's cultivation were brought from Greece through Bactra, or derived from Tatary through Balch: the web of it's conſtitution is certainly endemial, and the ſlight operations of foreign countries on it are eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated. I honour the Kings like a chineſe for their excellent principles: and Confucius is to me a great man, though I perceive the fetters, which he too wore, and which, with the beſt intentions, he rivetted eternally on the ſuperſtitious populace, and the general ſyſtem of ſtate, by his

* *Mém. concernant les Chinois*, Vol. II, p. 375. † Ib. Vol. I, p. 329.

political morality. By means of it this nation, like many others on the Globe, has ſtood ſtill in it's education, as in the age of infancy; this mechanical engine of morals for ever checking the progreſs of the mind, and no ſecond Confucius ariſing in the deſpotic realm. Had either the enormous ſtate been once divided; or had more enlightened Kien-longs taken the paternal reſolution, to ſend forth as coloniſts thoſe whom they could not feed, lightened the yoke of cuſtom, and introduced greater freedom of will and action, though this would undoubtedly have been attended with much danger: then—but even then the chineſe would ever have remained chineſe, as germans are ſtill germans, and no ancient greeks are produced in the eaſtern end of Aſia. It is obviouſly the purpoſe of Nature, that every thing capable of proſpering on Earth ſhould proſper on it, and that even this variety in her productions ſhould teem with the creator's praiſe. The work of legiſlation and morals poſſeſſes no where upon Earth ſuch ſtability as in China, where the human underſtanding appears to have framed it as an infantile eſſay: there let it remain, and may Europe never rear a ſiſter realm equally full of filial ſubmiſſion to it's deſpots. This nation will retain to the end the fame of it's induſtry, of the acuteneſs of it's organs of ſenſe, of it's ſkilful dexterity in a thouſand uſeful things. Silk and porcelain, powder and ſhot, perhaps too the mariner's compaſs, the art of printing, the building of bridges, navigation, and many other nice mechanical occupations and arts, were known to it, before they exiſted in Europe: but in almoſt all arts it wants the ſpirit of improvement. For the reſt, that China ſhould ſhut herſelf up from the nations of Europe, and lay great reſtraints as well on the dutch as on the ruſſians and jeſuits, is not only conſiſtent with her general way of thinking, but cannot be blamed on the ſcore of policy, ſo long as ſhe obſerves the conduct of europeans in the iſlands and on the continent of the Eaſt-Indies, in the North of Aſia, and in her own land. Swelling with tatarian pride, ſhe deſpiſes the merchant, who leaves his own country, and barters what ſhe deems the moſt ſolid merchandize for things of trifling value: ſhe takes his ſilver, and gives him in return millions of pounds of enervating tea, to the corruption of all Europe.

## CHAPTER II.

*Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Corea, eaſtern Tatary, Japan.*

It appears inconteſtibly from the hiſtory of mankind, that, whatever country has been capable of raiſing itſelf to any eminent degree of cultivation, it has influenced a certain circle of it's neighbours. Thus China, though an unwarlike nation, and with a conſtitution ſtrongly concentring in itſelf, has notwithſtanding diffuſed it's influence through many countries round. The queſtion is not, whether theſe countries have been ſubdued by China, or remain ſubject to it; if they participate in it's inſtitutions, language, religion, ſciences, arts, and manners, as far as regards mind they are provinces of the empire.

Cochin-China has derived moſt from the chineſe, of whom it has been in ſome meaſure a political colony: hence the reſemblance between the two people in conſtitution and manners, in arts and ſciences, in religion, trade, and government. It's emperor is a vaſſal of China, and the nations are intimately united by commerce. If this buſy, ſenſible, gentle people, be compared with their neighbours, the indolent ſiameſe, the ſavage natives of Arracan, &c., the difference will be obvious. But as no rivulet riſes higher than it's ſource, it is not to be expected, that Cochin-China ſhould exceed it's original: it's government is more deſpotic; it's religion and ſciences are but echoes of thoſe of the mother country.

Tonquin, which lies ſtill nearer to China, though ſeparated from it by rude mountains, is in a ſimilar predicament. The nation is leſs civilized: the degree of cultivation it poſſeſſes, and which ſupports the ſtate; it's manufactures, trade, laws, religion, knowledge, and cuſtoms; are all chineſe; only far inferiour, in conſequence of a more ſoutherly climate, and the national character.

The impreſſion made by China upon Laos is ſtill more feeble: for this country was ſoon torn from it, and adopted the manners of the ſiameſe: yet the traces of that impreſſion are ſtill perceptible.

Among the ſouthern iſlands Java is that, with which the chineſe have the moſt particular intercourſe: indeed it is probable, that colonies have been planted in it by them. Their political eſtabliſhments, however, they could not introduce into this diſtant and much hotter land: for the laborious ſkill of the chineſe requires an aſſiduous people, and a temperate climate. They made uſe of the iſland, therefore, without faſhioning it.

To the north the chineſe ſyſtem of things has gained more footing, and the people of China may boaſt, that they have contributed more to ſoften the rude nations of this vaſt region, than the europeans probably in all the four quarters of the Globe. Korea has been actually ſubjected to the chineſe by the mantchous: and let this once ſavage nation be compared with it's northern neighbours. The inhabitants of this partly cold country are gentle and benign: in their amuſements and funeral ceremonies, in their houſes and clothing, in their religion and a certain love of ſcience, they at leaſt imitate the chineſe, by whom their government was framed, and a few manufactures eſtabliſhed. On the mungals the influence of the chineſe has had a ſtill more extenſive operation. Not only have the mantchous, who conquered China, been poliſhed by their intercourſe with it, ſo that tribunals reſembling thoſe of Pekin have been eſtabliſhed at Schinyang, their capital: but the numerous mungal hordes, the greater part of which are ſubject to China, have not remained uninfluenced by the chineſe, notwithſtanding their ruder manners. Nay if the friendly protection of this kingdom, in which the torguts amounted in modern times to three hundred thouſand ſtrong, be a benefit, China has treated this extenſive region more juſtly than any conqueror. Often has it quieted the diſturbances of Tibet, and in former days extended it's hand to the Caſpian ſea. The contents of the rich graves found in different parts of Mungalia and Tatary afford evident marks of an intercourſe with China: and if more poliſhed nations formerly inhabited theſe countries, they probably were not without a cloſe connexion with the chineſe.

The place, however, in which the chineſe have raiſed up the greateſt rivals of their induſtry, is Japan. The japaneſe were once barbarians; and certainly, from their bold and violent character, cruel and rigid barbarians: yet from their proximity and intercourſe with a people, from whom they learned writing and ſciences, arts and manufactures, they have improved themſelves to a ſtate, which in many points rivals or even exceeds that of China. Conformably to the character of the nation indeed, both their government and religion are more barbarous and ſevere: and there is no more proſpect in Japan, than in China, of an advancement to greater perfection in the ſciences, as they are cultivated in Europe: but if a knowledge and employment of the ſoil, if induſtry in agriculture and the uſeful arts, if trade and navigation, and even the rude pomp and deſpotic form of their political conſtitution, be unqueſtionable ſteps of cultivation, the proud japaneſe have borrowed them from China. The annals of this nation record the time, when the japaneſe viſited China as barbarians: and with whatever peculiarities the rude iſlanders have formed themſelves,

ſelves, in all the inſtruments of their cultivation, and in the manner in which they exerciſe their arts, the chineſe original is evident.

Now whether theſe people have penetrated ſtill farther, and contributed to the cultivation of either of the two poliſhed kingdoms of America, both of which were ſituate on the weſtern coaſt, oppoſite to China, will not be eaſy to determine. If a cultivated people from this ſide of the Globe reached America, it could ſcarcely be any other than the chineſe, or the iſlanders of Japan. It is much to be regretted, that the hiſtory of China, in obedience to the conſtitution of the country, is written ſo completely in the chineſe manner. All inventions it aſcribes to it's kings: it forgets the world beyond it's own limits, and as a hiſtory of the empire it is far from an inſtructive hiſtory of man.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Tibet.*

BETWEEN the great mountains and deſerts of Aſia, a ſpiritual empire, ſingular in kind, erects it's head. This is the grand ſovereignty of the lamas. It is true, the temporal power has been occaſionally ſeparated from the ſpiritual by ſlight revolutions; but they have always been united again after a time, ſo that in this country the whole conſtitution reſts on the imperial pontificate, in a manner elſewhere unknown. According to the doctrine of metempſychoſis, the grand lama is animated by the god Shaka, or Fo, who, at the deceaſe of one lama, tranſmigrates into the next, and conſecrates him an image of the divinity. The deſcending chain of lamas is continued down from him in fixed degrees of ſanctity, ſo that a more firmly eſtabliſhed ſacerdotal government, in doctrines, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions, than actually reigns over this elevated country, cannot be conceived. The ſupreme manager of temporal affairs is no more than the viceroy of the ſovereign prieſt, who, conformably to the principles of his religion, dwells in divine tranquillity, in a building that is both temple and palace. The lama account of the creation of the World abounds with monſtrous fables: the threatened puniſhments and penitences for ſin are ſevere: and the ſtate, after which their ſanctity ſtrives, is highly unnatural, conſiſting in monaſtic continence, ſuperſtitious abſence of thought, and the perfect repoſe of nonentity. Yet there is ſcarcely any religion upon Earth ſo widely ſpread as this. Not only in Tibet and Tangut, and by the greater part of the mungals, mantchous, kalcas, eleuths, is the lama worſhipped; and

and if ſome of them have diſpenſed with the adoration of his perſon in modern times, ſtill a certain modification of the religion of Shaka is the only faith they profeſs, the only worſhip they follow: but this religion extends far to the ſouth alſo: the names of Sommonacodom, Shakja-Tuba, Sangol-Muni, Shigemuni, Buddo, Fo, Shekia, are all the ſame with Shaka; ſo that this ſacred monaſtic doctrine pervades Hindoſtan, Ceylon, Siam, Pegu, Tonquin, and even China, Corea, and Japan; though not every where retaining in equal degrees the cumberſome mythology of the tibetians. Even in China the doctrines of Fo conſtitute the popular faith; while the principles of Confucius and Lao-tſe are only ſpecies of a political religion and philoſophy adopted by the higher ranks, that is, by the learned. The government is indifferent to either religion: it's care proceeds no farther, than to render the lamas and bonzes innocuous to the ſtate, by preſerving it from the ſovereignty of the dalai-lama. Japan has long been a Semi-Tibet: the dairi was the ſpiritual ſovereign, and the cubo his temporal ſervant; till the latter took the reins into his own hand, and reduced the former to a mere cipher: a ſtep that ariſes in the courſe of things, and will ſome time be the lot of the lama alſo. It is only owing to the ſituation of his empire, the barbarouſneſs of the mungal tribes, and more eſpecially the favour of the emperor of China, that the lama has remained ſo long what he is.

The religion of the lamas aſſuredly never originated on the cold mountains of Tibet: it muſt have been the offspring of a warmer climate, the creature of ſome enervate minds, that love above all things to indulge in bodily reſt, and freedom from thought. It did not reach the rude heights of Tibet, or even China itſelf, till the firſt century after the chriſtian era; and then it received in each a different modification, according to the ſtate of the country. In Tibet and Japan it was rigid and ſevere: among the mungals it became a leſs efficacious ſuperſtition: while Siam, Hindoſtan, and ſimilar countries, cheriſhed it under it's mildeſt aſpect, as a natural production of their warmer climate. From this difference of form, it has had very different effects on the countries, in which it has flouriſhed. In Siam, Hindoſtan, Tonquin, and ſome others, it lulls the minds of men, and renders them compaſſionate and unwarlike, patient, gentle, and indolent. The talapoins aſpire not to the throne: they only require alms for the abſolution of ſinners. In ruder ſoils, where the climate does not ſo eaſily afford ſupport for idle beadſmen, their eſtabliſhment demands more art, and thus they at length unite the palace and the temple. The inconſiſtencies, which not only connect but ſupport human affairs, are ſingular. If every tibetian obeyed the laws of the lamas, and ſtrove to imitate their

ſupreme virtues, Tibet would ſoon be no more. A race of men, keeping themſelves unconnected with each other, not cultivating their frigid ſoil, purſuing neither trade nor manufactures, muſt haſten to an end: while dreaming of Heaven they would periſh with cold and hunger. But happily nature is more powerful in man, than any opinion he may embrace. The tibetian marries, though marriage is a ſin: and his induſtrious wife, who indeed takes more than one huſband, and labours more than a man, willingly foregoes the chief places in Paradiſe, to continue the preſent World. If there be a religion upon Earth, that deſerves the epithets of monſtrous and inconſiſtent, it is the religion of Tibet *: and it cannot altogether be denied, that, if chriſtianity were propagated in it's moſt rigid doctrines and practices, it would no where appear in a worſe form than on the tibetian mountains. Fortunately, however, the ſevere monaſtic religion has been as incapable of changing the ſpirit of the nation, as of altering it's wants and climate. The inhabitant of the lofty mountains purchaſes abſolution for his ſins, and enjoys health and cheerfulneſs: he feeds and kills animals, though he believes the tranſmigration of ſouls; and keeps a wedding feaſt for a fortnight, though his prieſt inculcates celibacy as the only ſtate of perfection. Thus the opinions of mankind have always accommodated matters with their wants: they have haggled with each other, till a tolerable bargain was ſtruck between them. How unfortunate would it be for men, if every folly, that prevails in the creeds received by nations, were to be completely followed up in practice! But now, moſt are believed and not practiſed, and this neutral ſentiment of dead perſuaſion is every where called forth. It is not to be ſupppoſed, that the calmuc lives conformably to the pattern of perfection in Tibet, becauſe he adores a little idol, or worſhips the excrement of the lama.

But this diſguſting ſyſtem of the lamas has not been barely innocent: it has certainly had it's uſe. By it a groſs heathen nation, holding itſelf deſcended from apes, has been raiſed into a poliſhed, and in many points a refined people: though to this the neighbourhood of China greatly contributed. A religion originating in India muſt have a predilection for cleanlineſs: thus the tibetians were prevented from living like tatarian mountaineers. Even that extravagant chaſtity, which their lamas preach, has ſerved as a goal of virtue to the nation; and the modeſty, temperance, and reſerve, remarked in both ſexes, may be conſidered as at leaſt part of the race toward it: where too, indeed, half is

* See *Georgii Alphabet. Tibetan.*, Rome, 1762, a book abounding with learned lumber; yet, with the accounts in Pallas's *Nordiſchen Beitrægen*, Vol. IV, p. 271, &c., and the eſſay in Schlœzer's *Briefwechſel*, 'Correſpondence,' Vol. V, the chief book we have reſpecting Tibet.

better

better than the whole. The doctrine of the metempſychoſis excites compaſſion toward animals: and perhaps the rude inhabitants of rocks and mountains could not be held by a gentler rein than this opinion, and the belief in long penitences and the pains of Hell. In ſhort the tibetian religion is a ſpecies of the papal, ſuch as it prevailed in Europe itſelf in the dark ages, and indeed without that morality and decorum, for which the mungals and tibetians are commended. The religion of Shaka has been of ſervice to mankind likewiſe by introducing a ſort of learning, and a written language, among theſe mountaineers, and even farther, among the mungals. Probably the preparatory means of a degree of cultivation, now ripening for theſe regions alſo.

The way of Providence among nations is wondrous long, yet it is the pure order of nature. Gymnoſophiſts and talapoins, that is, contemplative ſolitaries, have exiſted in the eaſt from the remoteſt times: their nature and their climate led them to this mode of life. Seeking quiet, they fled from the buſtle of ſociety, and lived contented with the little, that fertile nature gave. The oriental is as ſerious, and moderate in words, as temperate in meat and drink. He willingly reſigns himſelf to the wings of imagination: and whither could theſe carry him, but to the contemplation of univerſal nature, to the origin of the World, the decay and renovation of things? Both the coſmogony and the metempſychoſis of the orientals are poetical repreſentations of what is and will be, ſuch as they may be conceived by a limited human underſtanding and a feeling heart. 'I live and enjoy my life a little while: why ſhould not all around me enjoy their exiſtence, and live uninjured by me?' Hence the morality of the talapoins, which ſo effectively and ſelf-denyingly inculcates the nothingneſs of all things, the eternal mutation of forms in the World, the internal affliction of the inſatiate deſires of the human heart, and the pleaſures of a pure mind. Hence too the gentle humane ordinances, which they gave to mankind for ſparing themſelves and other beings, and the praiſes of which they chaunt in their hymns, and record in their maxims. Theſe they no more derived from Greece, than they did their coſmogony: for both are the genuine offspring of the feelings and ſentiments of their climate. In them every thing is ſtrained to the higheſt pitch; ſo that indian hermits alone can live conformably to the doctrines of the talapoins: and beſides, every thing is ſo enveloped in endleſs fables, that if ever a Shaka lived, he would ſcarcely recognize himſelf in one of the features aſcribed to him as ſubjects of gratitude or praiſe. Yet does not a child learn his firſt wiſdom and morals by means of fables? and are not moſt of theſe nations, whoſe minds remain in a gentle ſlumber, children all their lives long? Let us not accuſe Providence, therefore, for what could not be otherwiſe,

otherwiſe, according to the order ſhe choſe for the human race. She knit every thing with tradition, and thus men could not impart to each other more, than they themſelves had, and knew. Every thing in nature, and conſequently the philoſophy of Budda, is good or bad, according to the uſe that is made of it. On the one hand it exhibits as fine and lofty ſentiments, as on the other it is capable of exciting and foſtering, as it abundantly has, indolence and deceit. In no two countries has it remained preciſely the ſame: but wherever it exiſts, it has raiſed itſelf at leaſt one ſtep above groſs heatheniſm, the firſt twilight of a purer morality, the firſt infantile dream of that truth, which comprehends the univerſe.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Hindoſtan.*

THOUGH the doctrine of the bramins is no more than a branch of that widely ſpread religion, which has formed ſects or ſovereignties from Tibet to Japan; ſtill it deſerves particular conſideration in the place of it's birth, as it has formed there the moſt ſingular and perhaps durable government in the World; this is the diviſion of the hindoo nation into four or more caſts, over which the bramins rule as forming the firſt. That they obtained this ſway by bodily ſubjugation is by no means probable: for they are not the military caſt of the people, which, the king himſelf included, comes only next to them; and their pretenſions are founded on no ſuch claim, even in their fables. Their dominion over the reſt is derived from their origin, on the ſcore of which they pride themſelves as ſprung from the head of Brama, while the ſoldiery proceeded from his breaſt, and the other caſts from his different limbs. On this their laws and the conſtitution of the ſtate are founded, according to which they make a particular caſt, which is to the nation what the head is to the body. Similar diviſions into caſts have formed in other regions the ſimpleſt eſtabliſhment of ſociety: in imitation of nature, that divides trees into branches, people into tribes and families. Such was the ſyſtem of Egypt; which, like that of Hindoſtan, made arts and trades hereditary: and that the caſt of ſages and prieſts aſſigned to itſelf the higheſt place, we obſerve in ſeveral nations. In ſuch a degree of cultivation, this appears to me the natural courſe of things; as wiſdom is ſuperiour to ſtrength, and in ancient times the caſt of prieſts appropriated to itſelf almoſt all political ſcience. The importance of the prieſthood declines only with the general diffuſion of knowledge through all ranks; and

for this reaſon the prieſts have ſo frequently oppoſed the enlightening of the people.

The hiſtory of Hindoſtan, of which we know much leſs than could be wiſhed, affords us ſome clear hints reſpecting the origin of the bramins *. This makes Brama, a wiſe and learned man, who invented ſeveral arts and in particular writing, a vizir of one of their ancient kings, Criſhen, whoſe ſon divided the people by law into the four well known caſts. He placed the ſon of Brama at the head of the firſt caſt, which included the aſtrologers, phyſicians, and prieſts: other nobles were appointed hereditary governors of provinces, and from theſe the ſecond caſt of the hindoos is deſcended: the third caſt was confined to the cultivation of the ground; the fourth, to the purſuit of arts: and this eſtabliſhment was to continue for ever. He built the town of Bahar for the philoſophers; and as the ſeat of his empire, and the ſchools of the bramins, were chiefly on the banks of the Ganges, the reaſon why ſo little is ſaid of them by the greeks and romans is obvious: for it appears, that theſe were unacquainted with the interiour parts of India; Herodotus deſcribing only the people on the Hindus, and the northern part of the peninſula beyond the Ganges, and Alexander having advanced no farther than the Hyphaſes. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that at firſt they obtained only general accounts of the bramins, that is, of the ſolitary philoſophers, living in the manner of the talapoins; and afterwards heard obſcure tales of the ſamaneans and germans on the Ganges, of the diviſion of the people into caſts, of their doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, &c. Even theſe mutilated relations however ſhow, that the inſtitution of the bramins is ancient, and a native of the country bordering on the Ganges; which the very old monuments at Jaggernaut †, Bombay, and other parts of the peninſula, confirm. Both the idols, and the whole economy of their temples, are ſuitable to the ſentiments and mythology of the bramins, who have ſpread themſelves abroad through India from their ſacred Ganges, and been honoured, in proportion to the ignorance of the people, where they have arrived. The Ganges, as their birth place, has remained the chief ſeat of their holy rites: though as bramins they are not merely a religious, but a truly political tribe, reſembling the orders of lamas, levites, egyptian prieſts, &c., and have pertained to the primitive conſtitution of the ſtate throughout India.

For thouſands of years this influence of the order on the minds of men has been ſingularly profound: for, in ſpite of the mungal yoke, which they have

* Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, Vol. I, p. 10, 11.

† Zend-Aweſta, by D'Anquetil, Vol. I, p. 81, and foll'. : Niebuhr's Travels, Vol. II.

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ſo long born, it's importance and doctrines ſtill remain unſhaken, and theſe exert ſuch a powerful ſway over the hindoos, as ſcarcely any other religion has ever diſplayed *. The character, way of life, and manners of the people, even to the minuteſt trifles, nay to their very thoughts and words, are their work: and though many parts of the religion of the bramins are extremely troubleſome and oppreſſive, they remain as ſacred as the divine laws of nature, even to the loweſt caſts. Such of them as embrace a foreign religion are for the moſt part only malefactors and outcaſts, or poor deſerted children. The ſenſe of ſuperiority, too, with which the hindoo, even under the preſſure of extreme want, contemplates the european whom he ſerves, is a ſufficient guaranty, that this people, while it exiſts, will never mix with any other. No doubt the character of the nation and the climate are the grounds of this unparalleled effect: for no people are endowed with more quiet patience, and gentle docility of mind. But that the hindoo does not follow the precepts and cuſtoms of every foreigner ariſes evidently from this, that the inſtitution of the bramins already ſo occupies his whole mind, and employs his whole life, as to leave no room for any other. His frequent feſtivals and ceremonies, his multiplicity of deities and fables, his numerous ſacred places and works of merit, employ the whole imagination of the hindoo from his infancy, and remind him of what he is almoſt every moment of his life. All the inſtitutions of Europe float only on the ſurface of a mind thus profoundly ſwayed; and this ſway I believe capable of continuing as long as a hindoo ſhall exiſt.

With reſpect to all human inſtitutions, the queſtion, whether they be good or evil, is neceſſarily complicated. Undoubtedly the ſyſtem of the bramins, when it was firſt eſtabliſhed, was good: otherwiſe it could not have ſpread ſo wide, penetrated ſo deep, and endured ſo long. The human mind ſhakes off what is pernicious to it, as ſoon as it can: and though the hindoo may be capable of bearing more than another, he certainly would never love poiſon. It is inconteſtible too, that the bramins have formed their people to ſuch a degree of gentleneſs, courteſy, temperance, and chaſtity, or at leaſt have ſo confirmed them in theſe virtues, that europeans frequently appear, on compariſon with them, as beaſtly, drunken, or mad. Their air and language are unconſtrainedly elegant; their behaviour, friendly; their perſons, clean; their way of life ſimple and harmleſs. Their children are educated without ſeverity; yet they are not deſtitute of knowledge, and ſtill leſs of quiet induſtry, or nicely

* See on this ſubject Dow, Holwell, Sonnerat, Alexander Roſs, Mackintoſh, the accounts of the miſſionaries of Halle, the *Lettre édifiantes*, and every other deſcription of the hindoo religion and people.

imitative art: even the loweſt caſts learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. As the teachers of youth, the bramins cannot be denied the merit of having been benefactors to mankind for ſome thouſands of years. Let the reader turn to the relations given by the miſſionaries of Halle, and mark the found reaſoning and benign diſpoſition of the bramins and malabars, in their queſtions, anſwers, and objections, as well as in their whole behaviour, and he will ſeldom give the palm to the preachers from Europe. The leading idea the bramins entertain of God is ſo grand and beautiful, their morality is ſo pure and ſublime, and even their fables, when ſcanned by the eye of reaſon, are ſo refined and charming, that I cannot altogether aſcribe to their inventors, even in the monſtrous and romantic, that abſurdity, which it is probable they gained in the courſe of time by paſſing through the mouths of the people. That, in ſpite of all the oppreſſion of the mohammedans and chriſtians, the order of bramins has preſerved it's artfully conſtructed and beautiful language *, and with it ſome of the ruins of ancient aſtronomy and chronology, phyſic and juriſprudence, is not without merit in ſuch a ſituation †: for the mechanical manner in which they exerciſe theſe ſciences is ſufficient for their ſphere of life, and what is unfriendly to their improvement confirms their durability and effect. With regard to others, the hindoos perſecute no one: they allow all to follow their own religion, knowledge, and way of life: why ſhould not others allow them the ſame liberty, and conſider them at leaſt as well-meaning people, though miſled by the errours of their hereditary traditions? Of all the ſects of Fo, which occupy the eaſtern world of Aſia, this is the flower: more learned, more humane, more uſeful, more noble, than all the bonzes, lamas, and talapoins.

With this it muſt not be concealed, that, as in all other human inſtitutions, ſo in this, there is much that is oppreſſive. Not to mention the endleſs violence, which the confinement of the different ways of life to hereditary caſts neceſſarily involves, as it nearly excludes all freedom in improving the arts, and bringing them to perfection: the contempt with which the lower caſt, the pariars, are treated, is particularly ſtriking. They are not only condemned to the baſeſt offices, and eternally prohibited from all connexion with any other of the caſts; but they are even deprived of the claims of humanity, and the rites of religion: for no one dares touch a pariar, and his very look profanes a bramin. Though many reaſons are aſſigned for this abaſement, and among others, that the pariars may be a ſubjugated nation; none of them are ſufficiently confirmed by hiſtory. In perſon, at leaſt, they differ not from the other hindoos. Here, as in ſo many other

* See Halhed's Grammar of the Bengal Language, printed at Hoogly in Bengal, 1778.

† See Le Gentil's *Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, 'Voyage in the Indian Ocean,' Vol. I; Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws; &c.

things of ancient inſtitution, we muſt recur to the rigid primitive ordinance, according to which, probably, the very poor, or malefactors and reprobates, were condemned to a ſtate of debaſement, to which their innocent and numerous deſcendants have aſtoniſhingly ſubmitted. The fault lies ſolely in the claſſification by families; according to which the loweſt lot of life muſt fall to ſome, and the purity arrogated by the reſt ſtill augments the burden. Now what could be more natural, than to conſider it at length as a puniſhment from Heaven, to be born a pariar, and, conformably to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, as a fate merited by crimes in a former ſtate of life? This hypotheſis of the tranſmigration of ſouls, grand as it was in the mind of him, by whom it was firſt imagined, and greatly as it may have benefitted mankind, muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned much evil alſo, as does every opinion, that overſteps human nature. While, for inſtance, it excited a falſe compaſſion towards every living creature, it diminiſhed real ſympathy for the miſeries of our fellows; the unhappy among whom it held as criminals ſuffering under the burden of former miſdeeds, or as men proved by the hand of Fate, who would reward their virtues in a future ſtate of exiſtence. Accordingly, a want of ſympathy is obſerved even in the gentle hindoos, which may probably be conſidered as an effect of their organization, though ſtill more of their profound ſubmiſſion to eternal fate; a faith, which plunges man into an abyſs, and blunts his active feelings. The burning of wives on the funeral piles of their huſbands may be reckoned among the barbarous conſequences of this doctrine: for to whatever cauſe it owes it's firſt introduction, whether it entered the round of cuſtom as a puniſhment or as an emulation of ſome great minds, the braminical doctrine of a future ſtate has unqueſtionably ennobled the unnatural practice, and animated the poor victim to encounter death. No doubt this cruel practice renders the life of the huſband more dear to the wife, as ſhe thus becomes inſeparable from him even in death, and cannot remain behind him without diſgrace: but is this worth the ſacrifice, when tacit cuſtom alone gives it the force of law? Laſtly, I paſs over the manifold deception and ſuperſtition inevitable in the braminical ſyſtem, from the very circumſtance of aſtronomy and chronology, religion and phyſic, being propagated by oral tradition, and confined as myſteries to one caſt: a ſtill more pernicious conſequence for the whole country was, that this ſupremacy of the bramins muſt render the people ſooner or later ripe for ſubjugation. The military caſt muſt ſpeedily become unwarlike, as it's functions claſhed with it's religion, and it was ſubordinate to another, which abhorred all ſhedding of blood. Happy would it have been for ſuch a peaceful people, to have dwelt on a ſolitary iſland, remote from all conquerors: but at the

the foot of mountains inhabited by thoſe human beaſts of prey, the warlike mungals; and near thoſe coaſts abounding with havens, to receive the artful and covetous adventurers of Europe; how could the poor hindoos maintain themſelves, and their pacific ſyſtem? Thus it was with the conſtitution of Hindoſtan: it ſank under internal and external wars, till at length the maritime power of Europe ſubjected it to a yoke, under which it is uttering it's laſt groans.

Hard courſe of the fate of nations! yet it is nothing more than the order of nature. In the moſt beautiful and fertile region of the Earth, man muſt early attain refined ideas, an imagination widely expatiating on nature, gentle manners, and regular inſtitutions: but in this region he muſt ſoon avoid laborious activity, and thus become the prey of every robber, who viſited his happy land. From remote times the trade to the Eaſt Indies was a very lucrative branch of commerce: the induſtrious contented people gave of their treaſures by ſea and land to other nations an abundance of precious articles; and, in conſequence of their remote ſituation, remained in tolerable peace and tranquillity: till at length europeans, from whom nothing is remote, came, and eſtabliſhed empires of their own among them. All the information, and all the merchandize, that they have brought us thence, by no means compenſate the evil they have done to a nation, by whom they were never offended. Yet in this the hand of Fate prevails, and it will either looſe the chain, or extend it's links.

## CHAPTER V.

### *General Reflections on the Hiſtory of theſe States.*

Hitherto we have been conſidering thoſe political conſtitutions of Aſia, which boaſt the higheſt antiquity, and the firmeſt duration: now what have they effected in the hiſtory of mankind? what is learned from them by the philoſopher of human hiſtory?

Hiſtory preſumes a beginning: to the hiſtory of a ſtate, and of moral cultivation, a commencement of theſe is neceſſary. But how obſcure is this commencement, among all the nations we have yet contemplated! Were my voice of any weight, I would employ it in exhorting every ſagacious and diſcreet inveſtigator of hiſtory, to ſtudy the origin of cultivation in Aſia, among it's moſt celebrated nations and empires, laying aſide all hypotheſis, and throwing off the ſhackles of preconceived opinion. An accurate examination of the accounts and monuments we have of theſe nations, of their writing and languages,

of

of their moſt ancient works of art and mythology, or the principles and practices they ſtill follow in their few ſciences; compared with the place they inhabit, and the intercourſe they may have had; would certainly diſentangle part of the chain of their cultivation, the firſt link of which would probably be found neither in Selinginſkoy, nor in grecian Bactra. The diligent inquiries of a Deguignes, a Bayer, a Gatterer, and ſome others; the bolder hypotheſes of Bailly, Paw, Deliſle, &c.; and the uſeful endeavours, that have been made toward collecting and rendering public the languages and works of Aſia; are preparatory ſteps to the erection of an edifice, the firſt foundation ſtone of which I ſhould be glad to ſee laid. Probably we ſhould thus diſcover the ruins of a temple of that *Protogea* *, which diſplays itſelf to our view in ſo many natural monuments.

2. The civilization of a people is a term not eaſy to expreſs; but to conceive the idea, and carry it into practice, is ſtill more difficult. That a ſtranger arriving in a country ſhould enlighten a whole nation, or that a king ſhould enjoin the civilization of a people by law, can be poſſible only from a coincidence of various auxiliary circumſtances: for men are formed only by education, inſtruction, and permanent example. Hence it was, that all nations ſoon fell upon the method of admitting into the body politic a claſs of men appointed to inſtruct, educate, and enlighten the reſt; ſetting them above the other claſſes, or aſſigning them a middle rank. Admit this to be the threſhold of a very imperfect degree of cultivation, ſtill it is neceſſary in the childhood of the human race; for wherever ſuch teachers of the people have been wanting, theſe have remained eternally ignorant and ſlothful. Conſequently ſome ſort of bramins, mandarins, talapoins, lamas, or the like, have been neceſſary to every nation in it's political infancy: and indeed we ſee, that this order of men alone has extenſively diffuſed the ſeeds of artificial cultivation throughout Aſia. If there be ſuch, the emperor Yao may ſay to his ſervants Hi and Ho †: 'go obſerve the ſtars, mark the courſe of the Sun, and portion out the year.' If Hi and Ho be no aſtronomers, his imperial command is of no effect.

3. There is a difference between the cultivation of men of learning, and the cultivation of the people. The learned man muſt underſtand the ſciences, the exerciſe of which is enjoined him for the benefit of the ſtate: theſe he preſerves; and theſe he confides to thoſe of his own rank, not to the people. Such among us are the higher ſpecies of mathematics, and many other branches of know-

* Primitive World. T.

† Beginning of the Shoo-King, p. 6, in the edition of Deguignes.

ledge,

ledge, which are not of common uſe, and therefore not for the people. Theſe were the occult ſciences, as they were called, of the ancient political inſtitutions, which the prieſt or bramin preſerved for his own claſs alone, becauſe it was appointed for their exerciſe, and every other claſs in the ſtate had it's own occupations. Thus algebra is even now an occult ſcience: for few in Europe underſtand it, though learning it is prohibited to none. Now indeed we have uſeleſsly and detrimentally confounded in many points the ſpheres of learned and popular cultivation, and extended this almoſt to the amplitude of that: the ancient founders of ſtates, who thought more like men, thought on this ſubject alſo more wiſely. They placed the cultivation of the people in good morals, and uſeful arts: for grand theories, even in philoſophy and religion, they deemed the people unqualified; and ſuch theories, therefore, they conceived uſeleſs to them. Hence the ancient mode of teaching by fables and allegories, ſuch as the bramins now utter to the unlearned caſts: hence in China the diſtinction in common ideas almoſt according to every claſs of the people, eſtabliſhed and not unwiſely retained by the ſtate. If we would compare a nation of the eaſt of Aſia with ours in reſpect of cultivation; it is neceſſary firſt to be known, in what cultivation is deemed by it to conſiſt, and of what claſs of men we ſpeak. If a nation, or a claſs of men, poſſeſs good morals and arts; if it have ſuch ideas, and ſuch virtues, as ſuffice for it's labours and a happy and contented life; it is ſufficiently enlightened for it's wants; even ſuppoſing it unable to account for an eclipſe, otherwiſe than by the well known tale of the dragon. This tale was probably told it by it's teachers, that no one might grow gray in the ſtudy of the courſes of the Sun and ſtars. I cannot poſſibly perſuade myſelf, that every individual of every nation was intended to acquire a metaphyſical idea of God, without which, though probably at laſt turning on a mere word, he muſt be ſuperſtitious, barbarous, and leſs than man. Is the japaneſe prudent, brave, dexterous, and uſeful in his ſtation? then is he cultivated, let him think as he will of Budda and Amida. Does he relate to you fabulous ſtories concerning theſe? tell him other fables in return, and you will balance the account.

4. Even a perpetual progreſs in the cultivation of learning is not eſſential to the happineſs of a ſtate; at leaſt not according to the notions of the ancient eaſtern empires. In Europe all the men of learning form a ſeparate ſtate, which, erected on the previous labours of many centuries, is artificially ſupported by common aids, and the emulation of realm againſt realm: for to nature in general the pinnacle of ſcience, after which we ſtrive, does no ſervice. All Europe is one learned kingdom, which, partly by internal emulation, partly by the auxiliary means it has abundantly procured in modern times from every part of the

the World, has attained an ideal form, which the man of learning only penetrates, and the ſtateſman employs. Once entered on this courſe we cannot ſtand ſtill: we purſue the magic image of perfect ſcience and univerſal knowledge, which it is true we ſhall never overtake, but which will hold us in chaſe, as long as the conſtitutions of Europe ſhall endure. It is not ſo with the kingdoms, that have never engaged in this conteſt. Orbicular China, behind it's mountains, is a ſimple encloſed realm: all it's provinces, however different their people, ſettled on the principles of an ancient conſtitution, are not in a ſtate of rivalry together, but of the profoundeſt obedience. Japan is an iſland, an enemy to every ſtranger, like ancient Britain, and ſtands like a world of itſelf, amid it's rude rocks and ſtormy ſea. It is the ſame with Tibet, ſurrounded by mountains, and ſavage nations: the ſame with the conſtitution of the bramins, which has groaned for centuries beneath the yoke. How could the germes of progreſſive ſcience, which burſt even through the rocks of Europe, ſprout forth in theſe realms? How could theſe people receive even the fruits of the tree from the dangerous hands of europeans, who have robbed them of what was their own, political ſecurity, and their very land itſelf? Thus, after a few eſſays, each ſnail has retreated within it's ſhell, and rejected even the moſt fragrant roſe brought in the mouth of a ſerpent. The ſcience of their pretended men of learning is adapted to the country; and China received from the officious jeſuits no more than it deemed abſolutely neceſſary. Probably it would have accepted more, had it arrived in a time of neceſſity: but as moſt men, and ſtill more great political bodies, are rigid, iron animals, to whom danger muſt approach very near, before they alter their old courſe; ſo, without ſigns and wonders, every thing will remain as it is, though the nation may be by no means deficient in capacity for ſcience. It wants nothing but prime movers; inveterate cuſtom reſiſting every new impulſe. How ſlow was Europe herſelf in learning her beſt arts!

5. The ſtate of a kingdom may be eſtimated either in itſelf, or in compariſon with others: Europe muſt employ both ſtandards; the aſiatic empires have only the former. No one of theſe has ſought other worlds, to employ them as the pedeſtals of it's grandeur, or poiſon itſelf with their ſuperfluities; every one makes uſe of what it has, and is ſatisfied with it's own. China has even refrained from working her own mines of gold; not venturing to uſe them, from a conſciouſneſs of her weakneſs; and the foreign trade of China is carried on wholly without the ſubjugation of other countries. From this prudent wiſdom all theſe lands have derived the unqueſtionable benefit of being obliged, to make the moſt uſe of what they have within themſelves, as they obtain fewer ſupplies

from external commerce. We europeans, on the contrary, wander over the whole World as merchants or as robbers, and frequently neglect on this account our own homes: Britain itſelf is far from diſplaying ſuch agricultural induſtry as is exhibited in the chineſe territories, or in the iſland of Japan. Our bodies politic are animals inſatiably devouring every thing that is foreign, good and bad, food and poiſon, coffee and tea, ſilver and gold; and, in a ſtate of high fever, diſplay much ſupernatural energy. Theirs reckon only on their internal circulation, living ſlowly like the worm, which on this account has endured, and ſtill may endure long, if external circumſtances do not deſtroy the ſleeping animal. Now it is well known, that in every thing the ancients calculated on a longer duration, as well in their political ſyſtems, as in their monuments: we act with vivacity, and ſo much the more ſpeedily run through the ſhorter period allotted us by fate.

6. Laſtly, every thing earthly and human is governed by time and place, as every particular nation is by it's character, uninfluenced by which it can do nothing. Had the eaſt of Aſia joined Europe, it would long have ceaſed to be what it is. Were not Japan an iſland, it would not be in it's preſent ſtate. Were all theſe kingdoms together now to be formed, they would not eaſily become what they did three or four thouſand years ago: the whole animal, which we call the Earth, on the back of which we dwell, is now ſome thouſands of years older. Singular and wonderful are what we call the genetic ſpirit and character of a people. It is inexplicable, it is ineradicable: ancient as the nation, ancient as the country it inhabits. The bramin pertains to his region: no other, he is perſuaded, merits it's ſacred ſoil. Thus the ſiameſe, and the japaneſe; every where, out of their own country, they are untimely planted ſhrubs. What the indian ſolitary thinks of his god, the ſiameſe of his emperor, we do not think: what to us appear activity and freedom of mind, manly honour and female beauty, in their eyes are far otherwiſe. The confinement of the indian women is to them by no means inſupportable. The empty pomp of a mandarin would be to any other an inſipid farce. It is the ſame with all the cuſtoms of diverſified man, nay with all that appears on our Earth. If our ſpecies be deſtined to approach, in the eternal path of an aſymptote, a point of perfection, which it does not know, and which, with all the labour of a Tantalus, it can never touch; you chineſe and japaneſe, you lamas and bramins, purſue this pilgrimage in a tolerably quiet corner of the veſſel. You trouble not yourſelves about the unattainable point, and remain as you were thouſands of years ago.

7. It is conſolatory to the inveſtigator of man, to obſerve, that Nature has in no organization forgotten, with all the evils ſhe has diſtributed among the hu-

man ſpecies, the balſam, that at leaſt mitigates their wounds. The oppreſſive load of aſiatic deſpotiſm exiſts only in nations, that are willing to bear it; that is, are leſs ſenſible of it's cruſhing weight. The hindoo, when, ſinking under the ſevereſt famine, he perceives his emaciated body followed by the dog, that will ſoon make it his prey, awaits his doom with reſignation: he props himſelf up, that he may die erect, while the patiently expecting dog ſtares him in the pale, deathlike face: of ſuch a reſignation we have no idea, yet it frequently reciprocates with the moſt violent guſts of paſſion. This, however, with the climate, and the various facilities of living, is the antidote, that mitigates the many evils of a conſtitution, which to us appears inſupportable. If we lived there, we ſhould not ſubmit to it, for we have underſtanding and courage to alter the bad ſyſtem; or we ſhould ſlumber too, and fear the evil patiently like the hindoo. Great parent, Nature; with what trifles haſt thou connected the fate of the human ſpecies! With a change of form in the head and brain, with a little alteration in the ſtructure of the organization and nerves, effected by climate, deſcent, and habit, the fate of the World, the whole ſum of what mankind do and ſuffer throughout the Earth, is alſo changed.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XII.

WE now come to the ſhores of the Tigris and Euphrates: but how has the face of hiſtory changed throughout the whole of this region! Babylon and Nineveh, Ecbatana, Perſepolis, and Tyre are no more: nation follows nation, empire follows empire, and of moſt even their very names, and once celebrated monuments are ſwept from the Earth. The appellations of babylonian, aſſyrian, chaldean, mede, and phenician, are no longer born by any people; and no diſtinct traces of their ancient political eſtabliſhments are now to be found. Their empires and towns are deſtroyed, and the people are diſperſed about under different names.

Whence ariſes this variation from the deeply imprinted character of the eaſtern empires? Hindoſtan and China have been more than once overrun by the mungals, nay have worn their yoke for centuries; yet neither has Pekin nor Benares vaniſhed, neither the lamas nor bramins are extinct. To me the difference of their deſtiny appears eaſily explicable, if we conſider the different ſituations and conſtitutions of the two regions. In the eaſt of Aſia, beyond the great ridge of mountains, the ſouthern nations had but one enemy, the mungals, to dread. Theſe wandered peaceably for ages on their hills, or in their valleys; and when they overran the neighbouring provinces, their objects were dominion and plunder, not deſtruction. Accordingly ſeveral nations have retained their own conſtitutions for thouſands of years under mungal ſovereigns. The throng of people, that ſwarmed between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, down to the Mediterranean, was altogether different; and the Tigris and Euphrates were the principal guides of theſe hordes in their migrations. The whole of hither Aſia was filled with nomades at an early period: and the more flouriſhing cities, the more poliſhed empires, aroſe in this fine country, the more did they attract ſavage nations for the purpoſe of plunder, or they themſelves knew not how to employ their increaſing power except in deſtroying others. How often has Babylon, that delightful centre of the commerce of the eaſt and weſt, been taken and deſpoiled! Tyre and Sidon, Jeruſalem, Ecbatana, and Nineveh, experienced

no better fate: so that this whole region may be considered as the garden of desolation, where one empire subverted another, to be itself destroyed in it's turn.

There is no cause to wonder, therefore, that many lost even their very names, and left scarcely a trace behind them. For in what were their traces to be left? Most of the people of this region had one language, varied only by different dialects: accordingly, on their downfal, their dialects became confounded with one another, uniting at length in the chaldee syriac arabic medley, which now prevails in that region, almost without any discriminating mark of the mingled people. Their states arose from hordes, and returned to hordes again, without any permanent political stamp. The celebrated monuments of a Belus, a Semiramis, and the rest, could still less assure them the eternity of a pyramid: for they were constructed merely of bricks, which, baked in the sun or by fire, and cemented with bitumen, were easily destroyed, if they did not perish beneath the silent foot of time. The despotic sovereignties of the founders of Nineveh and Babylon as gradually decayed; so that in this celebrated part of the World we find nothing to contemplate, but the names once born among the nations by people now no more. We wander over the graves of departed monarchies, and see the ghosts of their former importance on the Earth.

In fact this importance was so great, that, if we include Egypt within this region, no part of the World, Greece and Rome excepted, has invented and laid the rudiments of so many things for Europe, and through the medium of Europe, for all the nations upon Earth. The number of arts and trades, that appear, from the accounts of the Hebrews, to have been common among many little wandering hordes in these regions, in the earliest periods, is astonishing *. Husbandry, with various implements; gardening, fishing, hunting, and in particular the breeding of cattle; the grinding of corn; the baking of bread; the dressing of food; wine; oil; the preparation of wool and leather for garments; spinning, weaving, and sewing; painting, tapestry, and needlework; the coining of money; the engraving of seals, and cutting of gems; the fabrication of glass; coral-fishing; mining and metallurgy; various works in metal; the arts of drawing, modelling, and founding; statuary and architecture; music and dancing; writing and poetry; trade by weight and measure; on the sea coasts navigation; in the sciences, some of the elements of astronomy, chronology, and geography; physic and the art of war; arith-

* See Goguet's '*Origine des Loix, &c.*, 'Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, and their Progress among the Ancients;' and more particularly Gatterer's *Kurzer Begriff der Weltgeschichte*, 'Brief Sketch of Universal History,' Vol. I, Gottingen, 1785.

metic,

metic, geometry, and mechanics; in political inſtitutions, laws, tribunals, religion, contracts, puniſhments, and a number of moral cuſtoms; were all found in uſe ſo early among the people of hither Aſia, that we could not avoid conſidering the whole cultivation of this region as the remains of an enlightened anteriour world, if we were led to this by no tradition. Only the people wandering at a diſtance about the centre of Aſia became wild and barbarous, ſo that ſooner or later they were to be civilized a ſecond time in various ways.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Babylon, Aſſyria, Chaldea.*

In the extenſive region of hither Aſia, peopled by wandering hordes, the fertile and pleaſant banks of the Tigris and Euphrates muſt ſoon have attracted a number of paſtoral tribes: and as they reſemble a Paradiſe, between mountains on the one hand, and deſerts on the other, there theſe tribes muſt have inclined to fix their reſidence. At preſent indeed this country has loſt much of it's beauty; as it remains almoſt without cultivation, and has been expoſed for centuries to the devaſtations of predatory hordes: yet particular diſtricts ſtill confirm the general teſtimony of the ancient writers, whoſe praiſes of it knew no bounds *. Accordingly this was the birthplace of the firſt monarchies of hiſtory, and an early ſtorehouſe of uſeful arts.

In the courſe of a wandering life nothing could be more natural, than for ſome ambitious ſheik to conceive the deſign of appropriating to himſelf the delightful banks of the Euphrates, and of uniting together a few hordes to maintain the poſſeſſion of them. The hebrew chronicle gives this ſheik the name of Nimrod, who founded his kingdom with the towns of Babylon, Edeſſa, Niſibin, and Cteſiphon: and in the neighbourhood it places another, the kingdom of Aſſyria, with the cities of Reſen, Nineveh, Adiabene, and Calah. From the ſituation of theſe kingdoms, with their nature and origin, aroſe the whole of their ſubſequent deſtiny, till it terminated in their deſtruction. For being founded by different races, and bordering too cloſely on each other, what could follow from the quarrelſome ſpirit common to the hordes of theſe regions, but that they muſt look upon each other as enemies, more than once fall under one ſovereignty, and be diſperſed various ways, by the incurſion of more northern

* See Buſching's Geography, Vol. V, part I.

mountaineers?

mountaineers? This is the brief hiſtory of the kingdoms on the Tigris and Euphrates; which, from ſuch remote periods, and through the mutilated accounts of ſeveral nations, cannot have been handed down to us free from confuſion. In the origin, ſpirit, and conſtitutions of theſe kingdoms, however, both hiſtory and fable agree. They ſprang from ſmall beginnings, and wandering tribes: and they ever retained the character of predatory hordes. Even the deſpotiſm that aroſe in them, and the various ſkill in the arts, for which Babylon was particularly famed, are perfectly conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the country, and the national character of it's inhabitants.

For what were the firſt towns built by theſe fabled monarchs of the World? Great, fortified hordes; the fixed encampments of a tribe, that enjoyed theſe fertile regions, and made excurſions for the purpoſe of plundering others. Hence the vaſt circumference of Babylon, ſo ſoon after it was founded on either ſide the river: hence it's huge walls and towers. The walls were lofty thick ramparts of baked clay, erected for the protection of an extenſive camp of nomades; and the towers were watchtowers. The whole town, interſperſed with gardens, was, according to the expreſſion of Ariſtotle, a peloponneſus. The country furniſhed in abundance materials for this ſort of architecture natural to nomades; clay, namely, out of which they formed bricks, and bitumen, with which they learned to cement them. Thus nature facilitated their labours: and the foundations being once laid in the nomade ſtyle, it was eaſy to enrich and beautify them, when the horde had made excurſions, and returned with booty.

And what were the famous conqueſts of a Ninus, a Semiramis, and the reſt, other than predatory expeditions, like thoſe of the preſent arabs, curdes, and turcomans? The aſſyrians were even by deſcent mountain banditti, whoſe names have been handed down to poſterity with no other renown, than that of having robbed and plundered. From the remoteſt periods the arabs are particularly named in the ſervice of theſe conquerors of the World: and we know the unchangeable way of life of theſe people, which will continue as long as the deſerts of Arabia ſhall endure. At a later period the chaldeans appear on the ſtage: and theſe, both from their deſcent, and their firſt places of abode, were plundering curdes*. In hiſtory they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by nothing but devaſtation: for the fame they have acquired for ſcience is probably an honorary title, which they gained as part of their booty in the conqueſt of

* See Schlœtzer on the chaldees, in the *Repertorium für die morgenländiſche Litteratur*, 'Repertory of oriental Literature,' Vol. VIII, p. 113.

Babylon. Thus we may conſider the fine country bounded by theſe ſtreams as the theatre of wandering tribes, or predatory hordes, both in ancient and modern times, who here collected their plunder in ſtrong holds, till at length they ſank under the voluptuous warmth of the climate, and, debilitated by luxury, became a prey to others.

The celebrated works of art of a Semiramis, or even a Nebuchadnezzar, cannot eaſily be ſuppoſed to ſay more. The earlieſt expeditions of the aſſyrians were towards Egypt: the arts of this peaceful civilized country, therefore, furniſhed in all probability the prototypes for the decoration of Babylon. The famed coloſſal ſtatue of Belus, and the ſculptures on the brick walls of the great city, appear to have been completely in the egyptian ſtyle: and that the fabulous queen repaired to the mountain Bagiſthan, to imprint her image on it's ſummit, plainly indicates an imitation of Egypt. For as the ſouthern country afforded her no granite rocks for an eternal monument, ſhe was impelled to this.

The productions of Nebuchadnezzar, likewiſe, were nothing but coloſſal ſtatues, palaces of brick, and hanging gardens. What was wanting in art and materials was attempted to be made up by magnitude: and at leaſt a babylonian character was given to the more feeble monument by pleaſant gardens. I do not much regret, therefore, the decay of theſe huge piles of earth; for, it is probable, they were far from ranking high as works of art: what I wiſh is, that men would ſeek among their ruins for tables of chaldee writing, which are certainly to be found there, according to the teſtimony of ſeveral travellers *.

Not properly egyptian arts, but the arts of erratic hordes, and afterwards of commerce, belonged to this region, as indeed the nature of it's ſituation demanded. The Euphrates was ſubject to inundations, and conſequently required canals to draw off it's waters, and enable it to impart fertility to a more extenſive diſtrict. Hence the invention of waterwheels and pumps, if they were not borrowed from the egyptians. The country at ſome diſtance from this river, which was once inhabited and fruitful, is now ſterile, becauſe it is a ſtranger to the active hand of induſtry. From the care of cattle to huſbandry the ſtep here was eaſy, as the ſettled inhabitant was invited to it by Nature herſelf. The fine fruits of the garden and the field, that ſpontaneouſly ſhot forth on the banks of the Euphrates with uncommon luxuriance, and richly rewarded the little care they required, converted the ſhepherd, almoſt without his being conſcious of it, into a huſbandman and gardener. A wood of beautiful palmtrees gave him food in their fruits, and timber for the erection of a dwelling more ſe-

* See Della Valle on the ruins near Ardeſh, Niebuhr on the heaps of ruins near Hella, &c.

cure

cure than his tent. The clay baked with facility aſſiſted him in it's conſtruction; and thus the tent was imperceptibly changed for a better, though leſs moveable habitation. The ſame earth afforded him veſſels, and therewith a hundred conveniencies for domeſtic life. He learned to bake bread, and to dreſs his victuals, till at length he was led by commerce to thoſe voluptuous feaſts and entertainments, for which the babylonians were famed in very remote times. From making little idols of baked clay, he ſoon learned to faſhion and bake coloſſal ſtatues; from the models of which to moulds for caſting metals the progreſs was eaſy. As letters or figures imprinted on the ſoft clay were rendered firm by the aid of fire, he learned imperceptibly to preſerve a knowledge of former times in bricks, and improved on the obſervations of his predeceſſors. Even aſtronomy was a fortunate invention of the wandering tribes of theſe regions. The ſhepherd, as he ſat feeding his flocks on the beautiful and extenſive plain, obſerved in quiet leiſure the riſing and ſetting of the bright ſtars in his vaſt and clear horizon. He gave them names, as he gave names to his ſheep, and noted down their changes in his memory. Theſe obſervations were continued on the flat roofs of the houſes of Babylon, on which men amuſed themſelves with converſation after the heat of the day: till at length a particular building was erected for the purpoſe of this attractive and indiſpenſable ſcience, which continued without interruption the records of the celeſtial periods. Thus has Nature incited man to the acquiſition of knowledge and ſcience; ſo that even theſe her gifts are as much local productions, as any others upon Earth. At the foot of Caucaſus her fountains of naphtha put fire into the hand of man; whence we cannot doubt, that the fable of Prometheus originated there: in the pleaſant palm-groves on the banks of the Euphrates ſhe gently moulded the wandering ſhepherd into an induſtrious inhabitant of towns and cities.

Another claſs of babyloniſh arts aroſe from the circumſtance of this country's having been from ancient times, as it ever will be, a central point of the commerce between the eaſt and weſt. No celebrated city aroſe in the heart of Perſia, as no river flowed thence to the ſea: but what points of animation were the Hindus and the Ganges, the Tigris and Euphrates! The Perſian gulf was near, which early enriched Babylon, by the tranſport of the merchandize of India, and made it the parent of commercial induſtry *. The ſplendour of the babylonians in their linen, tapeſtry, needlework, and other ſtuffs, is wellknown: wealth introduced luxury: luxury and induſtry brought the two ſexes cloſer together

* Eichhorn's *Geſchichte des Oſtindiſchen Handels*, 'Hiſtory of the Trade of the Eaſt Indies,' p. 12: Gatterer's *Einleitung zur ſynchroniſtiſchen Univerſalhiſtorie*, 'Introduction to a ſynchroniſtical Univerſal Hiſtory,' p. 77.

than in other aſiatic provinces, to which the reigns of ſome queens probably not a little contributed. In ſhort, the formation of theſe people proceeded ſo entirely from their ſituation and mode of life, that it would have been a ſubject for much wonder, had nothing extraordinary been produced from ſuch circumſtances, in ſuch a part of the World. Nature has her favourite ſpots on the Earth, which, particularly on the banks of rivers, and ſelect parts of the ſeacoaſt, excite and reward the induſtry of man. As an Egypt aroſe on the Nile, a Hindoſtan on the Ganges; here ſhe created a Nineveh and a Babylon, and in more recent times a Seleucia and Palmyra. Had Alexander attained the accompliſhment of his wiſh, to rule the World from Babylon, how different an aſpect would this delightful country have preſerved for ages!

The aſſyrians and babylonians ſhared alſo in alphabetical writing, the poſſeſſion of which the wandering tribes of hither Aſia had reckoned among their advantages from time immemorial. I ſhall not here enter into the queſtion, to what people this noble invention is properly due *: ſuffice it, that all the aramean tribes boaſted of this preſent of the primitive world, and held hieroglyphics in a ſort of religious abomination. I cannot perſuade myſelf, therefore, that hieroglyphics were employed by the babylonians: their magi interpreted the ſtars, events, accidents, viſions, and ſecret writing; but not hieroglyphics. Thus the writing of Fate, that appeared to the revelling Belſhazzar †, conſiſted of letters and ſyllables, which, after the oriental manner, appeared to him in confuſed lines, but not in images. Even the paintings, that Semiramis placed on her walls, the ſyrian letters, that ſhe directed to be cut on the rock of her image, confirm the uſe of letters, without hieroglyphics, among theſe people, in the remoteſt times. Theſe alone rendered it poſſible for the babylonians ſo early to have written contracts, chronicles of their kingdom, and a continued ſeries of celeſtial obſervations: by theſe alone they have tranſmitted themſelves to poſterity as a civilized people. It is true, neither their aſtronomical catalogues, nor any of their writings, have reached us, though they were extant in the time of Ariſtotle: yet, that they once had ſuch gives no ſmall fame to this people.

When we talk of the learning of the chaldeans, however, we muſt not meaſure it by our ſtandard. At Babylon the ſciences were confined excluſively to a claſs of men of learning, who, on the decline of the nation, became ultimately odious impoſtors. They were called chaldeans probably from the period when the chaldeans ruled over Babylon; for the claſs of literati had been a regular order of the ſtate, eſtabliſhed by the government, from the time of Belus: and it is

* Of this elſewhere.

† Daniel V. 5, 25.

very

very likely, that this claſs, by way of flattery to their rulers, aſſumed the name of their nation. They were the philoſophers of the court, and accordingly ſtooped to all the baſe arts and deceptions of court philoſophy. In theſe times, it may be preſumed, they added as little to their ancient ſtores, as the chineſe tribunal to the improvement of learning in China.

The proximity of the mountains, from which ſo many uncivilized nations came thronging down, was in ſome reſpects fortunate, in others unfortunate, to this delightful country. The aſſyrian and babylonian empires were ſubdued by the chaldeans and medes, and theſe were conquered by the perſians, till at length the whole became a ſubjugated deſert, and the ſeat of empire was transferred to a more northern region. Thus we have not much to learn from theſe empires, either in war or politics. Their mode of attack was rude, their conqueſts only plunderings, their polity the miſerable mode of governing by ſatraps, which has almoſt always prevailed among the orientals in theſe parts. Hence the permanent form of theſe monarchies: hence the frequent revolts againſt them, and their total overthrow by the capture of a ſingle city, or one or two general battles. Indeed, ſoon after the empire was firſt overturned, Arbaces endeavoured to eſtabliſh a ſort of connected ariſtocracy of ſatraps: but he did not ſucceed; as all the median and aramean tribes in general knew no mode of government except the deſpotic. Their mode of life had been that of nomades: accordingly their idea of a king was that of a ſheik, and father of a family, and this left no room for political liberty, or the joint ſway of many. As one Sun enlightens the Heavens, ſo ſhould there be but one ruler on Earth, and he ſoon aſſumed all the ſplendour of the Sun, all the glory of a terreſtrial divinity. Every thing flowed from his favour: every thing attached to his perſon: in him the ſtate lived, and with him it commonly terminated. A haram was the court of the prince: he was acquainted with nothing but ſilver and gold, men-ſervants and maid-ſervants, lands that he poſſeſſed as fields of paſture, and herds of men whom he drove wherever he pleaſed, if indeed he forbore from ſlaughtering them. Barbarous government of wandering hordes! yet occaſionally, though but ſeldom, it enjoyed a good prince, the true ſhepherd and father of his people.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Medes and Perſians.*

THE medes are known in the hiſtory of the World for warlike deeds and luxury; but have never diſtinguiſhed themſelves by new inventions, or improvements in the conſtitution of the ſtate. They were mountaineers, brave and ſkilled in horſemanſhip, the natives of a northern country for the moſt part uncultivated. With theſe qualifications, they ſubverted the ancient aſſyrian empire, the ſultans of which indolently ſlumbered in their harams; and ſoon withdrew themſelves from the new empire of Aſſyria. But they were as quickly ſubjected by their ſagacious Dejoces to a rigorous monarchical government, which at length exceeded the perſian itſelf in luxury and ſplendour. At length they were united, under Cyrus the great, with that multitude of nations, which exalted the perſian monarchs into ſovereigns of the World.

If there be any prince, with whom hiſtory ſeems to deviate into fiction, it is Cyrus, the founder of the perſian empire; whether we read the accounts of this child of the gods, the conqueror and lawgiver of nations, given by the hebrews or the perſians, Herodotus or Xenophon. Unqueſtionably the laſt-mentioned pleaſing hiſtorian, who caught the idea of a Cyropedia from his tutor, collected ſome truths concerning him, during his campaigns in Aſia: but as Cyrus had long been dead, he could have heard them only after the aſiatic manner, in that ſtyle of exaggerated praiſe, which theſe people always employ in their accounts of their kings and heroes. Thus Xenophon was to Cyrus, what Homer was to Ulyſſes and Achilles, with regard to whom the poet had ſome truths, on which to build. To us, however, it is of little importance, which of the two deals moſt in fiction: it is ſufficient for our purpoſe, that Cyrus ſubdued Aſia, and founded an empire, which extended from the Hindus to the Mediterranean ſea. If Xenophon have truly deſcribed the manners of the ancient perſians, among whom Cyrus was educated; the german may be proud, that he is probably of a race allied to theirs, and may the Cyropedia be read by every prince in Germany.

But, thou great and good Cyrus, could my voice reach thy grave in Paſagarda, it ſhould interrogate thy duſt, for what purpoſe thou becameſt ſuch a conqueror. In the youthful courſe of thy victories, didſt thou aſk thyſelf of what uſe the innumerable nations, the unbounded regions, ſubjected to

thy name, would be to thyſelf and thy poſterity? Could thy ſpirit be always preſent to them? could it continue to live and operate on all ſucceeding generations? And if not, what a burden didſt thou impoſe on thy ſucceſſors, in giving them to wear the royal robe made up of ſuch complicated patches? It's parts could not fail to break aſunder, or preſs the wearer down. This was the hiſtory of Perſia under the ſucceſſors of Cyrus. His ſpirit of conqueſt ſet before them ſo vaſt an object, that they aimed at enlarging the empire, when it could no longer be enlarged: thus they roamed and ravaged on all ſides, till the ambition of a provoked enemy brought them to a melancholy end. The perſian empire ſubſiſted ſcarcely two centuries; and it is wonderful, that it's duration was ſo long; for it's root was ſo ſmall, and it's branches ſo extenſive, that it muſt of neceſſity fall to the ground.

Whenever the empire of humanity ſhall be eſtabliſhed among mankind, the mad ſpirit of conqueſt, which neceſſarily deſtroys itſelf in a few generations, will immediately be renounced at her dictates. You drive men like cattle; and join them together as if they were inanimate ſubſtances, without reflecting, that they have minds, and that perhaps the laſt, the outermoſt piece of the fabric will break off, and cruſh the builder. A kingdom conſiſting of a ſingle nation is a family, a wellregulated houſhold: it repoſes on itſelf, for it is founded by Nature, and ſtands and falls by time alone. An empire formed by forcing together a hundred nations, and a hundred and fifty provinces, is no body politic, but a monſter.

Such was the perſian empire from the beginning; though it became more evident after the time of Cyrus. His ſon, in every thing elſe different from his father, was deſirous of extending his conqueſts ſtill farther; and ſo madly attacked Egypt and Ethiopia, that ſcarcely famine itſelf could repel him from the deſerts. What did he and his empire gain by it? or in what did he benefit the conquered lands? He ravaged Egypt, and deſtroyed the ſplendid temples and other monuments of art in Thebes. Senſeleſs deſtroyer! Slaughtered generations are replaced by other generations ſucceeding: but ſuch works are never to be reſtored. Even now they lie in ruins, unexplored, and hardly to be diſtinguiſhed: every traveller regrets the madneſs of the ſot, who robbed us of theſe treaſures of antiquity for no cauſe, and to no end.

Scarcely had Cambyſes fallen a victim to his own folly, when even the wiſer Darius ſet out from the point, where he had left off. He attacked the ſcythians and hindoos: he plundered Thrace and Macedonia: yet all that he gained was the diſperſion of ſome ſparks among the macedonians, that in time burſt out into a flame, by which the laſt king of his name was conſumed. The

greeks

greeks he attacked with little ſucceſs; and his ſucceſſor Xerxes aſſailed them with leſs. Now if we read the catalogue of ſhips and men employed in the military expeditions of theſe deſpots, and furniſhed to the mad conqueror by the whole perſian empire; if we conſider the ſeas of blood, that flowed in every revolt of unjuſtly ſubjugated countries on the Euphrates, the Nile, the Hindus, the Halys, and the Araxes, for no other reaſon but that what once was called perſian might retain the name of perſian ſtill; who would ſhed feminine tears, ſuch as Xerxes wept at the ſight of his innocent flock deſtined for ſlaughter, and not rather tears of blood, tears of indignation, that ſuch a ſenſeleſs empire, and ſo inimical to mankind, ſhould bear the ſtamp of a Cyrus on it's forehead? Did any perſian ravager of the World found ſuch kingdoms, cities, and edifices, as he deſtroyed, or endeavoured to deſtroy; Babylon, Thebes, Sidon, Greece, and Athens? Was any one of them capable of founding ſuch?

It is a rigorous yet beneficent law of fate, that all overgrown power, as well as all evil, ſhould deſtroy itſelf. The decline of Perſia commenced with the death of Cyrus: for though it maintained it's external ſplendour for a century, particularly in conſequence of the meaſures taken by Darius, the worm, that gnaws the vitals of every deſpotic empire, lurked within. Cyrus divided his dominions into viceroyalties; and theſe he kept in due ſubjection by his own ſuperintendance, having eſtabliſhed a ſpeedy communication with them all, and watching over the whole himſelf. Darius divided the empire, or at leaſt his court, ſtill more nicely, and ſtood on his elevated ſtation as a juſt and active ruler. But the great kings, born to the throne of deſpotiſm, ſoon became effeminate tyrants. Xerxes, even on his diſgraceful flight from Greece, when far other thoughts ſhould have occupied his mind, began a ſcandalous amour at Sardis. Moſt of his ſucceſſors trod in the ſame ſteps: and thus corruptions, revolts, conſpiracies, aſſaſſinations, unſucceſsful enterprizes, and the like, are almoſt the only remarkable occurrences, that the latter hiſtory of Perſia affords. The minds of the nobles were depraved, and thoſe of the commonalty participated the corruption. At length no ſovereign was ſecure of his life; and the throne tottered even under the beſt princes: till Alexander burſt into Aſia, and in a few battles put an end to the internally unſettled empire. Unhappily this fell out under a monarch, who deſerved a better fate: he innocently ſuffered for the ſins of his forefathers, and died by the baſeſt treachery. If any hiſtory in the World proclaim in conſpicuous characters, that licentiouſneſs deſtroys itſelf, that an unlimited and almoſt lawleſs power is the moſt fearful weakneſs, and that every effeminate government conducted by ſatraps is the moſt infallible poiſon, as well for the prince as for the people; it is the hiſtory of Perſia.

For

For theſe reaſons, there was not a ſingle nation, on which the empire of Perſia had a happy influence: it deſtroyed, and did not build up: it compelled the provinces to pay diſgraceful tributes, one to the queen's girdle, another to her head-dreſs, a third to her necklace; but it did not bind them together by better laws and inſtitutions. All the ſplendour, all the ſuperhuman pomp, all the divine homage, of theſe monarchs, are now no more: their favourites and ſatraps are duſt, like themſelves; and the gold they extorted is perhaps equally buried in the earth. Their very hiſtory is a fable: a fable which, coming from the mouth of a greek and of an aſiatic, can ſcarcely be reconciled. Even the ancient languages of Perſia are dead: and the ſole monuments of it's magnificence, the ruins of Perſepolis, remain, with their elegant letters and coloſſal figures, hitherto inexplicable. Fate has taken vengeance on theſe ſultans: they are ſwept away from the face of the Earth, as if by the peſtilent ſimoom, and where their memory ſurvives, as among the greeks, it ſurvives with diſgrace, the baſis of more famed and more to be admired greatneſs.

Time has favoured us with no mental production of the perſians, except the books of Zoroaſter, if they could be proved to be genuine *. As a whole, however, they agree ſo little with many other accounts of the religion of theſe people; they bear, too, ſuch evident marks of a mixture with later opinions of the bramins and chriſtians; that the groundwork alone can be admitted to be genuine, and this admits of eaſy explanation. The ancient perſians, for example, were, like all rude nations, and particularly mountaineers, worſhippers of the vital elements of the World: but as they quitted their uncivilized ſtate, and raiſed themſelves by their victories almoſt to the higheſt pinnacle of luxury; it was neceſſary, according to the mode of Aſia, that they ſhould have a more refined ſyſtem or ceremonial of religion.

With this they were furniſhed by Zoroaſter, or Zerduſht, under the auſpices of Darius Hyſtaſpes. The ceremonial of the perſian government is evidently the baſis of this ſyſtem. As ſeven princes ſtood round the throne of the king, ſeven ſpirits ſtand before God, and execute his commands throughout the World. Ormuzd, the good power of light, had inceſſantly to contend againſt Ahriman, the prince of darkneſs, while every good being aided him in the conflict: a political idea, which the perſonification of the enemies of Perſia, who appear throughout the Zend-Aveſta as the ſervants of Ahriman, as evil ſpirits, evidently elucidates. All the moral ordinances of this religion too are politic: they relate to purity

* *Zend-Aveſta, Ouvrage de Zoroaſtre*, 'Zend-Aveſta, a Work of Zoroaſter,' by Anquetil du Perron, Paris, 1771.

of

of body and mind, domeſtic harmony, and reciprocity of kind actions: they recommend agriculture, and the planting of uſeful trees; the extermination of vermin, which appear as an army of evil ſpirits in bodily form; attention to decorum; early and prolific marriages; the education of children; honouring the king and his ſervants; love towards the ſtate: and all theſe after the perſian manner. In ſhort, the baſis of this ſyſtem appears obviouſly as a political religion, ſuch as at the time of Darius could no where have been invented and introduced, except in the perſian empire. Ancient national ideas and opinions, too, muſt neceſſarily lie at the bottom of this ſuperſtition. Hence the adoration of fire, which was undoubtedly an ancient religious worſhip, in the neighbourhood of the ſprings of naphtha, near the Caſpian ſea. Hence ſo many ſuperſtitious practices for the purification of the body; and that extreme fear of demons, which, in almoſt every ſenſible object, forms the baſe of the prayers, vows, and ſacred ceremonies of the parſees. All theſe ſhow the low degree of mental cultivation attained by the people, for whoſe benefit this religion was invented: and this is by no means inconſiſtent with the idea we entertain of the ancient perſians. Laſtly, the ſmall part of this ſyſtem, which refers to general notions of nature, is altogether drawn from the doctrines of the magi, which it merely refines and exalts in it's own manner. It ſubjects the two principles of creation, light and darkneſs, to an infinitely ſuperiour being, which it ſtyles boundleſs time; and lets the good every where overcome the evil, and ultimately ſo ſwallow it up, that every thing terminates in a holy kingdom of light. Contemplated on this ſide the political religion of Zoroaſter is a kind of philoſophical theodicy, ſuch as he could offer to the age in which he lived, and the notions that then prevailed.

In this origin we perceive the cauſe, why the religion of Zoroaſter could not poſſeſs the ſtability of the inſtitutions of the bramins and lamas. The deſpotic empire was eſtabliſhed long before it; and thus it was or became only a ſort of monkiſh religion, adapted to the political ſyſtem. Now though Darius ſuppreſſed by force the magi, who formed a diſtinct body of men in the perſian empire; and was eager to introduce this religion, which laid ſpiritual fetters alone on the monarch; it could never be any thing more than a ſect, though it was the ruling ſect for a century. Accordingly the worſhip of fire extended widely: to the left, beyond Media, as far as Cappadocia, where it's temples were ſtanding even in the days of Strabo; to the right, as far as the Hindus. But as the perſian empire completely ſunk beneath the fortune of Alexander, this, the religion of the ſtate, alſo found an end. It's ſeven amſhaſpands ſerved no more, and the image of Ormuzd no longer ſat on the perſian throne. It's ſeaſon

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was paſt, and it became an empty ſhadow, as is the religion of the hindoos out of their own country. By the greeks it was tolerated; at length it was perſecuted with unſpeakable rigour by the mohammedans; and in conſequence it's melancholy remnant took flight to a corner of India; where, like a ruin of antiquity, without end or purpoſe, it continues it's ancient faith and ſuperſtition, calculated for the perſian empire alone, and has amplified it with the opinions of the nations among whom it has been thrown by fate, probably without being conſcious of the change. Such an augmentation naturally ariſes out of the courſe of time and events: for every religion, when forced from it's own ſoil and ſphere, muſt neceſſarily be influenced by the living world around it. For the reſt, the generality of parſees in India are quiet, peaceable, induſtrious people, and, conſidered as a ſociety, ſurpaſs many other religious ſects. They aſſiſt their poor with great zeal, and expel every irreclaimably immoral perſon from their community *.

## CHAPTER III.

### *The Hebrews.*

THE deſcendants of Heber make a very diminutive figure, when we conſider them immediately after the perſians. Their country was ſmall; and the part they acted on the ſtage of the World, both in and out of this country, was inſignificant, as they ſeldom appeared in the character of conquerors. Yet through the will of Fate, and a ſeries of events, the cauſes of which are eaſy to be traced, they have had more influence on other nations, than any people of Aſia: nay in ſome degree, through the mediums of chriſtianity and mohammedaniſm, they have been the ground work of enlightening the greater part of the World.

That the hebrews had written annals of their actions, at a time in which moſt of the now enlightened nations were totally ignorant of writing, annals which they ventured to carry up to the beginning of the World, diſtinguiſhes them in an eminent manner. But they are ſtill more advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed by this, that they neither derived their account from hieroglyphics, nor obſcured it by them; for it is taken merely from family chronicles, and interwoven with hiſtorical tales or poems; and it's value as hiſtory is evidently increaſed by this ſimplicity of form. This account, too, derives ſingular weight from it's having been preſerved for ſome thouſands of years, with al-

* See Niebuhr's Travels.

moſt ſuperſtitious ſcrupuloſity, as a divine prerogative of their race, and introduced by chriſtianity into nations, that have examined and queſtioned, explained and uſed it, with a ſpirit of freedom unknown to the jews. It is indeed remarkable, that the accounts of theſe people given by other nations, by Manetho the egyptian in particular, ſhould differ ſo widely from the hiſtory of the hebrews themſelves: yet, if the latter be impartially conſidered, and the ſpirit of the narrative underſtood, it certainly deſerves more credit, than the ſlanders of foreign enemies, by whom the jews were deſpiſed. I ſcruple not, therefore, to take the hiſtory of the hebrews, as related by themſelves, for my groundwork: begging the reader, at the ſame time, not abſolutely to reject the tales of their enemies with contempt, but merely to read them with caution.

Thus, according to the moſt ancient national ſtories of the hebrews, their progenitor paſſed the Euphrates as ſheik of a wandering horde, and at laſt arrived in Paleſtine. Here he found room without oppoſition, to purſue the paſtoral life of his anceſtors, and worſhip the god of his fathers after the manner of his tribe. His poſterity of the third generation were led into Egypt by the ſingular good fortune of one of their family, and there continued to follow the paſtoral life, without mixing with the inhabitants of the country; till, it is not exactly known in what generation, they were emancipated by their future legiſlator from the contempt and oppreſſion, which from their character of ſhepherds they muſt have experienced among thoſe people, and conducted into Arabia. Here the great man, the greateſt theſe people had ever had, completed his work; and gave them a conſtitution, founded on the religion and mode of life of their fathers it is true, but ſo intermingled with egyptian polity, as on the one hand to raiſe them from a wandering horde to the ſtate of a cultivated nation, yet on the other to wean them completely from Egypt, ſo that they were never after deſirous of treading the ſwarthy ſoil. All the laws of Moſes evince wonderful reflection: they extend from the greateſt to the ſmalleſt things, to ſway the ſpirit of the nation in every circumſtance of life, and to be, as Moſes frequently repeats, an everlaſting law.

This profound ſyſtem of laws was by no means the production of a moment: the legiſlator added to it as circumſtances required, and before his death bound the whole nation to the obſervance of it's future political conſtitution. For forty years he exacted a ſtrict obedience to his injunctions: perhaps ſo long a time was conſumed by the people in the deſerts of Arabia, that, the firſt ſtubborn generation being dead, a people brought up to theſe cuſtoms might ſettle in the land of it's fathers properly qualified for their exerciſe.

But the wiſh of this patriotic man was not fulfilled. The aged Moſes died

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on the confines of the land he ſought; and when his ſucceſſor entered it, he enjoyed not ſufficient authority and reſpect, to follow completely the plan of the lawgiver. The hebrews purſued not their conqueſts ſo far as they ought: they were too precipitate in dividing the land, and ſitting down in peace. The more potent tribes firſt took to themſelves the largeſt portions, ſo that their weaker brethren could ſcarcely find a ſettlement, and one of the tribes indeed was under the neceſſity of being divided *. Beſide this, many ſmaller nations remained in the country: ſo that the iſraelites retained their bittereſt hereditary enemies among them, and deſtroyed that external and internal compact rotundity, which alone could ſecure their preſcribed limits.

From this incomplete eſtabliſhment, that ſeries of inſecure times, which ſcarcely ever permitted the encroaching people to be at reſt, could not but enſue. The leaders, that neceſſity raiſed up, were for the moſt part to be conſidered only as ſucceſsful partiſans: and when at length the people came to be governed by kings, theſe had ſo much to do with their land divided into tribes, that the third was the laſt who reigned over the whole of the disjointed realm. Five ſixths of the kingdom withdrew from his ſucceſſor; and how could two ſuch feeble governments ſubſiſt in the neighbourhood of powerful enemies, to whoſe attacks they were inceſſantly expoſed? The kingdom of Iſrael had properly no regular conſtitution; and it embraced the worſhip of foreign gods, in order to preclude any connexion with it's rival, who worſhipped the legitimate god of it's own land. It was natural, that, according to the language of theſe people, there ſhould be no king in Iſrael that feared the Lord: for, if there had, his people would have gone up to Jeruſalem to worſhip, and his dominion, returning to the monarchy from which it had been torn, would have continued no longer in his hands. Thus they wallowed in the moſt wretched imitation of foreign manners and cuſtoms, till the king of Aſſyria came, and plundered the little realm, as a boy would rob a bird's-neſt. The other kingdom, which at leaſt had the ſupport of the ancient conſtitution, eſtabliſhed by two potent kings, and a fortified capital, held out ſome time longer; though only till a more powerful victor thought it worth his attention. The ſpoiler Nebuchadnezzar came, and made it's feeble monarchs firſt tributaries, and laſtly, after they revolted, ſlaves. The country was ravaged, the capital was raſed, and Judah led to Babylon in as diſgraceful captivity, as Iſrael had been to Media. Thus, conſidered as a ſtate, ſcarcely any nation exhibits a more contemptible figure in hiſtory than this, the reigns of two of it's kings excepted.

* The tribe of Dan got a corner above and to the left of the land. See the *Geiſt der Ebraiſchen Poeſie*, 'Spirit of Hebrew Poetry,' Vol. II.

What was the cauſe of all this? In my opinion it is clear, from the courſe of the narrative itſelf: for it was impoſſible, that a nation with ſuch a defective conſtitution, both internally and externally, ſhould proſper in this part of the World. If David overran the deſert as far as the banks of the Euphrates, and thereby only ſtirred up greater enemies againſt his ſucceſſor, could he thus give the nation the ſtability it wanted, particularly as the ſeat of government was fixed nearly at the ſouthern extremity of the kingdom? His ſon introduced foreign wives, trade, and luxury into the land: into a country, that, like the united cantons of Switzerland, was capable of ſupporting huſbandmen and ſhepherds alone, and actually had ſuch in great multitudes to ſupport. Beſides, as he carried on his trade for the moſt part not by means of his own nation, but of the edomites, whom he had conquered, luxury was pernicious to his kingdom. For the reſt, ſince the time of Moſes no ſecond legiſlator had been found among theſe people, who was capable of bringing back the ſtate, ſhattered from it's beginning, to a fundamental conſtitution ſuitable to the times. The learned claſs ſoon declined; they who were zealous for the laws of the land had voices, but not the arm of power; the kings were for the moſt part either effeminate, or creatures of the prieſts. Thus two things diametrically oppoſite, the refined nomocracy, on which Moſes had ſettled the conſtitution, and a ſort of theocratic monarchy, ſuch as prevailed among all the nations of this region of deſpotiſm, contended together: and thus the law of Moſes became a law of bondage to a people, to whom it was intended to have been a law of political liberty.

In the courſe of time the caſe became altered, but not improved. When the jews, ſet at liberty by Cyrus, returned from bondage, much diminiſhed in number, they had learned many other things, but no genuine political conſtitution. How, indeed, was the knowledge of ſuch a conſtitution to have been acquired in Aſſyria or Chaldea? Their ſentiments fluctuated between monarchical and ſacerdotal government: they built a temple, as if this would have revived the times of Moſes and Solomon: their religion was phariſaical; their learning, a minute nibbling at ſyllables, and this confined to a ſingle book; their patriotiſm, a ſlaviſh attachment to ancient laws miſunderſtood, ſo as to render them ridiculous or contemptible to all the neighbouring nations. Their only hope and conſolation reſted on ſome ancient prophecies, which, equally miſconceived, were ſuppoſed to promiſe them the illuſory ſovereignty of the World. Thus they lived and ſuffered for ſome centuries, under the greeks of Syria, the idumeans, and the romans; till at length, through an animoſity, to which hiſtory ſcarce exhibits a parallel, both the metropolis and the reſt of the country were

were deſtroyed, in a manner that grieved the humane conqueror himſelf. On this they were diſperſed through all the territories of the roman empire; and with the diſperſion ſuch an influence of the jews upon the human race commenced, as could hardly have been conceived from a land of ſuch ſmall extent; ſince theſe people had never diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in the whole courſe of their hiſtory, as ſkilled in war or politics, and ſtill leſs as inventors in the arts and ſciences.

But, ſhortly before the downfal of the jewiſh ſtate, chriſtianity aroſe in the heart of it, and in the beginning not only retained it's connexion with judaiſm, and conſequently admitted the ſacred writings of the jews, but even reſted principally on theſe the divine miſſion of it's Meſſiah. Thus through chriſtianity the books of the jews were introduced to every nation, that embraced the chriſtian doctrines; and according to the manner in which they have been underſtood, and the uſe that has been made of them, they have benefitted or injured the whole chriſtian World. Their effect was good, ſo far as in them Moſes made the doctrine of one god, creator of the World, the baſis of all religion and philoſophy, and, in many poems and precepts throughout theſe writings, ſpoke of this god with a dignity and importance, a gratitude and reſignation, of which few examples are to be found in any other human work. We need not compare theſe books with the Shoo-King of the chineſe, or the Sadder and Zend-Aveſta of the perſians, to perceive the ſuperiority of the hebrew ſcriptures over all the other religious writings of antiquity: a compariſon of them with the much more recent Koran, even though Mohammed availed himſelf of the doctrines both of the jews and chriſtians, will evince their inconteſtible preeminence. It was gratifying alſo to the curioſity of the human mind, to find in theſe books ſuch popular anſwers to the queſtions reſpecting the age and creation of the World, the origin of evil, and the like, as every man could underſtand and comprehend: to ſay nothing of the inſtructive hiſtory of the nation, and the pure morality of ſeveral books in the collection. Be the jewiſh computation of time as it may, it afforded a received and general ſtandard, and a thread with which to connect the events of univerſal hiſtory. Many other advantages of philology, exegeſis, and dialectic, may be paſſed over; as indeed they might have been obtained from other works. In all theſe ways the writings of the hebrews unqueſtionably have had an advantageous effect in the hiſtory of mankind.

With all theſe advantages, however, it is equally inconteſtible, that the miſconception and abuſe of theſe writings have been detrimental to the human mind in various reſpects; and the more as they have operated upon it under the

the claim of being divine. How many abſurd coſmogonies have been framed from the ſimple and ſublime hiſtory of the creation given by Moſes! How many rigid doctrines, and unſatisfactory hypotheſes, have been ſpun from his ſerpent and apple! For ages the forty days of the deluge have formed the peg, on which natural hiſtorians have deemed it indiſpenſable to hang all the phenomena of the ſtructure of our Earth: and for no leſs a time the hiſtorians of the human race have chained down all the nations of the Earth to the people of God, and a miſunderſtood prophetic viſion of four monarchies. Thus many hiſtories have been mutilated, that they might be explained by a hebrew name: the whole ſyſtem of mankind, of the Earth, and of the Sun, has been narrowed, for the purpoſe of vindicating the Sun of Joſhua, and a few years in the duration of the World, the preciſe determination of which could never be the object of theſe writings. How many great men, among whom even a Newton himſelf is to be reckoned, have the jewiſh chronology and the Apocalypſe robbed of time, that might have been employed in more uſeful inquiries! Nay even with regard to morality and political inſtitutions, the writings of the hebrews, by being miſconceived and miſapplied, have impoſed fetters on the minds of thoſe nations, by which they have been acknowledged. For want of making a diſtinction between different periods, and different degrees of intellectual cultivation, the intolerant ſpirit of the jewiſh religion has been deemed a pattern for chriſtians to follow: and paſſages of the Old Teſtament have been adduced to juſtify the inconſiſtent attempt of making chriſtianity, which knows no conſtraint, and is merely a moral ſyſtem, a judaical religion of the ſtate. In like manner it is undeniable, that the ceremonies of the Temple, and even the language of the hebrew worſhip, have influenced the religious ſervice of all chriſtian nations, their hymns, their litanies, and the oratory of their pulpits; ſo that in many inſtances the oriental idiom pervades all their prayers. The laws of Moſes were intended for that climate, and for a nation very differently conſtituted: their laws and political conſtitution, therefore, adapt themſelves fundamentally to no chriſtian people. Thus the choiceſt good, through various miſapplication, verges upon numerous evils. Do not the ſacred elements of nature effect deſtruction? may not the moſt efficacious medicines act as the moſt virulent poiſon?

The nation of the jews itſelf, ſince it's diſperſion, has done ſervice or injury by it's preſence to the people of the Earth, according as they have uſed it. In the early ages chriſtians were conſidered as jews, and deſpiſed or oppreſſed in common with them; they rendering themſelves liable to many of the reproaches of the jews, pride, ſuperſtition, and antipathy to other nations. Afterwards,

wards, when the chriſtians themſelves became oppreſſors of the jews, they almoſt every where gave them an opportunity of engroſſing the internal trade of the country, particularly that in money, by their application as individuals, and the manner in which they were ſpread abroad as a people; ſo that the leſs civilized nations of Europe voluntarily became the ſlaves of their uſury. The ſyſtem of exchange was not invented by them, it is true, but they ſoon brought it to perfection; their inſecurity in mohammedan and chriſtian countries rendering it indiſpenſable to them. Thus this widely diffuſed republic of cunning uſurers unqueſtionably reſtrained many nations of Europe for a long time from exerciſing their own induſtry in trade; for theſe thought themſelves above a jewiſh occupation, and were as little inclined to learn this intelligent and refined ſpecies of induſtry from the ſervile treaſurers of the holy roman world, as the ſpartans to be taught agriculture by their helotes. Should any one collect a hiſtory of the jews from all the countries, into which they have been diſperſed, he would exhibit a picture of mankind, equally remarkable in a natural and political view: for no people upon Earth have been ſpread abroad like theſe; no people upon Earth have remained ſo diſtinguiſhable and active in all climates.

Let no one, however, from this, ſuperſtitiouſly infer a revolution, at ſome period or other to be wrought by theſe people on all the nations of the Earth. All that was intended to be wrought has probably been accompliſhed; and neither in the people themſelves, nor in hiſtorical analogy, can we diſcover the leaſt foundation of any other. The continuance of the jews is as naturally to be explained, as that of the bramins, parſees, or gipſies.

No one, in the mean time, will deny to a people, that has been ſuch an active inſtrument in the hand of Fate, thoſe great qualities, which are conſpicuous in it's whole hiſtory. Ingenious, adroit, and laborious, the jews have always born themſelves up under the ſevereſt oppreſſion from other nations; as for more than forty years in the deſerts of Arabia. They have not wanted warlike courage alſo; as the times of David and the Maccabees ſhow, and ſtill more the laſt and moſt dreadful downfal of their ſtate. In their own country they were once a laborious, induſtrious people; who, like the japaneſe, contrived by means of artificial terraces, to cultivate their naked mountains to the ſummit, and raiſed an incredible number of inhabitants on a narrow ſpace, which was never the firſt in the World for fertility. In the arts, it is true, the jews were always inexpert, though their country was ſituate between Egypt and Phenicia; for even Solomon was obliged to employ foreign workmen in the conſtruction of his temple. In like manner, though they poſſeſſed for ſome time the ports of the Red Sea, and

dwelt ſo near the ſhores of the Mediterranean, they never became a ſeafaring people, in a ſituation ſo favourable for engroſſing the commerce of the World, and with a population their country could ſcarcely ſupport. Like the egyptians they dreaded the ſea, and always choſe rather to live among other nations: a feature of the national character, which Moſes powerfully exerted himſelf to eradicate. In ſhort, they were a people ſpoiled in their education, becauſe they never arrived at a maturity of political cultivation on their own ſoil, and conſequently not to any true ſentiment of liberty and honour. In ſcience, their moſt eminent men have diſplayed more ſervile punctuality and order, than productive freedom of mind; and their ſituation has almoſt ever denied them the virtues of a patriot. The people of God, whoſe country was once given them by Heaven itſelf, have been for thouſands of years, nay almoſt from their beginning, paraſitical plants on the trunks of other nations; a race of cunning brokers, almoſt throughout the whole World; who, in ſpite of all oppreſſion, have never been inſpired with an ardent paſſion for their own honour, for a habitation, for a country, of their own.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Phenicia and Carthage.*

THE phenicians have rendered the World ſervice in a very different manner. They invented glaſs, one of the nobleſt implements in the hands of man; and the accidental occaſion of it's invention at the mouth of the river Belus is recorded in hiſtory. Dwelling on the ſeacoaſt, they were addicted to navigation from time immemorial; for Semiramis procured her fleet to be built by the phenicians. From ſmall veſſels they gradually roſe to ſhips of conſiderable burden: they learned to ſteer their courſe by the ſtars, particularly by the Greater Bear: and at length, being attacked, they were obliged to learn the art of naval war. They ſailed all over the Mediterranean, as far as the ſtrait of Gibraltar; they viſited Britain with their ſhips; and it is probable, that from the Red-Sea they more than once circumnavigated Africa. This they did, not in the character of conquerors, but in that of merchants, and founders of colonies. Lands, which the ſea had divided, they connected together by traffic, by language, and by the productions of art; and they ingeniouſly deviſed every thing, by which this traffic could be promoted. They learned the art of arithmetic, to ſtamp metals, and to form them into various utenſils and ornaments.

They

They diſcovered the purple die, manufactured fine ſidonian linen, procured tin and lead from Britain, ſilver from Spain, amber from the Baltic, and gold from Africa, for which they bartered aſiatic productions. Thus the whole of the Mediterranean formed a part of their kingdom, their colonies were planted up and down it's coaſts, and Tarteſſus in Spain was the celebrated emporium of their commerce between three quarters of the Globe. However extenſive or confined the knowledge they may have imparted to europeans, the gift of letters, which the greeks acquired from them, was at leaſt equal in value to every thing beſides.

But how came this people thus meritoriouſly to diſtinguiſh itſelf in the arts? Was it perchance a fortunate race of the primeval world, advantageouſly endowed by Nature in mental and corporal faculties? By no means. According to all the accounts we have of the phenicians, they were dwellers in caves, deſpiſed, and perhaps driven from their homes, the troglodytes or gipſies of this country. We firſt find them on the ſhores of the Red-Sea, the barren ſoil of which probably afforded them but meagre nutriment: and when they had migrated to the coaſt of the Mediterranean, they long retained their barbarous manners, their inhuman religion, and even their habitations among the rocks of Canaan. Every one knows the deſcription given of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan; and that it is not exaggerated, appears as well from the relics of barbarous ſuperſtition, which for a long time remained even in Carthage itſelf, as from the ſimilar picture of the arabian troglodytes in Job *. The manners of the phenician ſeamen, too, were not eſteemed by foreign nations: they were pilfering, piratical, ſenſual, and treacherous †; ſo that punic faith and honeſty became a proverbial ſtigma.

Neceſſity, and circumſtances, are for the moſt part the inſtruments, that make men every thing. In the deſerts near the Red Sea, where the phenicians lived partly it may be preſumed on fiſh, hunger introduced them to an acquaintance with the watery element; ſo that, when they reached the ſhores of the Mediterranean, they were already prepared to launch out on a more extenſive ſea. What has formed the dutch, what moſt other ſeafaring nations? Neceſſity, ſituation, and accident ‡. All the nations of the race of Shem, believing they had an excluſive claim to the whole of Aſia, hated and deſpiſed the phenicians. Thus the deſcendants of Ham, as intruding foreigners, were confined to the ſea and it's ſterile ſhores. Now that the phenicians ſhould find the

* Job xxx, 3—8.

† See the account which Eumæus gives of the phenicians, Odyſſ. xv, 414, &c. F.

‡ Eichhorn has ſhown this in the caſe of Angria's people alſo: ſee *Geſchichte des Oſtindiſchen Handels*, 'Hiſtory of the Eaſt Indian Trade,' p. 15, 16. Poverty and oppreſſion have been commonly the cauſes, that produced moſt commercial nations, as the venetians, the malays, and others, teſtify.

Mediterranean abounding with ports and iſlands, ſo that they gradually proceeded from land to land, from coaſt to coaſt, and at length beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and were enabled to gather ſuch a rich harveſt by their trade with the uncultivated nations of Europe, aroſe from the circumſtances of the caſe, from the fortunate ſituation created for them by Nature herſelf. As in the primeval period the baſin of the Mediterranean ſea was ſcooped out between the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Appennines, and Atlas, and it's iſlands and points of land gradually roſe to view, forming harbours and habitable lands, the way to the civilization of Europe was pointed out by eternal deſtiny. Had the three quarters of our hemiſphere been united in one, Europe would now probably have been as little civilized as Tatary, or the interiour of Africa: at leaſt it would have been much more ſlowly civilized, and in a different way. To the Mediterranean alone our Earth is indebted for a Phenicia and a Greece, an Etruria and a Rome, a Spain and a Carthage; and through the former four of theſe did Europe attain the degree of civilization it now enjoys.

The ſituation of Phenicia on the land ſide was equally happy. Behind it lay the whole of the fine country of Aſia, with it's wares and inventions, with an inland trade long before eſtabliſhed. Accordingly it enjoyed the advantages not only of foreign induſtry, but of the riches, with which Nature had endowed this quarter of the Globe, and the long labours of antiquity. The people of Europe gave the name of phenician to letters, which the phenicians brought into Europe, but of which it is probable they were not the inventors. So it is to be preſumed the egyptians, babylonians, and hindoos purſued the art of weaving before the ſidonians; as it is a wellknown mode of ſpeaking, both in ancient and modern times, to name wares not from the place where they are manufactured, but from the place that trades in them. The ſkill of the phenicians in architecture may be known from Solomon's temple; which certainly was not to be compared with any one in Egypt, as in it two wretched columns were looked upon as wonders. Their only architectural remains are thoſe vaſt caverns in Phenicia and Canaan, which evince both their troglodytic taſte and deſcent. The people, of egyptian race, undoubtedly rejoiced, to find in this region mountains, in which they could form their habitations and graves, ſtorehouſes and temples. The caves ſtill remain; but their contents have vaniſhed. The archives and collections of books, alſo, which the phenicians poſſeſſed in the times of their ſplendour, are all deſtroyed; and the greeks, by whom their hiſtory was written, no longer exiſt.

Now if we compare theſe induſtrious, flouriſhing commercial towns, with the conquering ſtates on the Euphrates, the Tigris, and mount Caucaſus, no

one will heſitate, to which to give the preference, in reſpect to the hiſtory of mankind. The conquerors conquered for themſelves: the commercial nations ſerved themſelves and others. They rendered the wealth, induſtry, and ſcience of a certain part of the World common to all; and thus could not avoid promoting humanity, perhaps without the deſign. No conqueror, therefore, diſturbs the courſe of nature ſo much, as he who deſtroys flouriſhing commercial towns: for the ruin of theſe generally occaſions the decline of the induſtry and manufactures of whole countries and regions, unleſs ſome neighbouring place quickly ſucceed them. In this the coaſt of Phenicia was happy: it's ſituation renders it indiſpenſable to the trade of Aſia. When Nebuchadnezzar depreſſed Sidon, Tyre ſprang up: when the macedonian conqueror deſtroyed Tyre, Alexandria flouriſhed: but commerce never completely deſerted this region. Carthage, too, was benefitted by the deſtruction of the ancient wealthy Tyre, but not with conſequences ſo important to Europe, as thoſe of the more early phenician commerce; for the time was gone by.

The internal conſtitution of the phenicians has been generally conſidered as the firſt tranſition from the monarchies of Aſia to a ſort of republic, which commerce requires. The deſpotic power of the kings in their ſtates was weakened, ſo that they never attempted conqueſts. Tyre was a long time ruled by ſuffetes; and this form of government obtained a more firm eſtabliſhment in Carthage: thus theſe two ſtates are the firſt precedents of great commercial republics in hiſtory, and their colonies are the firſt examples of a more uſeful and refined dominion, than thoſe which a Nebuchadnezzar and a Cambyſes eſtabliſhed. This was a great ſtep in the civilization of mankind. Thus commerce awakened induſtry: the ſea repreſſed or ſet bounds to the conqueror, and gradually changed him, againſt his will, from a ſubjugating robber to a peaceful negotiator. Mutual wants, and particularly the more feeble power of a ſtranger on a diſtant ſhore, gave birth to the firſt more equitable intercourſe between nations. How do the ancient phenicians put to ſhame the europeans for their ſenſeleſs conduct, when, in ſo much later ages, and with ſo much more ſkill in the arts, they diſcovered the two Indies! Theſe made ſlaves, preached the croſs, and exterminated the natives: thoſe, in the proper ſenſe of the term, conquered nothing: they planted colonies, they built towns, and rouſed the induſtry of the nations, which, after all the deceptions of the phenicians, learned at length to know and profit by their own treaſures. Will any part of the Globe be indebted to Europe rich in arts, ſo much as Greece was indebted to the leſs cultivated phenicians?

The influence of Carthage on the nations of Europe was far from being ſo im-

portant as that of Phenicia: owing aſſuredly to the change of time, ſituation, and the ſtate of things. As a colony from Tyre, it was not without difficulty, that it eſtabliſhed itſelf on the diſtant ſhore of Africa: and being obliged to fight for the extenſion of it's boundary, it gradually imbibed a luſt of conqueſt. Hence it acquired a more brilliant and artfully contrived form than the parent ſtate; but more advantageous in it's conſequences, neither to the republic, nor to mankind. Carthage was a city, not a nation: ſo that it was incapable of diffuſing civilization and a ſpirit of patriotiſm over any extent of country. The territory it acquired in Africa, and in which, at the commencement of the third punic war, it reckoned, according to Strabo, three hundred towns, contained ſubjects, over whom the conquerors ruled as lords, but no fellow-citizens of the ſovereign ſtate. This indeed the nearly uncivilized africans never ſtrove to become: for even in their wars againſt Carthage they appeared either as revolted ſlaves, or hired ſoldiers. Thus the interiour parts of Africa derived very little civilization from Carthage, as the object of this city, a few of the families of which had extended their ſway beyond it's walls, was not to propagate humanity, but to collect treaſure. The crude ſuperſtition, that prevailed among the carthaginians to the lateſt times; the barbarous manner, in which they tyrannically put to death their unſucceſsful generals, even when no blame could be imputed to them; and their general conduct in foreign countries; evince the cruelty and avarice of this ariſtocratic ſtate, which ſought nothing but gain, and african ſervility.

The ſituation and conſtitution of Carthage are ſufficient to account for this barbarity. Inſtead of commercial ſettlements after the phenician manner, which the carthaginians deemed too inſecure, they erected fortreſſes; and at a time when the ſtate of the World was ſo much improved, they attempted to ſecure the ſovereignty of the coaſts, as if every place were Africa. But being obliged to employ for this purpoſe mercenaries, or enſlaved barbarians; and ſuch a proceeding involving them in quarrels with people, who for the moſt part refuſed to be treated any longer as ſavages; theſe quarrels could produce nothing but bloodſhed, and bitter enmity. The fruitful Sicily, Syracuſe in particular, was often aſſaulted by them: and at firſt very unjuſtly, as it was merely in conſequence of a treaty with Xerxes. They went againſt a grecian people as the barbarous auxiliaries of a barbarian, and ſhowed themſelves worthy of the part. Selinus, Himera, and Agrigentum, Saguntum in Spain, and many rich provinces in Italy, were plundered or deſtroyed by them. Nay more blood was ſhed on the beautiful plains of Sicily alone, than all the trade of Carthage could compenſate. Much as Ariſtotle praiſes the conſtitution of this

this republic in a political view, as little merit has it in the hiſtory of the human race: for in it a few families of the city, conſiſting of barbarous wealthy merchants, employed the arms of mercenaries to contend for the monopoly of their gain, and appropriate to themſelves the ſovereignty of every country, by which this gain could be promoted. Such a ſyſtem has in it nothing amiable: and therefore, however unjuſt moſt of the wars of the romans againſt Carthage were, and much as the names of Aſdrubal, Hamilcar, and Hannibal, demand our reverence, we ſhall hardly become carthaginians, when we contemplate the internal ſtate of the mercantile republic, which theſe heroes ſerved. From it they experienced ſufficient trouble, and were frequently rewarded with the blackeſt ingratitude: for his country would even have delivered up Hannibal himſelf to the romans, to ſave a few pounds weight of gold, had he not withdrawn himſelf by flight from this punic reward for his ſervices.

Far be it from me, to rob one noble carthaginian of the leaſt of his merits: for even Carthage, though erected on the loweſt ground of avaricious conqueſt, has produced great minds, and nouriſhed a multitude of arts. Of warriours the family of Barcha in particular will be immortal; the flame of whoſe ambition mounted the higher, the more the jealouſy of Hanno ſtrove to quench it. But for the moſt part even in the heroic ſpirit of the carthaginians a certain harſhneſs is obſervable; whence a Gelo, a Timoleon, a Scipio, appear, on compariſon, as free men compared to ſlaves. Thus barbarous was the heroiſm of thoſe brothers, who ſuffered themſelves to be buried alive, to preſerve an unjuſt boundary to their country: and in more urgent caſes, as when Carthage itſelf was threatened, their valour in general aſſumed the appearance of ſavage deſperation. Yet it is not to be denied, that Hannibal in particular was the tutor of it's hereditary enemies, the romans, who from him learned to conquer the World, in the more refined parts of the art of war. In like manner all the arts, that were in any way ſubſervient to commerce, naval architecture, maritime war, or the acquiſition of wealth, flouriſhed in Carthage: though the carthaginians themſelves were ſoon conquered at ſea by the romans. In the fertile ſoil of Africa agriculture was of all arts that, which tended moſt to promote their trade; and into this, as a rich ſource of gain, the carthaginians introduced many improvements. But unfortunately the barbarous ſtate of the romans occaſioned the deſtruction of all the books of the carthaginians, as well as of their town: we know nothing of the nation, but from it's enemies, and a few ruins, which ſcarcely enable us to gueſs at the ſeat of the anciently famed miſtreſs of the ſea. It is to be lamented, that the principal figure Carthage makes in hiſtory is on occaſion of her conteſts with Rome: this wolf, that was afterwards

to

to ravage the World, was firſt to exerciſe her powers againſt an african jackal, till he fell beneath her jaws.

## CHAPTER V.

### *The Egyptians.*

We now come to a country, which, on account of it's antiquity, it's arts, and it's political inſtitutions, ſtands like an enigma of the primeval World, and has copiouſly exerciſed the conjectural ſkill of the inquirer. This is Egypt. The moſt authentic information we have reſpecting it is derived from it's antiquities; thoſe vaſt pyramids, obeliſks, and catacombs; thoſe ruins of canals, cities, columns, and temples; which, with their hieroglyphics, are ſtill the aſtoniſhment of travellers, as they were the wonder of the ancient World. What an immenſe population, what arts and government, but more eſpecially what a ſingular way of thinking, muſt have been requiſite, to excavate theſe rocks, or pile them upon one another; not only to delineate and carve ſtatues of animals, but to inter them as ſacred; to form a wilderneſs of rocks as an abode for the dead; and to eternize in ſtone the ſpirit of an egyptian prieſthood in ſuch multifarious ways! There ſtand, there lie, all thoſe relics, which, like a ſacred ſphinx, like a grand problem, demand an explanation.

Part of theſe works, of obvious utility, or indiſpenſable to the country, explain themſelves. Such are the aſtoniſhing canals, dikes, and catacombs. The canals ſerved to convey the Nile to the remoteſt parts of Egypt, which now, from their ruin, are become ſilent deſerts. The dikes enabled cities to eſtabliſh themſelves in the fertile valley, which the Nile overflows, and which, truly the heart of Egypt, feeds the whole land. The catacombs, too, ſetting aſide the religious notions which the egyptians connected with them, unqueſtionably contributed to the healthineſs of the air, and prevented thoſe diſeaſes, which are the common peſts of hot and humid climates. But to what purpoſe the enormity of theſe tombs? whence, and why, the labyrinth, the obeliſks, the pyramids? whence the marvellous taſte, on which the ſphinxes and coloſſuſes have ſo laborioufly conferred immortality? Are the egyptians the primitive nation, ſprung from the mud of the Nile, to branch over all the World? or, if they be not indigenous, what circumſtances, what motives, have rendered them ſo totally different from all the people that dwell around?

In my opinion the natural hiſtory of the country is ſufficient to ſhow, that the egyptians are no primitive indigenous nation: for not only ancient tradition, but every rational geogony expreſsly ſays, that Upper Egypt was the earlier

earlier peopled, and that the lower country was in reality gained from the mud of the Nile by the ſkilful induſtry of man. Ancient Egypt, therefore, was on the mountains of the Thebaid; where too was the reſidence of it's ancient kings: for had the land been peopled by the way of Suez, it is inconceivable, why the firſt kings of Egypt ſhould have choſen the barren Thebaid for their abode. If, on the other hand, we follow the population of Egypt, as it lies before our eyes; in it we ſhall likewiſe find the cauſe, why it's inhabitants became ſuch a ſingular and diſtinguiſhed people, even from their cultivation. They were no amiable circaſſians, but, in all probability, a people of the ſouth of Aſia, who came weſtwards acroſs the Red-Sea, or perhaps farther off, and gradually ſpread from Ethiopia over Upper Egypt. The land here being bounded as it were by the inundations and marſhes of the Nile, is it to be wondered, that they began to conſtruct their habitations as troglodytes in the rocks, and afterwards gradually gained the whole of Egypt by their induſtry, improving themſelves as they improved the land? The account Diodorus gives of their ſouthern deſcent, though intermingled with various fables of his Ethiopia, is not only probable in the higheſt degree, but the ſole key to an explanation of this people, and it's ſingular agreement with ſome diſtant nations in the eaſt of Aſia.

As I could purſue this hypotheſis here but very imperfectly, it muſt be deferred to another place, availing myſelf only of ſome of it's evident conſequences, with regard to the figure made by this people in the hiſtory of mankind. The egyptians were a quiet, induſtrious, wellmeaning people, as their political conſtitution, their arts, and their religion, collectively demonſtrate. No temple, no column of Egypt, has a gay, airy, grecian appearance: of this deſign of art they had no idea, it never was their aim. The mummies ſhow, that the figure of the egyptians was by no means beautiful; and as the human form appeared to them, ſuch would neceſſarily be their imitations of it. Wrapped up in their own land, as in their own religion and conſtitution, they had an averſion to foreigners: and as, conformably to their character, fidelity and preciſion were their principal objects in the imitative arts; as their ſkill was altogether mechanical, and indeed in it's application to religious purpoſes was confined to a particular tribe, while at the ſame time it turned chiefly on religious conceptions; no deviations toward ideal beauty, which without a natural prototype is a mere phantom *, were in the leaſt to be expected in this country †. In recompenſe they turned their attention ſo much the more to ſolidity, durability, and

* Of this in another place.

† That African forms may coaleſce with Ideal Beauty, is proved by every head of Meduſa; but chiefly that of the palace Rondanini at Rome. F.

gigantic

gigantic magnitude; or to finiſhing with the utmoſt induſtry of art. In that rocky land, their ideas of temples were taken from vaſt caverns: hence in their architecture they were fond of majeſtic immenſity. Their mummies gave the hint of their ſtatues: whence their legs were naturally joined, and their arms cloſed to the body; a poſture of itſelf tending to durability. To ſupport cavities, and ſeparate tombs, pillars were formed: and as the egyptians derived their architecture from the vaults of rocks, and underſtood not our mode of erecting arches, the pillar, frequently gigantic, was indiſpenſable. The deſerts, by which they were ſurrounded, the regions of the dead, which from religious notions floated in their minds, alſo moulded their ſtatues to mummies, wherein not action, but eternal reſt, was the character, on which their art fixed.

The pyramids and obeliſks of the egyptians appear to me leſs calculated to excite wonder. Pyramids have been erected on graves in all parts of the World, even in Otaheite; not ſo much as emblems of the immortality of the ſoul, as tokens of a laſting remembrance after death. Their origin on theſe graves may be traced to thoſe rude heaps of ſtone, which were formed as memorials by ſeveral nations in very remote antiquity. The rude heap of ſtones aſſumed the form of a pyramid, that it might acquire greater ſtability. When art applied itſelf to this general cuſtom, as no occaſion of a memorial is ſo dear to the human mind as the interment of the revered dead, the heap of ſtones, at firſt perhaps deſigned to protect the corpſe from the fangs of wild beaſts, was naturally transformed into a pyramid, or column, erected with more or leſs ſkill. Now that the egyptians ſhould excel other nations in theſe ſtructures, aroſe from the ſame cauſe as the durable architecture of their temples and catacombs: namely, they poſſeſſed ſtone ſufficient for theſe monuments, as the greater part of Egypt is properly one rock; and they had hands enough to build them, as, in their fertile and populous country, the Nile manures the ſoil, and agriculture demands little labour. Beſides, the ancient egyptians lived with great temperance: thouſands of men, who laboured for centuries like ſlaves at theſe memorials, were ſo eaſily maintained, that it depended merely on the will of a king, to erect inconceivable maſſes of this kind. The lives of individuals were eſtimated differently then, when their names were reckoned only in tribes and diſtricts, than they are now. The uſeleſs labour of numbers was then more eaſily ſacrificed to the will of a monarch, who was deſirous of ſecuring to himſelf immortality by ſuch a heap of ſtones, and retaining the departed ſoul in an embalmed corpſe, conformably to his religious notions; till this, like many other uſeleſs arts, became in time an object of emulation. One king imitated another, or ſought to exceed him; while the eaſy people conſumed their

their days in the ſtructure of theſe monuments. Thus probably aroſe the pyramids and obeliſks of Egypt: they were built only in the remoteſt times; for later ages, and nations, employed in more uſeful works, ceaſe to erect pyramids. Thus, far from being tokens of the happineſs and enlightened minds of the ancient egyptians, the pyramids are incontrovertible teſtimonies of the ſuperſtition and thoughtleſſneſs, both of the poor by whom they were built, and of the ambitious by whom their erection was commanded. Secrets are in vain ſought within the pyramids, or concealed wiſdom from the obeliſks: for if the hieroglyphics of the latter could be deciphered, what is it poſſible we ſhould read in them, except a chronicle of forgotten events, or a ſymbolic apotheoſis of their builders? And then, what are theſe maſſes to a mountain of Nature's erection?

Beſides, inſtead of inferring profound wiſdom from the hieroglyphics of the egyptians, they rather demonſtrate the reverſe. Hieroglyphics are the firſt rude infantile eſſay of the human mind, when ſeeking characters to denote it's thoughts: the rudeſt ſavages of America had hieroglyphics ſufficient to anſwer their occaſions; for could not the mexicans convey information of the moſt unheard of events, of the arrival of the ſpaniards for inſtance, in hieroglyphics? But what poverty of ideas, what a ſtagnation of the mind, do the egyptians diſplay, in ſo long retaining this imperfect mode of writing, and continuing to paint it for centuries with immenſe trouble on rocks and walls! How confined muſt have been the knowledge of a nation, and of it's numerous learned order, who could content themſelves for ſome thouſands of years with theſe birds and ſtrokes! For their ſecond Hermes, who invented letters, lived very late; and he was no egyptian. The alphabetical writing on the mummies conſiſts wholly of the foreign phenician letters, intermingled with hieroglyphical characters, and therefore in all probability learned from the phenician traders. The chineſe themſelves have advanced farther than the egyptians, and from ſimilar hieroglyphics have invented actual notations of thought, to which theſe, as it appears, never attained. Is it to be wondered, then, that a nation ſo poor in writing, and yet not without capacity, ſhould have been eminent in mechanic arts? Their road to ſcience was obſtructed by hieroglyphics, and thus their attention was the more turned towards objects of ſenſe. The fertile valley of the Nile rendered their agriculture eaſy: they learned to meaſure and calculate thoſe periodical inundations, on which their welfare depended. A people, whoſe life and comforts were connected with one ſingle natural change, which, annually recurring, formed an eternal national calendar, muſt ultimately become expert in the meaſure of the year and the ſeaſons.

Thus all the acquaintance with nature and the heavens, for which this ancient people is famed, was the natural offspring of the country and climate. Encloſed between mountains, ſeas, and deſerts; in a narrow fertile valley, where every thing depended on one natural phenomenon, and every thing recalled that phenomenon to the mind; where the ſeaſons of the year, and the produce of the harveſt, winds and diſeaſes, inſects and birds, were governed by one and the ſame revolution, the overflowing of the Nile: could the grave egyptian, and his numerous order of idle prieſts, fail ultimately to collect a ſort of hiſtory of nature and the heavens? From all quarters of the World it is known, that confined ſenſual nations have the moſt copious practical knowledge of their country, though not learned from books. The hieroglyphics of the egyptians were rather injurious than beneficial to ſcience. They converted the lively obſervation into an obſcure and dead image, which aſſuredly could not advance, but retarded the progreſs of the underſtanding. It has been much diſputed, whether the hieroglyphics concealed ſacerdotal myſteries. To me it appears, that every hieroglyphic from it's nature contained a ſecret; and a ſeries of them, preſerved excluſively by a particular body of men, muſt neceſſarily have remained a myſtery to the many, even ſuppoſing they were preſented to them at every turn. They could not be initiated into the ſtudy of them, for this was not their buſineſs; and of themſelves they could not diſcover their meaning. Hence the neceſſary want of an extenſive diffuſion of knowledge in every land, in every body of men, poſſeſſed of hieroglyphic wiſdom, as it is called, whether taught by prieſts or laymen. Every one was not capable of deciphering it's ſymbols, and what is not eaſy to be learned without a tutor muſt, from it's very nature, be kept as a myſtery. Thus every hieroglyphical ſcience of modern times is a ridiculous obſtacle to a free diffuſion of knowledge; while in ancient times hieroglyphics were no more than the moſt imperfect mode of writing. It would be abſurd, to expect a man of himſelf to learn to underſtand what might be explained in a thouſand different ways; and to ſtudy arbitrary ſymbols, as if they were neceſſarily permanent things, would be endleſs labour. Hence Egypt has always remained a child in knowledge, becauſe it always expreſſed it's knowledge as a child, and it's infantile ideas are probably for ever loſt to us.

Thus we can do little more than gueſs at the rank attained by the egyptians in religion and politics, while we have been able to mark that, which many other nations of high antiquity have reached, and can ſtill in ſome meaſure obſerve, what the people in the eaſt of Aſia have attained. Indeed, could it be rendered probable, that much of the knowledge of the egyptians was not eaſy to have been

been diſcovered in their country; but that they merely continued to exerciſe it after received rules and premiſes, and adapted it to their own land; their infant ſtate in all theſe ſciences would be much more obvious. Hence probably their long regiſter of kings, and of the ages of the World: hence their ambiguous hiſtories of Oſiris, Iſis, Horus, Typhon, and the reſt: hence a great number of their religious fables. Their principal religious notions were common to ſeveral people of Upper Aſia; only they were here clothed in hieroglyphics, adapted to the natural hiſtory of the country, and the character of the people. The leading features of their political conſtitution were familiar to other nations in a ſimilar ſtage of cultivation; but here they were more finiſhed, and employed in their own manner, by a people encloſed in the beautiful valley of the Nile *. Egypt would not eaſily have attained the high reputation it enjoys for wiſdom, but for it's leſs remote ſituation, the ruins of it's antiquities, and above all the tales of the greeks.

This very ſituation likewiſe ſhows the rank it occupies among the nations. Few have ſprung from it, or been civilized by it: of the former I know only the phenicians; of the latter, the jews and greeks. How far it's influence has extended into the interiour of Africa we are ignorant. Poor egyptians! how are they changed! Once laborious, and endued with patient induſtry, a thouſand years of deſpair have reduced them to indolence and wretchedneſs. At the nod of a pharaoh, they ſpun and wove, dug in the mountains and raiſed ſtones, purſued the arts and cultivated the land. Patiently they ſuffered themſelves to be ſhut up from the reſt of the World, and divided into bands for the purpoſe of labour; they were prolific, and brought up their children with toil; ſhunned foreigners, and enjoyed their own ſecluded country. When once their land was laid open, or rather when Cambyſes ſhowed the way to it, it was for ages a prey to nation after nation. Perſians and greeks, romans, byzantines, arabs, fatimites, curdes, mamalukes, and turks, annoyed it one after the other; and it's fine climate ſtill remains a melancholy theatre of arabian depredations and turkiſh barbarity †.

* The conjectures on this ſubject muſt be deferred to another place.

† The mind of every reader will add a note to this period. F.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Farther Hints toward a Philoſophy of the Hiſtory of Man.*

HAVING now gone over a conſiderable extent of human events and inſtitutions, from the Euphrates to the Nile, from Perſepolis to Carthage, let us ſit down, and take a retroſpective view of our journey.

What is the principal law, that we have obſerved in all the great occurrences of hiſtory? In my opinion it is this: *that every where on our Earth whatever could be has been, according to the ſituation and wants of the place, the circumſtances and occaſions of the times, and the native or generated character of the people.* Admit active human powers, in a determinate relation to the age, and to their place on the Earth, and all the viciſſitudes in the hiſtory of man will enſue. Here kingdoms and ſtates cryſtallize into ſhape: there they diſſolve, and aſſume other forms. Here from a wandering horde riſes a Babylon: there from the ſtraitened inhabitants of a coaſt ſprings up a Tyre: here, in Africa, an Egypt is formed: there, in the deſerts of Arabia, a jewiſh ſtate: and all theſe in one part of the World, all in the neighbourhood of each other. Time, place, and national character alone, in ſhort the general cooperation of active powers in their moſt determinate individuality, govern all the events that happen among mankind, as well as all the occurrences in nature. Let us place this predominant law of the creation in a ſuitable light.

1. *Active human powers are the ſprings of human hiſtory:* and as man originates from and in one race, his figure, education, and mode of thinking, are thus genetic. Hence that ſtriking national character, which, deeply imprinted on the moſt ancient people, is unequivocally diſplayed in all their operations on the Earth. As a mineral water derives it's component parts, it's operative powers, and it's taſte, from the ſoil through which it flows; ſo the ancient character of nations aroſe from the family features, the climate, the way of life and education, the early actions and employments, that were peculiar to them. The manners of the fathers took deep root, and became the internal prototype of the race. The mode of thinking of the jews, which is beſt known to us from their writings and actions, may ſerve as an example: in the land of their fathers, and in the midſt of other nations, they remain as they were; and even when mixed with other people they may be diſtinguiſhed for ſome generations downward. It was, and it is the ſame with all the nations of antiquity, egyptians, chineſe, arabs,

hindoos, &c. The more secluded they lived, nay frequently the more they were oppressed, the more their character was confirmed: so that, if every one of these nations had remained in it's place, the Earth might have been considered as a garden, where in one spot one human national plant, in another, another, bloomed in it's proper figure and nature; where in this spot one species of animal, in that, another, pursued it's course, according to it's instincts and character.

But as men are not firmly rooted plants, the calamities of famine, earthquakes, war, and the like, must in time remove them from their place to some other more or less different. And though they might adhere to the manners of their forefathers with an obstinacy almost equal to the instinct of the brute, and even apply to their new mountains, rivers, towns, and establishments, the names of their primitive land; it would be impossible for them, to remain eternally the same in every respect, under any considerable alteration of soil and climate. Here the transplanted people would construct a wasp's nest, or anthill, after their own fashion. The style would be a compound arising from the ideas imbibed in their original country, and those inspired by the new: and this may commonly be called the youthful bloom of the nation. Thus did the phenicians, when they retired from the Red-Sea to the shores of the Mediterranean: thus Moses endeavoured to form the israelites: and so has it been with several asiatic nations; for almost every people upon Earth has migrated at least once, sooner or later, to a greater distance, or a less. It may readily be supposed, that in this much depended on the time when the migration took place, the circumstances by which it was occasioned, the length of the way, the previous state of civilization of the people, the reception they met with in their new country, and the like. Thus even in unmixed nations the computations of history are so perplexed, from geographical and political causes, that it requires a mind wholly free from hypothesis to trace the clew. This clew is most easily lost by one, with whom a particular race of the people is a favourite, and who despises every thing, in which this race has no concern. The historian of mankind must see with eyes as impartial as those of the creator of the human race, or the genius of the Earth, and judge altogether uninfluenced by the passions. To the naturalist, who would acquire a just knowledge and arrangement of all his classes, the rose and the thistle, the polecat, the sloth, and the elephant, are equally dear; he examines that most, from which most is to be learned. Now Nature has given the whole Earth to mankind, her children; and allowed every thing, that place, time, and power would permit, to spring up thereon. Every thing that can exist, exists; every thing that is possible to be produced, will be produced; if not to day, yet to morrow. Nature's year is long: the blossoms

of

of her plants are as various as the plants themſelves, and the elements by which they are nouriſhed. In Hindoſtan, Egypt, and China, in Canaan, Greece, Rome, and Carthage, took place, what would have occurred no where elſe, and at no other period. The law of neceſſity and convenience, compoſed of power, time, and place, every where produces different fruits.

2. If the complexion of a kingdom thus depend principally on *the time and place in which it aroſe, the parts that compoſed it, and the external circumſtances by which it was ſurrounded*, we perceive the chief part of it's fate ſpring alſo from theſe. A monarchy framed by wandering tribes, whoſe political ſyſtem is a continuation of their former mode of life, will ſcarcely be of long duration: it ravages, and ſubjugates, till at laſt itſelf is deſtroyed: the capture of the metropolis, or frequently the death of a king alone, is ſufficient to drop the curtain on the predatory ſcene. Thus it was with Babylon and Nineveh, with Ecbatana and Perſepolis, and ſo it is with Perſia ſtill. The empire of the great moguls in Hindoſtan is nearly at an end: and that of the turks will not be laſting, if they continue chaldeans, that is foreign conquerors, and do not eſtabliſh their government on a more moral foundation. Though the tree lift it's head to the ſkies, and overſhadow whole quarters of the Globe, if it be not rooted in the earth, a ſingle blaſt of wind may overturn it. It may fall through the undermining of a treacherous ſlave, or by the axe of a daring ſatrap. Both the ancient and modern hiſtories of Aſia are filled with theſe revolutions; and thus the philoſophy of ſtates finds little to learn in them. Deſpots are hurled from the throne, and deſpots exalted to it again: the kingdom is annexed to the perſon of the monarch, to his tent, to his crown: he who has theſe in his power is the new father of the people, that is the leader of an overbearing band of robbers. A Nebuchadnezzar was terrible to the whole of Hither Aſia, and under his ſecond ſucceſſor his unſtable throne lay proſtrate in the duſt. Three victories of an Alexander completely put an end to the vaſt perſian monarchy.

It is not ſo with ſtates, which, ſpringing up from a root, reſt on themſelves: they may be ſubdued, but the nation remains. Thus it is with China: we well know how much labour it coſt it's conquerors, to introduce there a ſimple cuſtom, the mungal mode of cutting the hair. Thus it is with the bramins and jews, whoſe ceremonial ſyſtems will eternally ſeparate them from all the nations upon Earth. Thus Egypt long withſtood any intermixture with other nations: and how difficult was it to extirpate the phenicians, merely becauſe they were a people rooted in this ſpot! Had Cyrus ſucceeded in founding an empire like thoſe of Yao, Criſhna, and Moſes, it would ſtill ſurvive, though mutilated, in all it's members.

Hence

Hence we may infer the reaſon, why ancient political conſtitutions laid ſo much ſtreſs on the formation of manners by education; as their internal ſtrength depended wholly on this ſpring. Modern kingdoms are built on money, or mechanical politics; the ancient, on the general way of thinking of a nation from it's infancy: and as nothing has a more efficacious influence upon children than religion, moſt of the ancient ſtates, particularly thoſe of Aſia, were more or leſs theocratic. I know the averſion in which this name is held, as to it all the evil, that has at any time oppreſſed mankind, is in great meaſure aſcribed. It's abuſes I will by no means undertake to defend: but at the ſame time it is true, that this form of government is not only adapted to the infancy of the human race, but neceſſary to it; otherwiſe, aſſuredly, it would neither have extended ſo far, nor have maintained itſelf ſo long. It has prevailed from Egypt to China, nay in almoſt every country upon Earth; ſo that Greece was the firſt, which gradually ſeparated religion from it's legiſlation. And as every religion is more efficacious in a political view, the more it's objects, it's gods and heroes, and their various actions, are indigenous; we find every firmly rooted ancient nation has appropriated it's coſmogony and mythology to the country it inhabited. The iſraelites alone diſtinguiſh themſelves from all their neighbours in this, that they aſcribe neither the creation of the World, nor that of man, to their own country. Their lawgiver was an enlightened foreigner, who never reached the land they were afterwards to poſſeſs: their anceſtors had inhabited another country: and their laws were framed out of their own territories. This afterwards contributed probably to render the jews more ſatisfied in a foreign land, than almoſt any other ancient nation. The bramin, the ſiameſe, cannot live out of his own country: and as the jew of Moſes is properly a creature of Paleſtine, out of Paleſtine there ſhould be no jew.

3. Finally, from the whole region over which we have wandered, we perceive *how tranſitory all human ſtructures are, nay how oppreſſive the beſt inſtitutions become in the courſe of a few generations.* The plant bloſſoms, and fades: your fathers have died, and mouldered into duſt: your temple is fallen: your tabernacle, the tables of your law, are no more: language itſelf, that bond of mankind, becomes antiquated: and ſhall a political conſtitution, ſhall a ſyſtem of government or religion, that can be erected ſolely on theſe, endure for ever? If ſo, the wings of Time muſt be enchained, and the revolving Globe hang fixed, an idle ball of ice over the abyſs. What ſhould we ſay now, were we to ſee king Solomon ſacrifice twenty two thouſand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thouſand ſheep, at a ſingle feſtival? or hear the queen of Sheba trying him with riddles at an entertainment? What ſhould we think of the wiſdom of the egyptians, when the bull Apis, the ſacred cat, and the ſacred goat,

goat, were ſhown to us in the moſt ſplendid temples? It is the ſame with the burdenſome ceremonies of the bramins, the ſuperſtitions of the parſees, the empty pretenſions of the jews, the ſenſeleſs pride of the chineſe, and every thing that reſts on antiquated human inſtitutions of three thouſand years date. The doctrines of Zoroaſter may have been a praiſeworthy attempt, to account for the evil in the World, and animate his contemporaries to all the deeds of light: but what is his theodicy now, even in the eyes of a mohammedan? The metempſychoſis of the bramins may have it's merit as a juvenile dream of the imagination, deſirous of retaining the immortal ſoul within the ſphere of obſervation, and uniting moral ſentiments with the well-meant notion: yet has it not become an abſurd religious law, with it's thouſand additions of precepts and practices? Tradition in itſelf is an excellent inſtitution of Nature, indiſpenſable to the human race: but when it fetters the thinking faculty both in politics and education, and prevents all progreſs of the intellect, and all the improvement, that new times and circumſtances demand, it is the true narcotic of the mind, as well to nations and ſects, as to individuals. Aſia, the mother of all the mental illumination of our habitable Earth, has drunk deep of this pleaſant poiſon, and handed the cup to others. Great ſtates and ſects ſleep in it, as, according to the fable, ſaint John ſleeps in his grave: he breathes ſoftly, though he died almoſt two thouſand years ago, and ſlumbering waits till his awakener ſhall come.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XIII.

I TAKE leave of Aſia with the regret of a traveller, obliged to quit a country, before he has acquired the knowledge of it he wiſhed. How little do we know of it! and for the moſt part of how recent times, and from what doubtful authority! Of the eaſtern part of Aſia we have but lately acquired any knowledge; and this through the means of men imbued with religious or political prejudices: while much of what we have thus acquired has been ſo embroiled by literary partiſans in Europe, that great diſtricts of it are ſtill to us a fairy-land. In Hither Aſia, and the neighbouring land of Egypt, every thing appears to us as a ruin, or a dream that is paſt: what we know from records, we have only from the mouths of the volatile greeks, who were partly too young, partly of too different a way of thinking, for the remote antiquity of theſe ſtates, and noticed only what concerned themſelves. The archives of Babylon, Phenicia, and Carthage, are no more: Egypt was in it's decline, almoſt before it's interiour was viſited by a greek: ſo that the whole is ſhrunk up to a few withered-leaves, containing fables of fables, fragments of hiſtory, a dream of the ancient World.

With Greece the morning breaks, and we joyfully ſail to meet it. The inhabitants of this country acquired the art of writing at an early period compared with others; and in moſt of their inſtitutions found ſprings to guide their language from poetry to proſe, as in this to hiſtory and philoſophy. Thus the Philoſophy of Hiſtory looks upon Greece as her birthplace, and in it ſpent her youth. Even the fabling Homer deſcribes the manners of ſeveral nations, as far as his knowledge extended. They who ſung the exploits of the argonauts, the echoes of whoſe ſongs remain, entered into another memorable region. When proper hiſtory ſubſequently ſeparated itſelf from poetry, Herodotus travelled over ſeveral countries, and collected with commendable infantile curioſity whatever he ſaw and heard. The later writers of hiſtory in Greece, though their own country was their only object, could not avoid ſaying many things of other countries, with which the greeks were connected: thus their

canvas was gradually extended, particularly by the expeditions of Alexander. With Rome, to whom the greeks ſerved not only as guides in hiſtory, but as hiſtorians, it extended ſtill more; ſo that Diodorus of Sicily, a greek, and Trogus, a roman, ventured to form their materials into a ſort of univerſal hiſtory. Let us then rejoice, that at length we have reached a people, whoſe origin indeed is enveloped in obſcurity, whoſe early ages are uncertain, and whoſe fineſt works, both in letters and the arts, have been for the moſt part deſtroyed by the rage of enemies, or the faſhion of the times; yet of whom we have noble monuments; monuments that ſpeak to us with a philoſophic ſpirit, the humanity of which I in vain endeavour to infuſe into my eſſay on them. I might invoke, as a poet, allſeeing Apollo, and the daughter of Memory, the omniſcient muſe: but my inſpiring muſe ſhall be impartial truth; and my Apollo, the ſpirit of inquiry.

## CHAPTER I.

### *The Situation and Peopling of Greece.*

The triple Greece, of which we ſpeak, is a land of coaſts and bays, ſurrounded by the ſea; or rather a cluſter of iſlands. It lies in a region, where it might receive from various parts not only inhabitants, but the ſeeds of cultivation, and this ſpeedily. Thus it's ſituation, and the character of the people, which formed itſelf ſuitably to the country by early expeditions and revolutions, ſoon ſet afloat an internal circulation of ideas, and an external activity, denied by Nature to the nations of the extenſive continent. Finally, the period in which the cultivation of Greece occurred, and the degree of improvement, which not only the neighbouring people, but the human mind in general, had attained, contributed to render the greeks what they once were, what they no longer are, and what they never more will be. Let us more narrowly examine this fine hiſtorical problem; for the ſolution of which we have nearly ſufficient data, particularly from the induſtry of learned germans.

A ſecluded nation, encloſed by mountains, far from the ſeacoaſt, and from any intercourſe with other people; that derived it's knowledge from a ſingle place, and, in proportion as this was more early received, more firmly fixed it by brazen laws; may acquire great peculiarity of character, and retain it long: but this confined peculiarity will be far from giving it that uſeful verſatility, which can be gained only by active competition with other nations.

Egypt,

Egypt, and all the countries of Aſia, are examples of this. Had the power, which conſtructed our Earth, given it's mountains and ſeas a different form; had that great deſtiny, which eſtabliſhed the boundaries of nations, cauſed them to originate elſewhere than from the aſiatic mountains; had the eaſt of Aſia poſſeſſed an earlier commerce, and a mediterranean ſea, which it's preſent ſituation has denied; the whole current of cultivation would have been altered. It flowed weſtwards; becauſe eaſtwards it was unable to flow, or to ſpread.

If we contemplate the hiſtory of iſlands, and countries connected by ſtraits, in whatever part of the World they lie, we find, that, the more fortunate they were in their peopling, the more eaſy and diverſified the ſtream of activity, that could be ſet in motion among them, and the more advantageous the time or ſituation, in which they had to perform their part; by ſo much more did the inhabitants of ſuch coaſts or iſlands diſtinguiſh themſelves above thoſe of the main land. On the continent, in ſpite of all natural endowments, and acquired capacities, the ſhepherd remained a ſhepherd; the hunter, a hunter: even the huſbandman and artiſt were confined like plants to a narrow ſpot. Compare England with Germany: the engliſh are germans, and even in the lateſt times the germans have led the way for the engliſh in the greateſt things. But while England, as an iſland, early acquired a much more active univerſality of mind, it's ſituation itſelf accelerated the means of improvement, and gave them without interruption a conſiſtence unattainable by the more embarraſſed continent. A ſimilar difference is perceivable on a compariſon of the daniſh iſlands, the coaſts of Italy, France, and Spain, the Netherlands, and the North of Germany, with the interiour country of the ſlavians and ſcythians of Europe, with Ruſſia, Poland, and Hungary. Voyagers in all the ſeas have found, that on iſlands, peninſulas, or coaſts happily ſituate, an application and freedom of improvement had been generated, which could not have ſurmounted the preſſure of the uniform ancient laws of the main land *. Read the deſcriptions of the Society and Friendly iſlands: in ſpite of their diſtance from the reſt of the habitable World, they have raiſed themſelves into a ſort of Greece, even in luxury and ornamental dreſs. In many ſolitary iſlands of the wide ocean the firſt voyagers experienced a gentleneſs and courteſy, which would be ſought in vain among inland nations. Thus every where we perceive the great law of human nature, that, where activity and quiet, ſociety and diſtance, voluntary occupation and it's advantages, are happily united, ſuch a courſe of things is promoted, as is favour-

* Compare the malays, and the inhabitants of the aſiatic iſlands, with thoſe of the continent; put even Japan in competition with China; the natives of the Kuriles and Fox-iſlands, with the mungals; obſerve Juan Fernandez, Socotora, Eaſter-iſland, Byron's-iſland, the Maldives, &c.

able both to the people themſelves, and to their neighbours. Nothing is more injurious to the health of mankind, than obſtructions of their juices: in the deſpotic ſtates of ancient inſtitution theſe were inevitable; and hence, if they were not ſoon extirpated, their bodies, while alive, underwent a lingering death. On the other hand, where, from the nature of the country, ſtates continued ſmall, and the inhabitants in healthy activity, to which a life divided between ſea and land is particularly conducive, favourable circumſtances alone were required, to form a highly cultivated and celebrated people. Thus, to ſay nothing of other countries, the iſlanders of Crete were the firſt among the grecians themſelves, to produce a ſyſtem of laws as a model for all the republics on the main land; and of theſe the moſt numerous and celebrated were fixed on the coaſts. Thus the ancients placed their ſeats of bliſs on iſlands not without reaſon; probably becauſe on iſlands they found the moſt free and happy people.

When we apply this to Greece, how different muſt we expect to find it's inhabitants from thoſe of the lofty mountains. A narrow ſtrait divided Thrace from Aſia Minor; and this fertile country, rich in nations, was connected along it's weſtern ſhore with Greece by a ſound thickly interſperſed with iſlands. It ſeems as if the Helleſpont had been broken through, and the Egean ſea with it's iſlands interpoſed, to facilitate the paſſage, and produce a conſtant wandering and circulation throughout Greece. Thus in the remoteſt times we find the numerous nations of theſe coaſts roaming the ſeas: cretans, lydians, pelaſgians, thracians, rhodians, phrygians, cyprians, mileſians, carians, leſbians, phoceans, ſamians, ſpartans, naxians, heretrians, and eginetans, followed each other, even before the time of Xerxes, in the dominion of the ſea *: and long before theſe maritime powers, pirates, coloniſts, and adventurers, were found upon it; ſo that there is ſcarcely a nation of Greece, that has not migrated, and many more than once. Every thing here has been in motion from the oldeſt times, from the coaſts of Aſia Minor to Italy, Sicily, and France: no people of Europe has colonized a finer, more extenſive country, than theſe greeks. This is what we mean, when we talk of the fine climate of Greece. Did the expreſſion ſignify merely the indolent ſeat of fertility in wellwatered vales, or meadows overflowed by rivers, how many finer climates would be found in the other three quarters of the Globe, no one of which, however, has yet produced greeks†! But a ſeries of coaſts, enjoying an air ſo favourable to the activity of little ſtates in the progreſs of cultivation, as thoſe of Ionia, Greece, and Grecia Magna, are no where elſe to be found upon Earth.

* Heyne's Commentary on the Epoch of Caſtor, in the *Nov. Comment. Soc. Gætt.*, 'New Memoirs of the Gœttingen Society,' Vol. I, II.

† See Riedeſel's *Bemerkungen auf einer Reiſe nach der Levante*, 'Obſervations on a Tour to the Levant,' p. 113.

We need not long inquire whence Greece derived it's firſt inhabitants. They were called pelaſgians, that is ſtrangers, and at this diſtance acknowledged the people beyond the ſea, that is, of Aſia Minor, as brethren. It would be uſeleſs labour, to enumerate all the courſes they ſteered, through Thrace, or over the Helleſpont and Archipelago, weſtward and ſouthward; and how, protected by the northern mountains, they gradually ſpread over Greece. One tribe followed another; one tribe preſſed upon another: hellenes brought new knowledge to the ancient pelaſgians, as in the progreſs of time grecian colonies again ſettled on the aſiatic ſhores. It was favourable enough for the greeks, that they were in the vicinity of ſuch a fine peninſula of the great continent, moſt of the inhabitants of which were not only of one race, but more early civilized *. Hence their language acquired that originality and uniformity, which a mixture of many tongues could not have poſſeſſed; and the nation itſelf participated in the moral condition of the neighbouring primitive race, with whom it was ſoon connected by the various relations of war and peace. Thus Aſia Minor was the parent of Greece, both in peopling it, and in imparting the principal features of it's earlieſt cultivation: while Greece in it's turn afterward ſent out colonies to it's mother country, and lived to ſee in it a ſecond and ſuperiour cultivation.

It is to be regretted, however, that we have very little knowledge of the aſiatic peninſula in the earlieſt times. Of the kingdom of the trojans we know nothing except from Homer: and however high he endeavours, as a poet, to exalt his countrymen above their antagoniſts, the flouriſhing ſtate of Troy in the arts, and even in magnificence, is evident from his account. In like manner the phrygians were an ancient and early cultivated nation, whoſe religion and fables had an unqueſtionable influence on the earlieſt mythology of the greeks. So afterwards the carians, who called themſelves brothers of the myſians and lydians, and were of the ſame race with the pelaſgians and leleges, applied early to navigation, which at that time was merely piracy; while the more civilized lydians ſhare the invention of coin, as a medium of commerce, with the phenicians. Thus none of theſe people were wanting in early cultivation, any more than the myſians and thracians, and were capable of becoming greeks by proper tranſplantation.

The primitive ſeat of the grecian muſes was in the north-eaſt, toward Thrace. Orpheus, who firſt converted the ſavage pelaſgians to humanity, and introduced thoſe religious practices, that prevailed ſo widely and ſo long, was a thracian. The firſt mountains of the muſes were the mountains of Theſſaly; Olympus,

* See Heyne on the Origin of the Greeks, *Commentat. Soc. Gœtting.*, Memoirs of the Gœttingen Society, 1764.

Helicon,

Helicon, Parnaſſus, Pindus: here, ſays the acuteſt of the inveſtigators of grecian hiſtory*, was the moſt ancient ſeat of the religion, philoſophy, muſic, and poetry, of Greece. Here dwelt the firſt grecian bards: here were formed the firſt civilized ſocieties: here the lyre and the harp were invented, and the firſt models caſt of every thing, that grecian genius afterwards produced. In Theſſaly and Bœotia, which in later times were ſo little celebrated for the production of genius, there is not a fountain, a river, a hill, or a grove, which poetry has not immortalized. Here flowed the Peneus, here was the delightful Tempe: here Apollo wandered in the garb of a ſhepherd, and here the giants piled up their mountains. At the foot of Helicon Heſiod yet learned his fables from the mouths of the muſes. In ſhort, the firſt cultivation of the greeks was indigenous here; and hence the purer grecian language flowed through the deſcendants of the hellenes in it's principal dialects.

In the courſe of time, however, a ſeries of other fables neceſſarily aroſe, on ſuch various coaſts and iſlands, and from ſuch repeated wanderings and adventures, which the poets equally conſecrated in the temple of the grecian muſe. Almoſt every little diſtrict, every celebrated tribe, introduced into it it's anceſtors or national divinities: and this variety, which would form an impenetrable wood, if we were to conſider the grecian mythology as a ſyſtem, infuſed life into the national way of thinking from the actions and manners of every tribe. Without ſuch various roots and germes, that fine garden, which in time produced the moſt diverſified fruits, even in legiſlation, could not have come to perfection. The land being divided into many portions, this tribe defended it's valley, that it's coaſts and iſlands; and thus from the long youthful activity of ſcattered tribes and kingdoms aroſe the great and free genius of the grecian muſe. It's cultivation was under the control of no univerſal lord: from the voice of the lyre, at religious ceremonies, games, and dances; from arts and ſciences of it's own invention; and, laſtly, ſtill more from the various intercourſe of the different tribes of Greece among each other and with ſtrangers; it adopted, of it's own free will, now this, now that law, cuſtom, or principle: thus being a free grecian people, even in the progreſs of cultivation. That, as phenician colonies contributed to this in Thebes, ſo egyptian colonies did in Attica, cannot be denied: yet, fortunately, neither the principal race of the greeks, nor their language and way of thinking, ſprung from theſe. Thanks to their deſcent, mode of life, and native muſes, the greeks were not deſtined to become a herd of egyptian canaanites.

* Heyne on the Muſes: ſee *Gœtt. Anzeigen*, 'The Gœttingen Review,' for 1766, p. 275.

## CHAPTER II.

### *The Language, Mythology, and Poetry of Greece.*

We now come to ſubjects, which have been for ſome thouſands of years the delight of the more poliſhed part of mankind, and I hope will ever continue to be ſo. The grecian language is the moſt refined of any in the World; the grecian mythology, the richeſt and moſt beautiful upon Earth; the grecian poetry, perhaps the moſt perfect of it's kind, when conſidered with reſpect to time and place. But who gave this once rude people ſuch a language, ſuch poetry, and ſuch figurative wiſdom? The genius of nature, their country, their way of life, the period in which they lived, and the character of their progenitors.

The greek language ſprang from rude beginnings: but theſe very beginnings contained the ſeeds of what it was afterwards to become. They were no hieroglyphic patchwork, no ſeries of ſingly ejected ſyllables, like the languages beyond the mungal mountains. Readier and more flexible organs produced among the caucaſean nations a more eaſy modulation, which was ſuſceptible of being ſoon reduced to form by the ſocial propenſity to muſic. The words were more ſmoothly connected, the tone modulated into rhythm: the language flowed in a fuller ſtream; it's images, in pleaſing harmony: it raiſed itſelf to the melody of the dance. And thus the peculiar character of the greek language, not conſtrained by mute laws, aroſe as a living image of nature, from muſic and the dance, from hiſtory and ſong, and from the talkative free intercourſe of many tribes and colonies. The northern nations of Europe were not thus fortunate in their formation. Foreign manners imparted to them by foreign laws, and a religion devoid of ſong crippled their language. The german, for example, has unqueſtionably loſt much of it's intrinſic flexibility, of it's more preciſe expreſſion in the inflection of words, and ſtill more of that energetic tone, which it formerly poſſeſſed in a more favourable climate. Once it was a near ſiſter of the greek; but how far from this is it now degenerated! No language beyond the Ganges poſſeſſes the flexibility and ſmooth flow of the greek: no aramean dialect on this ſide the Euphrates had them in it's ancient form. The grecian language alone appears as if derived from ſong: for ſong, and poetry, and an early enjoyment of freedom, faſhioned it as the univerſal language of the muſes. Improbable as it is, that all the ſprings of grecian cultivation ſhould again combine together; that the infancy of mankind ſhould return,

return, and an Orpheus, a Muſæus, and a Linus, or a Homer and Heſiod, revive with every concomitant circumſtance: as little is the generation of a greek language in our times poſſible, even in the ſame regions.

The mythology of the greeks flowed from the fables of various countries: and theſe conſiſted either of the popular faith; the traditionary accounts, that the different generations preſerved of their anceſtors; or the firſt attempts of reflecting minds, to explain the wonders of the Earth, and give a conſiſtency to ſociety *. However ſpurious and new-modified our hymns of the ancient Orpheus may be; ſtill they are imitations of that lively devotion and reverence of Nature, to which all nations in the firſt ſtage of civilization are prone. The rude hunter addreſſes his dreaded bear †; the negro, his ſacred fetiſh; the parſee mobed, his ſpirits of nature and the elements; nearly after the Orphic manner: but how is the Orphic hymn to Nature refined and ennobled, merely by the grecian words and images! And how much more pleaſing and eaſy did the greek mythology become, as in time it rejected even from it's hymns the fetters of mere epithet, and recited inſtead, as in the ſongs of Homer, fables of the deities! In the coſmogonies, too, the harſh primitive legends were in time amalgamated together, and human heroes and patriarchs were ſung, and placed by the ſide of the gods. Happily the ancient relaters of theogonies introduced into the genealogies of their gods and heroes ſuch ſtriking, beautiful allegories, frequently with a ſingle word of their elegant language, that when ſubſequent philoſophers thought fit merely to unfold their ſignification, and connect with it their more refined ideas, a new delicate tiſſue was formed. Thus the epic poets in time laid aſide their frequently repeated fables of the generation of the gods, the ſtorming of Heaven, the actions of Hercules, and the like, and ſang more human themes for the uſe of man.

Of theſe Homer, the father of all the grecian poets and philoſophers that ſucceeded him, is the moſt celebrated. His ſcattered ſongs had the fortunate deſtiny to be collected at the moſt favourable juncture, and erected into a double edifice, ſhining like an indeſtructible palace of gods and heroes after thouſands of years. As men have endeavoured to explain the wonders of nature, ſo they have taken pains to inveſtigate the exiſtence of Homer ‡, who was in fact a mere child of Nature, a happy bard of the ionian ſhore. Many

* See Heyne *De Fontibus & Cauſis Errorum, &c.*, 'On the Sources and Cauſes of Error in mythological Hiſtory: on the phyſical Cauſes of Fables: on the Origin and Cauſes of the Fables of Homer: on the Theogony compiled by Heſiod: &c.'

† See Georgi's *Abbildungen der Vœlker des Ruſſiſchen Reichs*, 'Delineations of the people of the Ruſſian Empire,' Vol. I.

‡ Blackwell's Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, 1736: Wood's Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer, 1769.

of

of his order have ſunk perhaps into oblivion, who might have been in part his competitors for that fame, which he alone enjoys. Temples have been erected to him, and he has been adored as a human divinity: but his nobleſt adoration conſiſts in the permanent influence he had on his own nation, and on all who are capable of feeling his merit. The ſubjects of his ſong, indeed, are trifles in our eyes: his gods and heroes, with their paſſions and manners, are ſuch as the fables of his own and preceding times preſented: his knowledge of phyſics and geography, his morals and politics, are equally confined. But the truth and wiſdom, with which he has moulded all the objects of his world into a living whole; the ſteady outline of every feature of every perſon in his immortal picture; the eaſy, unlaboured manner, in which, free as a god, he penetrates into every character, and relates their virtues and vices, their fortunes and misfortunes; and laſtly, the muſic, that inceſſantly flows from his lips throughout poems of ſuch extent and variety, and will animate every image, every tone, as long as his verſes ſhall live; are the circumſtances, for which Homer ſtands unrivalled in the hiſtory of mankind, and which render him worthy of immortality, if aught on Earth can be immortal.

On the greeks Homer neceſſarily had a different effect from what he can have upon us, from whom he ſo often obtains a forced and frigid admiration, or indeed cold contempt. Not ſo with the greeks. To them he ſung in a living language; at that time perfectly unfettered by what was ſubſequently termed dialects: to them he ſung with patriotic feelings the exploits of their anceſtors againſt foreigners, and recited families, tribes, actions, and countries, which were in part preſent to their eyes as their own, and in part lived in the memory of their national pride. Thus to them Homer was in many reſpects the divine herald of national fame, a ſource of the moſt diverſified national wiſdom. The ſucceeding poets followed him: from him the tragic borrowed fables; the didactic, allegories, examples, and maxims: every one, who firſt attempted a new kind of writing, took from the artificial ſtructure of Homer's work the model of his own: ſo that Homer was ſoon the pattern of grecian taſte, and with weaker heads the ſtandard of all human wiſdom. The roman poets, too, felt his influence; and but for him the Eneid would never have exiſted. Still more has he contributed, to reclaim the modern nations of Europe from barbariſm; ſo many youth have been formed, while they were delighted by him; ſo many active as well as contemplative men have imbibed from him the principles of taſte, and a knowledge of mankind. Yet it cannot be denied, that, as every great man has been the cauſe of abuſes from an inordinate admiration of his talents, ſo has the good Homer; inſomuch that no one would wonder

more than himſelf, could he ariſe from the dead, and ſee what has been extracted from him at various times. Among the greeks fable maintained it's ground more firmly, and for a longer period, than it would have done probably without him: rhapſodiſts ſung after him, frigid poetaſters imitated him, and the enthuſiaſm for Homer became at length among the greeks ſuch a bald, inſipid, wire-drawn art as ſcarcely has been paralleled for any poet by any other people. The innumerable comments of the grammarians upon him are for the moſt part loſt; otherwiſe we ſhould ſee in them the miſerable toil God impoſes upon the ſucceeding generations of men in every preponderating genius: for are not examples enough extant of the erroneous ſtudy and miſapplication of Homer in modern times? Thus much however is certain, that a mind like his, in the period in which he lived, and for the nation by which his works were collected, was ſuch an inſtrument of improvement, as ſcarcely any other people can boaſt. No oriental nation poſſeſſes a Homer: no poet like him has appeared at the proper ſeaſon, in the bloom of youth, to any people of Europe. Even Oſſian was not the ſame to his ſcots: and the Fates alone can tell, whether a ſecond Homer will be given to the new grecian Archipelago, the Friendly iſlands, who will lead them to an equal height with that, to which his elder brother led Greece.

As the cultivation of the greeks thus proceeded from mythology, poetry, and muſic, we need not wonder, that a taſte for them remained a leading feature of their character, as their moſt ſerious writings and inſtitutions evince. To our manners it appears incongruous, that the greeks ſhould ſpeak of muſic as the finiſhing point of education, that they ſhould treat it as a grand engine of ſtate, and aſcribe the moſt important conſequences to it's decline. Still more ſingular appear to us the animated and almoſt rapturous praiſes they beſtow on dancing, pantomime, and the dramatic art, as the natural ſiſters of poetry and wiſdom. Many, who read theſe encomiums, believed, that the muſic of the greeks was a miracle of ſyſtematic perfection, as we are ſo totally unacquainted with any thing like it's celebrated effects. But that the greeks did not principally apply to the ſcientific perfection of muſic appears from the very uſe which they made of it: for they did not cultivate it as a diſtinct art, but employed it ſubſerviently to poetry, the dance, and the drama. Thus the grand effect of it's tones lay in this connexion, and in the general bent of grecian cultivation. The poetry of the greeks, proceeding from muſic, readily returned to it again: ſublime tragedy itſelf originated from the chorus; the ancient comedy, public rejoicings, military expeditions, and the domeſtic hilarity of the feaſt, were ſeldom unaccompanied by muſic and ſong; and few

games were deſtitute of the dance. In theſe, indeed, as Greece conſiſted of many ſtates and nations, one province differed much from another: the times, the various degrees of civilization and luxury, induced ſtill greater variation: yet on the whole it remains perfectly true, that the greeks eſteemed the joint improvement of theſe arts the ſummit of human energy, and attached to it the higheſt value.

It muſt be confeſſed, that neither pantomine nor the drama, neither the dance, nor poetry, nor muſic, is with us, what it was with the greeks. With them all theſe were only one work, one bloſſom of the human mind, the wild ſeeds of which we perceive in every nation of gay and pleaſing character, if placed in a happy climate. Abſurd as it would be, to endeavour to tranſport ourſelves back to this period of youthful levity, which is now paſt, and to ſkip as a hobbling graybeard among boys; why ſhould the graybeard be offended with youth for being lively, and dancing? The cultivation of the greeks fell on this period of youthful jollity, from the arts of which they elicited whatever was capable of being educed, and thus neceſſarily accompliſhed effects, the poſſibility of which is ſcarce conceivable to us, exhauſted and diſeaſed. For I doubt, whether a greater power of operation of refined ſenſes upon the mind can be produced, than the ſtudied ſupreme point of junction of theſe arts, particularly on minds educated and formed to them, and living in a world animated by ſimilar impreſſions. If then we cannot be greeks ourſelves, let us at leaſt rejoice, that there once were greeks, and that, like every other flower of the human mind, this alſo found a time and place to put forth it's loveliеſt bloſſoms.

From what has been ſaid may be conjectured, that many ſpecies of grecian compoſition, which were deſigned for animated repreſentation, with muſic, dancing, and pantomime, appear to us merely as ſhadows, and may perhaps miſlead us even with the moſt careful explanation. The theatres of Æſchylus, Sophocles, Ariſtophanes, and Euripides, were not our theatres: the proper drama of the greeks is no more to be ſeen in any nation, however excellent the pieces of this kind, that many have produced. Without ſong, without the feſtivals of the greeks, and without the exalted notions they entertained of their games, the odes of Pindar muſt appear to us the exclamations of ebriety; as even in the dialogues of Plato, abounding in melody of language, and beautiful compoſition of images and words, thoſe very paſſages, which were clothed with the greateſt art, have been expoſed to the moſt numerous objections from critics. Youth, therefore, muſt learn to read the greeks; ſince the aged are ſeldom inclined to look at them, or appropriate to themſelves their beauties. Grant, that their imagination often outflies the underſtanding;

that the refined ſenſuality, in which they place the eſſence of accompliſhment, ſometimes overſteps the bounds of reaſon and virtue; let us not refuſe them due eſteem, though we refrain from becoming greeks ourſelves. From their dreſs, the fine proportion and outline of their thoughts, the natural vivacity of their ſentiments, and laſtly from the melodious rhythm of their language, which never yet found it's equal, we have much to learn.

## CHAPTER III.

### *The Arts of the Greeks.*

In all the arts of life, a people endued with ſuch ſentiments muſt neceſſarily aſcend from the neceſſary to the beautiful and pleaſing; and the greeks attained almoſt the higheſt point in every thing relating to them. Their religion required ſtatues and temples; their political inſtitutions demanded monuments and public edifices; their climate and way of living, their activity, luxury, vanity, &c., rendered various works of art indiſpenſable. Thus the genius of beauty put theſe works into their hands, and aſſiſted them alone of all mortals to finiſh them; for though their greateſt wonders of art have long been deſtroyed, we ſtill admire and cheriſh their ruins and fragments.

1. That religion greatly promoted the arts of the greeks, we ſee from the catalogues of their works in Pauſanias, Pliny, or any of the collections, which ſpeak of their remains: and this is conformable to the univerſal hiſtory of men and nations. All men have been deſirous of ſeeing the objects of their worſhip; and every where they have attempted, to paint or carve repreſentations of them, where this has not been prohibited by religion or the law. Even the negro renders his god preſent to him in a fetiſh: and of the greeks we know, that the repreſentations of their gods primarily originated from a ſtone or a rude billet. This poverty could not long ſatisfy a people ſo active: the block became a herm *, or a ſtatue; and as the nation was divided into many little tribes and ſtates, it was natural, that each ſhould endeavour to embelliſh the images of it's domeſtic and family deities. Some ſucceſsful attempts of the ancient Dedaluſes, and probably the view of neighbouring works of art, excited emulation; and thus ſeveral ſtates and tribes were ſoon enabled to contemplate their god, the moſt ſacred of all the things they poſſeſſed, in a more agreeable form. The firſt eſſays of ancient art, in which it learned as it were to go, were principally images of the gods †: hence no nation, to which

* Ἕρμα, per ſyncopen pro ἵδρυμα.

† See Winckelmann's *Geſch. der Kunſt*, 'Hiſtory of the Arts,' Vol. I, chap. 1; and Heyne's confirmation of it, and additions to it, in the german papers of the Gœttingen Society, Vol. I, p. 211, &c.

repreſentations

repreſentations of the gods were prohibited, ever made any great advancement in the imitative arts.

But as the gods of the greeks were introduced by poetry and ſong, and animated them in majeſtic forms, what could be more natural, than that the imitative arts ſhould become the nurſlings of the muſe, who poured into their ear thoſe ſplendid forms? From the poets the artiſt learned the hiſtory of the gods, and conſequently the manner, in which he was to delineate them: hence the firſt artiſts rejected not the moſt terrible repreſentations, while ſuch the poets ſung *. In time more pleaſing delineations ſucceeded, poetry itſelf aſſuming more agreeable features: and thus Homer was the parent of the improvement of the fine arts of the greeks, as he was of their poetry. From him Phidias derived the exalted idea of his Jupiter, which was followed by the other performances of this ſculptor of gods †. From the genealogies and affinities of the gods in the relations of the poets, determinate characters, or family features, entered into their repreſentations, till at length the received poetical tradition became a law for the figures of the gods, throughout the realms of art. Thus no people of antiquity could poſſeſs the arts of the greeks, who had not alſo the grecian poetry and mythology, and who acquired not their cultivation in a ſimilar manner. But ſuch are not to be found in hiſtory; and conſequently the greeks, with their homeric arts, remain alone.

Hence may be explained the ideal creation of grecian art, which aroſe neither from the profound philoſophy of the artiſts, nor the natural conformation of the people, but from the cauſes, that have been developed. Unqueſtionably it was a fortunate circumſtance, that the greeks, conſidered in the whole, were beautifully formed; though this form muſt not be extended to every individual greek, as a model of ideal beauty. In Greece, as every where elſe, copious Nature did not ſubmit to be checked in the thouſandfold variation of the human figure; and, if Hippocrates may be believed, as among others, ſo among the greeks, deforming accidents and maladies were to be found. But admitting all this, and taking into the account many happy opportunities, when the artiſt could exalt a beautiful youth into an Apollo, and a Phryne or a Lais into a goddeſs of love; this would not explain the received ideal of the deities, which was eſtabliſhed as a rule among the artiſts. Perhaps it is as little probable, that a head of Jupiter ſhould ever have been found on a human body, as that the Jupiter of Homer actually exiſted in this World. The great anatomical draughtſman Camper has clearly ſhown on what deeply meditated rules

* See Heyne *ueber den Kaſten des Kypſelus*, 'On the Coffer of Kypſelus,' &c.

† Diis quam hominibus fingendis aptior. Plin. F.

the

the ideal form of the grecian artiſt was conſtructed*: but to theſe rules the repreſentations of the poets, and the aim of producing religious veneration, alone could have led. If, therefore, you would produce a new Greece in images of the gods, give a people again this poetic mythological ſuperſtition, with every thing belonging to it, in all it's natural ſimplicity. Travel through Greece, and contemplate it's temples, grottoes, and ſacred groves; you will ſoon relinquiſh the thought, even in wiſh, of exalting to the height of grecian art a people totally ignorant of ſuch a religion, that is, of ſuch a lively ſuperſtition, which filled every town, every ſpot, every nook, with the preſence of an innate divinity.

2. All the heroic fables of the greeks, particularly when they relate to the progenitors of their race, are in a ſimilar predicament; for they too paſſed through the minds of the poets, and in part lived in eternal ſong: accordingly the artiſt, who made them his ſubjects, copied their hiſtory with a ſort of religious regard to the poets, to gratify the pride of his countrymen, and their attachment to their anceſtors. The moſt ancient hiſtory of the arts, and a view of the grecian performances, confirm this. Graves, ſhields, altars, holy places, and temples, preſerved the remembrance of their forefathers; and on theſe, in many tribes, the labours of the artiſt were employed from the moſt ancient times. All warlike nations throughout the World painted and adorned their ſhields: the greeks went farther; they engraved, or caſt and carved upon them memorials of their anceſtors. Hence the early performances of Vulcan in very ancient poets: hence in Heſiod the ſhield of Hercules with the achievements of Perſeus. With ſhields came repreſentations of this kind upon the altars of heroes, or other family memorials; as the coffer of Kypſelus ſhows, the figures on which were completely in the ſtyle of Heſiod's ſhield. Noble works of this kind are of earlier date than the age of Dedalus; and as many temples of the gods were originally tombs†, in them the memory of their anceſtors, their heroes, and their deities, came ſo near together, that they coaleſced almoſt into one adoration, at leaſt into one ſpring of the arts. Hence the ancient ſtories of their heroes repreſented on the drapery of their gods, and by the ſide of the altar and the throne: hence the pictures in honour of the deceaſed frequently in the market place of the city, or the herms and columns on graves. If to theſe we add the innumerable works of art preſented to the temples of the gods by ſtates, families, or individuals, as memorials, or votive offerings of gratitude; and frequently adorned, according to cuſtom, with

* Camper's *Kleinere Schriften*, 'Smaller Tracts,' p. 18 and foll.

† As, for example, the temple of Pallas at Lariſſa was the tomb of Acriſius; that of Minerva Polias at Athens, the tomb of Ericthonius; the throne of Amyclus, the tomb of Hyacinthus, &c.

ſubjects

ſubjects from the hiſtory of their progenitors, or heroes; what other people can boaſt ſuch an incentive to the moſt diverſified art? Our galleries of anceſtors, filled with the portraits of forgotten forefathers, are nothing in compariſon with theſe; as all Greece was full of ſtories, and poems, and ſacred places, of their gods, and heroic progenitors. Every thing was connected with the bold idea, that gods were related to them; that ſuperiour men, and heroes, were but an inferiour order of deities: and this idea their poets had infuſed.

With this regard to national and family fame, by which the arts were promoted, I reckon the grecian games. Theſe were inſtituted by their heroes, and feſtivals to their memory: beſide this, they were public acts of worſhip to the gods, and practices highly advantageous both to poetry and the imitative arts. Not merely that youths, partly naked, exerciſed themſelves in various conteſts and feats of activity, and thus preſented living models to the artiſts; but rather as by theſe exerciſes their bodies were rendered ſuſceptible of a finer form, and theſe juvenile victories preſerved in their minds an active remembrance of the fame of their relations, their progenitors, and their heroes. From Pindar, and from hiſtory, we know how highly theſe victories were held in eſtimation throughout all Greece, and with what emulation they were ſought. The whole town of the conqueror was honoured by them: the family of the victor was raiſed to a level with the gods and heroes of old. On this turns the economy of Pindar's odes: works of art, which he raiſed to a value higher than that of ſtatues. On this depended the honour of the tomb, or ſtatue, commonly a work of fancy, which the victor could claim. By this ſucceſsful emulation of his heroic anceſtors he was raiſed to ſomething more than man, and became a kind of god. Where now could ſuch games be inſtituted, equally prized, and equal in conſequences?

3. The political inſtitutions of the greeks likewiſe promoted the arts: not ſo much becauſe they were republics, as becauſe theſe republics employed the artiſts on grand works. Greece was divided into many ſtates; and in theſe the arts were foſtered, whether they were governed by archons, or by kings. For theſe kings were greeks; and every demand for the arts, whether ſpringing from religion or family tales, was their demand: frequently, too, they were the high-prieſts. Thus from remote periods the decoration of their palaces was diſtinguiſhed by precious relics of their anceſtors or heroic friends, as Homer relates. But the republican conſtitutions, which in time were diffuſed throughout all Greece, gave a wider ſcope to the arts. In a commonwealth, edifices for the aſſembly of the people, for the public treaſure, for general exerciſe and amuſement, were neceſſary; and thus aroſe, in Athens, for example, the magnificent gymnaſia,

theatres,

theatres, and galleries, the Odeum and Prytaneum, the Pnyx, &c. As in the grecian republics every thing was conducted in the name of the people, or of the town, nothing, that concerned their tutelary deities, or the grandeur of their name, was too coſtly; while individuals, and even the principal citizens, ſatisfied themſelves with leſs ſumptuous habitations. This public ſpirit of doing every thing, in appearance at leaſt, for the community was the ſoul of the grecian ſtates; as Winkelmann no doubt conſidered, when he eſteemed the liberty of the grecian republics the golden age of the arts. In them grandeur and magnificence were not ſo divided as in modern times, but concentred in whatever pertained to the ſtate. Pericles flattered the people with theſe notions of fame, and did more for the arts, than ten kings of Athens would have done. Every thing he built was in the grand ſtyle, as it was for the gods, and the immortal city: and aſſuredly few of the grecian towns and iſlands would have erected ſuch edifices, or promoted ſuch works of art, had they not been ſeparate republics, emulous of each other's fame. Beſides, as in democratic ſtates the leaders of the people muſt endeavour to pleaſe the public, what means could they more advantageouſly employ, than ſuch kinds of expenſe, as, while they tended to propitiate the tutelary deities, were calculated to gratify the eyes of the people, and afford ſubſiſtence to many?

This expenſe, no doubt, had conſequences, from which Humanity would willingly avert her eyes. The rigour with which the athenians oppreſſed thoſe whom they conquered, and even their colonies; the robberies and wars, in which the ſtates of Greece were perpetually involved; the ſevere ſervices, which the citizens themſelves had to perform for the ſtate; and many other things; rendered the grecian ſtates not the moſt deſirable: but even theſe grievances were ſubſervient to the public arts. The temples of the gods were for the moſt part held ſacred even by the enemy; and ſuch temples as the enemy deſtroyed aroſe more ſplendid from their aſhes on a reverſe of fortune. From the ſpoils of the perſians a more magnificent Athens was built: and, in almoſt every ſucceſsful war, part of the booty that belonged to the ſtate was ſacrificed to one or other of the arts. Even in later times, Athens maintained the glory of her name, by her edifices and ſtatues, in ſpite of all the ravages of the romans: for ſeveral emperors, kings, heroes, and wealthy individuals, were emulous to preſerve and adorn a city, which was the acknowledged parent of all refined taſte. Hence under the macedonian empire we perceive the arts of the greeks did not periſh; they only changed their ſeat. Even in remote countries the grecian kings were ſtill greeks, and cheriſhed the grecian arts. Thus Alexander, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, built ſplendid cities in Aſia and Africa. Rome, and other nations, too, learned from

from the greeks, when their countries were ripe for the arts: for throughout the whole Earth appeared but one grecian art, and ſtyle of architecture.

4. The climate of the greeks, too, afforded food for the beautiful in the arts; not principally from the human figure, which depends more on deſcent than on climate; but from it's convenient ſituation for the materials of the arts, and the erection of the performances of the artiſt. Their country afforded them the fine parian and other marbles: ivory, braſs, and whatever elſe the arts required, they derived from a trade, of which they lay as in the centre. Theſe even preceded in a certain degree the birth of their arts themſelves; as they were in a ſituation to obtain from Aſia Minor, Phenicia, and other countries, valuable materials, which they yet knew not how to employ. Thus the ſeeds of their future talents in the arts were early ſown; particularly as their proximity to Aſia Minor, their colonies in Græcia Magna, &c., excited in them a taſte for luxury, and the enjoyments of life, which could not fail to promote the arts. The gay diſpoſition of the greeks was by no means inclined to waſte it's induſtry on uſeleſs pyramids. Individual towns and ſtates indeed could never deviate into this wilderneſs of the monſtrous. Thus, if we except perhaps the ſingle Coloſſus of Rhodes, even in their works of greateſt magnitude they adhered to that beautiful proportion, in which the pleaſing and ſublime are united. For this their ſerene climate afforded them ſufficient opportunity. It allowed them thoſe numerous uncovered ſtatues, altars, and temples; and in particular the beautiful column, that pattern of ſimplicity, correctneſs, and proportion, the ſlender gracefulneſs of which could there ſupply the place of the ſullen northern wall.

When we combine all theſe circumſtances, it is obvious, how art could operate, in Ionia, Greece, and Sicily, in that correct and airy ſtyle, which the greeks exhibited in all their works of taſte. By rules alone it is not to be learned: but it diſplays itſelf in the obſervation of rules; and, though originally the inſpiration of a happy genius, muſt become mechanical by continued practice. Even the meaneſt grecian artiſt was a greek in his manner; we may excel him; but the whole genetic ſpirit of grecian art we ſhall never attain: the genius of thoſe times is gone by.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *The moral and political Wiſdom of the Greeks.*

THE manners of the greeks were as different, as their deſcent, their country, and the way in which they lived, according to their degree of civilization, and the ſeries of ſucceſſes or misfortunes, in which the fates had placed them. The arcadians and athenians, the ionians and epirots, the ſpartans and ſybarites, were ſo diſſimilar to each other in age, ſituation, and mode of life, that I want ſkill to ſketch out a deceptive picture of them as a whole, the features of which muſt appear more contradictory, than thoſe of the genius of the athenians painted by Parrhaſius *. Nothing remains for us, therefore, but to mark the general courſe taken by the moral culture of the greeks, and the manner in which it coaleſced with their political inſtitutions.

As the moſt ancient moral culture of all the nations upon Earth proceeded chiefly from their religion, ſo did that of the greeks, and it continued long in this track. The religious ceremonies, which were propagated through the means of the various myſteries, even when politics had attained a very conſiderable height; the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, and of the protection of unfortunate fugitives; the inviolability of holy places; the belief in the furies and vengeance, that purſued even unpremeditated murder, and inflicted a curſe upon a whole land for blood unexpiated; the practices of atonement, and appeaſing the gods; the reſponſes of the oracles; the ſanctity of an oath, of the hearth, of the temples, of graves, &c.; were opinions and inſtitutions, the prevalence of which was to unite a rude people, and gradually form demiſavages to humanity †. That they happily accompliſhed their object, we perceive, when we compare the greeks with other nations: for it is inconteſtible, that through theſe inſtitutions they were led, not to the gates of philoſophy and political cultivation, but deep into their ſanctuary. Of what important ſervice to Greece was the oracle at Delphi alone! It's divine voice pointed out ſo many tyrants and

* 'Pinxit demon athenienſium argumento quoque ingenioſo: volebat namque varium, iracundum, injuſtum, inconſtantem, eundem exorabilem, clementem, miſericordem, excelſum, glorioſum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, et omnia pariter oſtendere.' Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 10.

† See Heyne on the Inſtitutions of the firſt Grecian Legiſlators for the Softening of Manners, in *Opuſc. academic.*, 'Academical Tracts,' Part I, p. 207.

villains,

villains, in warning them of their fate; and not leſs frequently did it ſuccour the unfortunate, counſel thoſe in need of advice, ſtrengthen beneficial inſtitutions with the authority of the gods, make known works of art or the muſe that could reach it, and give a ſanction to moral principles and maxims of ſtate. Thus the rude verſes of the oracle accompliſhed more than the moſt poliſhed lines of later poets: and it had the greateſt influence, as it took under it's protection the amphictyons, the ſupreme judges and controllers of the ſtates of all Greece, and gave their ſentences in a certain degree the weight of religious laws. What has been propoſed in modern times as the ſole mean of eſtabliſhing perpetual peace throughout Europe, a tribunal of amphictyons *, exiſted formerly among the greeks; and indeed near the throne of the god of truth and wiſdom, who ſanctified it by his authority.

With religion may be reckoned all thoſe practices, which preſerved to poſterity the remembrance of their anceſtors, from whoſe inſtitutions they ſprung. for theſe continued to operate in the formation of their morals. Thus, for inſtance, the various public games gave a peculiar turn to education in Greece; as they made bodily exerciſes it's principal object, and the excellencies acquired by them the aim of the whole nation. No tree ever produced ſuch beautiful fruits, as the little branches of olive, ivy, and pine, which crowned the grecian victors. Theſe rendered youth handſome, healthy, and gay; theſe gave their limbs ſuppleneſs, ſtrength, and ſymmetry; theſe ſtruck into their minds the firſt ſparks of love of fame, even of poſthumous fame, and impreſſed on them the indelible character of living publicly for their country; and laſtly, what is of all moſt valuable, they rooted in their hearts that taſte for manly intercourſe, and manly friendſhip, for which the greeks were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. In Greece woman was not the ſupreme object of conteſt, to gain which the youth bent all his powers: the moſt beautiful Helen could have formed nothing but a Paris, had her poſſeſſion or enjoyment been the only ſcope of manly endowment. The female ſex, notwithſtanding the fine patterns of every virtue it produced in Greece, remained a ſubordinate object: the thoughts of nobler youth were bent on ſomething higher: the bands of friendſhip, which they formed with each other, or with more experienced men, trained them for a ſchool, which no Aſpaſia could eaſily ſupply. Hence, in many ſtates, the manly love of the greeks; with that emulation, that inſtruction, that conſtancy, and that ſacrifice of ſelf, the feelings and conſequences of which we read in Plato almoſt as a romance from a foreign planet. Manly hearts united

* See *Oeuvres par St. Pierre*; 'St. Pierre's Works,' Vol. I, and almoſt all his writings.

in bonds of love and friendſhip, that held till death: the friends diſplayed toward each other a ſort of jealouſy, which hunted out the minuteſt ſpots; and each dreaded the other's eye, as a penetrating flame diſcovering the moſt ſecret inclinations of his mind. Youthful friendſhips are the ſweeteſt; and no ſentiment is ſo deſirable as the love of thoſe, with whom we have exerciſed ourſelves in the courſe of perfection, during the delightful years of our budding faculties: and this courſe was publicly preſcribed to the greeks in their gymnaſia, and in their military and political occupations, of which thoſe ſacred bands of lovers were the natural conſequences. I am far from defending the depravity of manners, which in time ſprung from the abuſe of theſe inſtitutions, particularly where youth exerciſed naked; but, alas! this abuſe flowed from the character of the people, whoſe warm imagination, and love almoſt to madneſs of every thing beautiful, in which they placed the ſupreme enjoyment of the gods, rendered ſuch diſorders inevitable. Had theſe been privately performed, they would have been ſtill more pernicious, as the hiſtory of all nations in warm climates, or of luxurious manners, ſufficiently proves. Thus public inſtitutions, and laudable aims, gave vent to the flame, that raged within: and thus it came under the coercive inſpection of the laws, which employed it as an active engine for the purpoſes of the ſtate.

Laſtly. As triple Greece, ſituate in two quarters of the Globe, was divided into many tribes and ſtates; the moral culture, that appeared in various places, muſt have been genetic to each tribe, and political in ſuch different ways, that this circumſtance alone is ſufficient, to explain the happy progreſs of grecian manners. The ſtates of Greece were connected only by the gentleſt bands; a common religion and language, the oracles, the games, the tribunal of amphictyons, &c.; or by deſcent and colonization; and laſtly by the remembrance of ancient common enterprizes, poetry, and national fame: no deſpot compelled any farther union; and even their common perils for a long time paſſed over without deſtructive conſequences. Hence each tribe drew from the ſource of culture what it eſteemed proper, and watered itſelf from what rivulet it thought fit. And this it did according to it's wants; though principally under the guidance of ſome ſuperiour men, whom forming Nature ſent. Even among the kings of Greece there were worthy ſons of the ancient heroes, who had advanced with the times, and rendered not leſs ſervice to their people by good laws, than their fathers had done by their celebrated valour. Thus, excepting the firſt founders of colonies, Minos was particularly eminent among royal legiſlators, who formed to war his valiant cretans, the inhabitants of a mountainous iſland, and was a pattern in aftertimes for Lycurgus. He was the firſt, that checked the pirates, and gave

ſecurity to the Egean ſea; the firſt general founder of morals by ſea and land. That ſeveral monarchs reſembled him in being the authors of good inſtitutions, appears from the hiſtories of Athens, Syracuſe, and other kingdoms. But, it muſt be confeſſed, the activity of mankind in moral cultivation, as connected with the ſtate, aſſumed a very different appearance, when moſt of the grecian monarchies were converted into republics: a revolution, certainly one of the moſt memorable in all the hiſtory of mankind. It was not poſſible in any country but Greece, where a number of individual nations had continued to cheriſh the remembrance of their origin and race, even under their kings. Every people conſidered itſelf as a diſtinct political body, which poſſeſſed the ſame right to form it's own inſtitutions as it's wandering anceſtors: none of the grecian tribes were ſold at the will of an hereditary ſucceſſion of kings. From this it does not follow, that the new government was better than the old: almoſt every where the principal and moſt powerful perſons ruled inſtead of a king, ſo that in many cities there was leſs order, and an inſupportable oppreſſion of the people: yet thus the die was caſt, and mankind, as emerging from a ſtate of pupillage, learned to think for themſelves concerning their political conſtitution. Accordingly the era of the grecian republics was the firſt ſtep of the human mind toward manhood, reſpecting the important queſtion, how men ſhould govern men. All the miſtakes and errours of the governments of Greece are to be conſidered as the eſſays of youth, which commonly learns to be wiſe only from misfortune.

Thus in many ſtates and colonies, that had become free, men of wiſdom roſe up, and acted as the guardians of the people. They ſaw the evils under which their fellow-citizens ſuffered, and turned their thoughts to a conſtitution, erected on the laws and manners of the community. Moſt of theſe ancient grecian ſages filled ſome public office, were governors of the people, counſellors of the king, or leaders of armies: for from ſuch men of rank alone could proceed a political culture, exerting effective influence on the people. Even Lycurgus, Draco, Solon, were of the firſt families of the ſtate, or members of adminiſtration: in their times the evils of ariſtocracy, and the diſcontents of the people, had reached the higheſt pitch; and hence aroſe the ready reception of the improved inſtitutions they propoſed. Theſe men will inherit immortal praiſe, for that, poſſeſſing the confidence of the people, they declined the ſovereign power, both for themſelves and their poſterity; and applied all their induſtry, all their knowledge of men and of the world, to a commonwealth, that is, to the ſtate as a ſtate. If their firſt attempts were far from the ſummit of perfection, far from being eternal maſterpieces of human inſtitutions; ſuch they were

were not to be: their excellence was local, and their authors were frequently compelled againſt their will, to adapt them to the manners of the community, and it's radical evils. Lycurgus had a freer ſcope than Solon; but he recurred to times too remote, and founded a ſtate on ſuch principles, as if the World were to perſevere eternally in the heroic age of uncultivated youth. He gave perpetuity to his laws without waiting for their effects; and to a mind like his it would have been the ſevereſt puniſhment, could he have looked through all the periods of grecian hiſtory, to perceive the conſequences they occaſioned to his own ſtate, and ſometimes to all Greece, partly by their abuſe, and partly by too long continuance. The laws of Solon were injurious in another way. He himſelf outlived their ſpirit: the evil conſequences of popular government he foreſaw, and they remained evident to the wiſeſt and beſt of his city, even to the laſt gaſp of Athens *. But this is ſome time or other the fate of all human inſtitutions, particularly the moſt difficult, thoſe that concern countries and people. Time and nature alter every thing; and ſhall not men's way of life be changed? With every new generation a new way of thinking ariſes, however government and education may adhere to their ancient modes. New wants and dangers, new advantages of conqueſt, wealth, or increaſing dignity, and even increaſe of population, augment the tide: and how can yeſterday remain today? or the ancient law be an eternal law? The law is retained, but probably in appearance only; and, alas! chiefly in it's abuſes, the ſacrifice of which appears too ſevere to ſelfiſh and indolent men. This was the caſe with the laws of Lycurgus, Solon, Romulus, and Moſes, and all that outlived their day.

Hence it is very affecting to hear the words of theſe legiſlators in their later years: they are commonly the voice of complaint; for they lived long, they outlived themſelves. Such are the words of Moſes and of Solon, in the few fragments we have of them: nay, if we exclude mere moral maxims, almoſt all the reflections of the grecian ſages have a plaintive tone. They perceived the mutable deſtiny and happineſs of men, which the laws of nature confine to narrow limits, ſadly perplexed by their own conduct, and lamented it. They lamented the tranſitorineſs of human life, and blooming youth; and they contemplated old age, often poor and diſeaſed, but always weak and deſpiſed. They lamented the ſucceſs of the impudent, and the ſorrows of the well-meaning: but they omitted not to recommend in an affecting tone, to the members of their community the moſt effectual weapons againſt theſe, prudence and a ſound

* See Xenophon on the Commonwealth of the Athenians; alſo Plato, Ariſtotle, &c.

underſtanding,

underſtanding, moderation of the paſſions and quiet induſtry, ſimplicity and true friendſhip, ſtedfaſtneſs and inflexibility of mind, reverence for the gods and love of our country. Even in the remains of the later grecian comedies theſe plaintive tones of gentle humanity are heard *.

Thus in ſpite of all the evil conſequences, and in part horrible, to the helots, pelaſgians, colonies, foreigners, and enemies, that proceeded from many grecian ſtates; we cannot overlook the noble ſublimity of that public ſpirit, which flouriſhed, in it's day, in Lacedemon, Athens, Thebes, and, in a certain degree, in every part of Greece. It is unqueſtionably true, that, as it flowed not from particular laws of one particular man, it flouriſhed not equally at all times, and in every member of the ſtate: yet it flouriſhed among the greeks, as even their unjuſt and jealous wars, their ſevereſt oppreſſions, and the moſt perfidious traitors to their civic virtue, evince. The monumental inſcription of the ſpartans that fell at Thermopylæ,

> 'Traveller, tell at Sparta,
> 'That here we lie, ſlain in obedience to her laws,'

will for ever remain the fundamental principle of ſupreme political virtue; which, after the lapſe of two thouſand years, gives us only to lament, that once indeed it was the maxim of a few ſpartans, with regard to ſome rigid patrician laws of a narrow country, but never became a principle for the pure laws of collective mankind. The principle itſelf is the higheſt, that men could nvent and practice for their liberty and happineſs. The ſame may be ſaid of the conſtitution of Athens, though it ſtruck into a very different path. For if enlightening the people with regard to thoſe things, in which they are moſt concerned, ought to be the object of a political eſtabliſhment, Athens was unqueſtionably the moſt enlightened city throughout the whole World. Neither Paris nor London, neither Rome nor Babylon, and ſtill leſs Memphis, Jeruſalem, Pekin, or Benares, can enter into competition with it. Now as *patriotiſm*, and an *enlightened mind*, are the two poles, round which all the moral cultivation of mankind revolves, Athens and Sparta will ever be remembered as the two grand ſtages, on which human politics firſt exerciſed themſelves in this career with youthful animation. The other grecian ſtates for the moſt part only followed theſe two grand examples; and a few, that refuſed to copy the conſtitutions of Athens and Lacedæmon, fell a prey to conqueſt.

The philoſophy of hiſtory, however, conſiders not ſo much what was actually done by feeble men on theſe two points of the Earth, during the ſhort period

* Of this elſewhere.

of

of their operations, as what followed from the principles of their inſtitutions with regard to mankind in general. In ſpite of all their faults, the names of Lycurgus and Solon, Miltiades and Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Ageſilaus, Agis, Cleomenes, Dion, Timoleon, and others, will live with eternal fame; while Alcibiades, Conon, Pauſanias, Lyſander, men equally great, will be mentioned with reproach, as ſubverters of the public ſpirit of Greece, or traitors to their country. Without an Athens, even the modeſt virtue of Socrates could ſcarcely have produced ſuch bloſſoms as it afterwards did in ſome of his ſcholars: for Socrates was no more than a citizen of Athens, and all his wiſdom was only the wiſdom of an athenian citizen, which he propagated in domeſtic dialogues. With regard to the wiſdom of common life we are indebted to Athens alone for the moſt and beſt in all ages.

As little can be ſaid of practical virtues, we muſt yet beſtow a few words on inſtitutions, of which only an athenian popular government was ſuſceptible, the forum and the ſtage. Orators before a tribunal, and particularly on affairs of ſtate, where immediate deciſion follows, are dangerous inſtruments; and their bad conſequences are ſufficiently obvious in the hiſtory of Athens. Yet as they preſume a people, that have knowledge, or at leaſt are capable of having knowledge of every public buſineſs, that is brought before them; the athenian people, notwithſtanding all their parties, remain alone in hiſtory, being ſcarcely equalled even by the romans. For the buſineſs itſelf, to elect or try a general, to decide on peace and war, life and death, and every public affair of ſtate, a turbulent mob was certainly unfit: yet the conduct of this buſineſs, and all the arts employed in it, opened even the ears of the unruly mob, and gave them that enlightened mind, that propenſity to political converſation, with which all the aſiatic nations were unacquainted. Eloquence, thus exerciſed before the public, roſe to ſuch a height, as it no where attained, except in Greece and Rome, and as it never can or will reach again, till perhaps popular oratory is united with the univerſal diffuſion of true knowledge. The object is unqueſtionably great; though in Athens the means fell ſhort of the end. It was the ſame with the athenian ſtage. This exhibited plays for the people, popular, ſublime, and ingenious: but with Athens it's hiſtory is no more; as the narrow circle of determinate ſubjects, paſſions, and views, to work upon it's people, could ſcarcely revive for the mixed multitude of another race, and a different political conſtitution. The moral cultivation of the greeks, therefore, muſt never be meaſured, either in their public hiſtory, or in their orators and dramatic poets, by the ſtandard of abſtract morality; for in neither

neither of them was ſuch a ſtandard followed *. Hiſtory ſhows, how the greeks, in every period, were all, that their ſituation permitted, both of good and of bad. The orator ſhows, with what eyes he viewed parties in the purſuit of his profeſſion, and with what colours it was neceſſary to his purpoſe to portray them. The dramatic poet brought on the ſtage ſuch characters as preceding times afforded, or as it ſuited his object to exhibit to his particular audience. Concluſions reſpecting the morality or immorality of the people at large drawn from theſe would be groundleſs: yet no one will diſpute, that the greeks, at certain periods, and in certain cities, were the moſt ingenious, gay, and enlightened people of their world, according to the circle of objects then before them. The citizens of Athens afforded generals, orators, ſophiſts, judges, ſtateſmen, and artiſts, as education, propenſity, choice, fate, or accident, directed; and in one greek many of the beſt and nobleſt qualities were often united.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Scientific Acquirements of the Greeks.*

IT is doing juſtice to no people upon Earth, to judge of them by a foreign ſtandard of ſcience: yet this has been done to the greeks, as well as to many aſiatic nations, and they have often been unjuſtly loaded both with blame and praiſe. The greeks were unacquainted with any ſpeculative ſyſtem of doctrines reſpecting God and the human ſoul: the inquiries concerning them were private opinions, in which every philoſopher was free, ſo long as he obſerved the religious rites of his country, and rendered himſelf obnoxious to no political party. In Greece the human mind had on this point, as it generally has, to fight it's way; and in this at length it was crowned with ſucceſs.

The grecian philoſophy proceeded from ancient tales of the gods and theogonies; and much indeed was ſpun from them by the fine invention of the greeks. The fictions of the births of the gods, of the conflicts of the elements, of the love and hatred of beings towards each other, were ſo improved in various directions by their different ſchools, that we may almoſt ſay, they had advanced as far as ourſelves, when we invent coſmogonies without the aid of natural hiſtory. Nay in ſome reſpects they advanced farther; as their minds were more at liberty, and no preconceived hypotheſis biaſſed them in their courſe. Even

* See the introduction to Gillies's Tranſlation of the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, with other ſimilar works, in which Greece is eſtimated from it's orators and poets.

the numbers of Pythagoras, and other philoſophers, are bold attempts, to aſſociate the knowledge of things with the ſimpleſt idea of the human mind, a clearly conceived magnitude: but as natural philoſophy and mathematics were then in their infancy, the attempt was premature. Yet, like the ſyſtems of many other grecian philoſophers, it will ever excite in us a degree of veneration; as theſe in general, each in it's particular ſphere, were the fruits of profound reflection and extenſive comprehenſion: many of them are founded on truths and obſervations, of which, perhaps to the advantage of ſcience, we have ſince loſt ſight. That none of the ancient philoſophers conceived god, for inſtance, as a being diſtinct from the World, or a pure metaphyſical monad, but all adhered to the idea of a ſoul of the World, was perfectly conſonant to the childhood of human philoſophy, and perhaps will for ever remain conſonant to it. It is to be lamented, that we are acquainted with the boldeſt opinions of philoſophers only from mutilated accounts, but not ſyſtematically from their own works: ſtill more is it to be regretted, however, that we are diſinclined to place ourſelves in their times, and eager to intrude on them our way of thinking. In general ideas every nation has it's particular way of ſeeing, founded for the moſt part on the mode of expreſſion, that is to ſay, on tradition: and as the philoſophy of the greeks aroſe from poems and allegories, this gave to their abſtract ideas a peculiar ſtamp, to themſelves perfectly clear. Even the allegories of Plato are not merely ornamental: their images are like the claſſical ſentences of old times, ingenious developements of ancient poetical traditions.

The inquiries of the greeks were principally directed to the philoſophy of man and morals; as the time in which they lived, and their political conſtitution, led them particularly this way. Natural hiſtory, mathematics, and natural philoſophy, were yet in their rudiments; and the implements of modern diſcovery were not invented. Every thing, on the other hand, attracted them toward the nature and manners of mankind. This was the predominant tone of the poetry, hiſtory, and political inſtitutions of the greeks: every citizen felt the neceſſity of knowing his fellow-citizens, and was occaſionally liable to be choſen to public offices, which he could not refuſe to fill: the paſſions and active powers of men had then freer play, they ſuffered not even the retired philoſopher to paſs unnoticed: to govern men, or to perform the part of an effective member of ſociety, was the predominant propenſity of every ambitious grecian ſoul. It is nothing wonderful, therefore, that the philoſophy of the metaphyſician ſhould be occupied on the improvement of morals or the ſtate, as we find in Pythagoras, Plato, and even Ariſtotle. As citizens they

had no call to found ſtates: Pythagoras was not as Lycurgus, Solon, and others, a ſovereign, or an archon: and the greater part of his philoſophy was ſpeculative, bordering even on ſuperſtition. Yet in his ſchool were educated men, whoſe influence on the ſtates of Græcia Magna was very great; and the ſociety of his diſciples, if fate had allowed it longer duration, would probably have been the moſt effiacious, as it certainly was a very pure engine for the improvement of mankind *. But even this ſtep of a man far ſuperiour to the age in which he lived was premature: the wealthy, ſybaritiſh cities of Græcia Magna, and their tyrants, deſired no ſuch cenſors of morals, and the pythagoreans were martyred.

It is an often repeated encomium, though in my opinion exaggerated, of the benevolent Socrates, that he was the firſt and chief, who called philoſophy from Heaven down to Earth, and imparted to man the boon of morality. This encomium at moſt is valid only with regard to the perſon of Socrates, and the narrow circle of his own life. Long before him there were ſages, who had actively inculcated morals upon mankind; as this was the diſtinguiſhing character of grecian lore, even from the fabulous Orpheus †. Pythagoras, too, laid much more extenſive foundations for the improvement of men's morals by his diſciples, than Socrates was capable of doing by means of all his friends. That Socrates was not fond of ſublime abſtract ſpeculations aroſe from his ſituation, and the circle of his knowledge, though chiefly from the time and his mode of life. The ſyſtems of imagination, without farther natural experiments, were exhauſted; and the grecian wiſdom was become the wordy play of ſophiſts; ſo that it required no great effort, to deſpiſe or throw aſide, what was incapable of being carried to a higher pitch. His demon, his native integrity, and the domeſtic courſe of his life, guarded him againſt the dazzling ſpirit of the ſophiſts; and offered to his philoſophy the proper object of man, which had ſuch beneficial effects on almoſt all with whom he converſed. Theſe effects, however were promoted by the time, the place, and the circle, in which Socrates lived. Elſewhere the philoſophic citizen would have been a virtuous and enlightened man, yet probably we ſhould never have heard of his name; for no invention, no new doctrine, peculiar to himſelf, marks him in the book of Time: his method and manner of life, the moral cultivation, which he gave himſelf, and endeavoured to impart to others, and more particularly the manner of his death, point him out as a pattern to mankind.

* See the hiſtory of this ſociety in Meiners's *Geſchichte der Wiſſenſchaften in Griechenland und Rom*, 'Hiſtory of the Sciences in Greece and Rome,' Vol. I.

† Meæ noctes—de uno maximè illo verſu Homeri quærunt, quem Socrates præ omnibus ſemper rebus ſibi eſſe cordi dicebat;
'Οττι τοι ἐν μεγαροισι κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν τε τέτυκται.'
Gellius, xiv. 6. F.

Much is requiſite to form a Socrates; above all the valuable talent of being ſatisfied with little, and that exquiſite taſte for moral beauty, which in himſelf he ſeems to have refined into a ſort of inſtinct: yet let us not exalt this modeſt worthy man above the ſphere, in which Providence fixed him. He educated few ſcholars completely worthy of himſelf: becauſe his wiſdom belonged as it were to the houſhold ſtuff of his own life; and his excellent method was eaſily ſuſceptible of degenerating, in the mouths of his immediate diſciples, into jeſt and ſophiſtry, if the ironical queſtioner poſſeſſed not the ſame ſtamp of heart and mind as Socrates. Even if we impartially compare his two moſt celebrated diſciples, Xenophon and Plato, we ſhall find, to uſe his own modeſt expreſſion, that he was only the midwife of their natural genius; whence they appear ſo unlike each other. The moſt diſtinguiſhed parts of their works evidently flow from their own way of thinking; and the beſt thanks they could pay the teacher they loved, were to exhibit his moral picture. It was much to be wiſhed, however, that the ſcholars of Socrates could have infuſed his ſpirit into all the laws and political inſtitutions of Greece: but hiſtory ſhows, that this was not done. He lived at the period, when Athens had attained her higheſt poliſh; but at the ſame time the grecian ſtates were moſt at variance with each other: this conjunction of circumſtances could not fail to be ſucceeded by unfortunate times, and the declenſion of manners; and theſe ſoon effected the downfal of grecian liberty. Againſt theſe they were not protected by ſocratic wiſdom, which was too pure and delicate, to ſway the fate of a people. Xenophon, the ſtateſman and general, pointed out defects in the conſtitution, which he poſſeſſed not the power to amend. Plato created an ideal republic, which was no where carried into practice, and leaſt of all in the court of Dionyſius. In ſhort, the philoſophy of Socrates was more beneficial to mankind, than to Greece; and this is unqueſtionably it's nobleſt praiſe.

Far different was the ſpirit of Ariſtotle, the moſt acute, firm, and dry, perhaps, that ever guided the ſtyle. His philoſophy, indeed, is more the philoſophy of the ſchools, than of common life; particularly in thoſe of his writings which we poſſeſs, and in the manner in which they are uſed: but abſtract reaſon and ſcience have gained ſo much the more in him, ſo that in this ſphere he ſtands alone as the monarch of the times. That the ſchoolmen, for the moſt part, attended to his metaphyſics only, was not the fault of Ariſtotle, but their own; yet theſe incredibly ſharpened human reaſon. They put into the hands of barbarous nations implements, by which the obſcure dreams of fancy and tradition were firſt converted into ſophiſms, and thus gradually deſtroyed themſelves. His better works, however, his natural hiſtory and phyſics, ethics, politics,

politics, poetics, and rhetoric, ſtill want much happy application. It is to be regretted, that his hiſtorical works are loſt, and that of his natural hiſtory we have only abſtracts. Let thoſe, however, who deny the greeks the ſpirit of pure ſcience, read Ariſtotle and Euclid, writers, never excelled in their kind: then, too, it was the merit of Plato and Ariſtotle, to awaken the ſpirit of natural knowledge and mathematics, which in greatneſs ſoars beyond all moraliſing, and labours for all ages. Many of their ſcholars promoted aſtronomy, botany, anatomy, and other ſciences; while Ariſtotle himſelf, with his natural hiſtory alone, formed the baſis of an edifice, in the completion of which ages yet to come will find employment. In Greece were laid the foundations of every thing knowable in ſcience, as of every thing beautiful in form: alas! that fate has allowed us ſo little of the works of it's profoundeſt philoſophers! What remains is excellent: but, perhaps, the moſt excellent is gone.

It will not be expected of me to go through the ſeparate ſciences of mathematics, phyſic, natural knowledge, and all the fine arts, to give a ſtring of names of thoſe, who, as inventors or improvers, have ſerved as the groundwork of every thing ſcientific in them to all ſubſequent ages. It is univerſally known, that Aſia and Egypt have given us, properly ſpeaking, no true form of knowledge in any art or ſcience: for ſuch we have to thank the acute methodical ſpirit of the greeks alone. Now as it is a determinate form of knowledge, that effects their augmentation or improvement in future times, we are indebted to the greeks for the baſis of almoſt all our ſciences. Let them have appropriated to themſelves as many foreign ideas as they pleaſed, ſo much the better for us: it is ſufficient that they methodiſed them, and aimed at clearer knowledge. In this the various ſchools of the greeks were what their ſeveral republics were in politics, emulous powers contending together for one common object: without this diviſion ſo much would not have been done for ſcience even in Greece. The ionian, italian, and athenian ſchools, though they had one common language, were parted by lands and ſeas: each therefore could ſeparately take root, and when it was engrafted, or tranſplanted, bore ſo much the finer fruit. No one of the early philoſophers was paid by the ſtate, or even by his ſcholars: he thought for himſelf; he invented from love of ſcience, or from love of fame. Thoſe whom he inſtructed were not children, but youths, or men; and frequently men who bore the moſt important offices in the ſtate. Men did not write then for annual fairs of literature; but their thoughts were ſo much the more perſeveringly and profoundly employed: at the ſame time, in the fine climate of Greece, the temperate philoſopher could think undiſturbed by care, as little was required for his ſupport.

In

In the mean time, we muſt not here refuſe monarchy the praiſe it deſerves. No one of the grecian republics was capable of affording Ariſtotle that aſſiſtance in natural hiſtory, which he received from his royal ſcholar: ſtill leſs could the ſciences that require leiſure and expenſe, as mathematics, aſtronomy, &c., have made the advancement they did in Alexandria, without the eſtabliſhments founded by the Ptolemies. To theſe we are indebted for an Euclid, an Eratoſthenes, Apollonius Pergæus, Ptolemy, and others, who laid the foundations of ſciences, on which not only the preſent ſyſtem of learning reſts, but, in a certain degree, the government of the whole World. That the period of grecian eloquence and popular philoſophy ended with the republics, was not without it's advantages: theſe had born their fruits; but other germes of ſcience, ſpringing from grecian minds, were neceſſary to the human underſtanding. We readily forgive the egyptian Alexandria for the inferiority of her poets*; ſhe made ample compenſation in good aſtronomers and mathematicians. Poets form themſelves: diligence and practice alone make accurate obſervers.

There are three ſubjects, in particular, to which the grecian philoſophy opened the path, in a manner that could ſcarcely have been accompliſhed in any other part of the World: language, hiſtory, and the arts. The language of the greeks received ſuch abundant richneſs and beauty from their poets, orators, and philoſophers, that in later times the inſtrument itſelf, when incapable of being applied to ſuch brilliant ends in public life, attracted no inconſiderable attention. Hence the art of the grammarians, who were in part actual philoſophers. Time indeed has robbed us of the greater part of theſe writers; though the ſenſe of this loſs is deadened by that of many greater: their influence, however, has not been obliterated; for the ſtudy of the greek language emitted ſparks, at which that of the latin, and of the philoſophy of language in general, caught fire. Nay hence ſprung the ſtudy of the oriental dialects of Hither Aſia: for it was from the greek, that men learned to reduce the hebrew, arabic, and other languages, to rules.

In like manner a philoſophy of the arts was thought of no where but in Greece; where, from a happy impulſe of nature, and a ſure habitual taſte, poets and artiſts carried into practice a philoſophy of the beautiful, before it's rules were analyzed. Thus from the aſtoniſhing emulation in epic and dramatic poetry, and in public ſpeaking, a criticiſm was neceſſarily formed, to which ours can ſcarcely be compared. A few late fragments of it only, the writings

* See Heyne on the Genius of the Age of the Ptolemies, in *Opuſc. acad.*, 'Academical Tracts,' Part I, p. 76 and foll.

of

of Ariſtotle excepted, have come down to us; but theſe evince the refined penetration of the grecian critics.

Laſtly, the philoſophy of hiſtory belongs particularly to Greece; for the greeks alone poſſeſſed what might properly be called hiſtory. The orientals had their genealogies and fables; the northern nations, their tales; others, their poems: the greeks, in proceſs of time, formed from tales, poems, fables, and genealogies, the ſound body of a narrative, through all the members of which the current of vitality flows. Here, too, it's ancient poetry led the way, for it is not eaſy to relate a fable in a more pleaſing manner, than was done in the epic poem: the diviſion of the ſubject into rhapſodies introduced ſimilar pauſes in hiſtory, and the long hexameter was well adapted ſoon to form the melody of hiſtorical proſe. Thus Herodotus ſucceeded Homer; and the ſubſequent hiſtorians of the commonwealths introduced their colouring, the ſpirit of republican oratory, into their narration. Now as with Thucydides and Xenophon the grecian hiſtory proceeded from Athens, and it's writers were themſelves ſtateſmen and generals, their hiſtory naturally became a collection of facts and reaſonings upon them, without their ſeeking to give them this philoſophical form. The public orations, the intricacy of grecian affairs, the animated appearance of events and their motives, prompted ſuch a form; and we may confidently aſſert, that no philoſophical hiſtory would have been known to the World, had the grecian republics never exiſted. In proportion as the military art and the ſcience of politics developed themſelves, the philoſophical ſpirit of hiſtory was rendered more elaborate; till at length it became in the hands of Polybius almoſt the ſciences of war and politics themſelves. In models of this kind ſubſequent ſpeculators had ample materials for their remarks; and the Dionyſiuſes had certainly ampler opportunities to acquire the rudiments of hiſtory, than a chineſe, a jew, or even a roman could have poſſeſſed.

As we thus find the greeks ſo rich and ſucceſsful in every exerciſe of the mind, in poetical, oratorical, philoſophical, ſcientific, and hiſtorical works; why, Fate of the times, haſt thou deprived us of ſo many of them? Where are the Amazonia of Homer, his Thebaid and Ireſione, his Iambics, and his Margites? Where are the many loſt pieces of Archilochus, Simonides, Alcæus, and Pindar; the eighty three tragedies of Æſchylus, the hundred and eighteen of Sophocles; and the innumerable performances of tragic, comic, and lyric poets, the greateſt philoſophers, the moſt indiſpenſable hiſtorians, the moſt memorable mathematicians, natural philoſophers, and others, that have periſhed? For one work of Democritus, Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, Polybius, or Euclid;

Euclid; for one tragedy of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and ſo many others; for one comedy of Ariſtophanes, Philemon, or Menander; for one ode of Sappho or Alcæus; for the loſt natural and political hiſtory of Ariſtotle, or for the five and thirty books of Polybius; who would not give a mountain of modern writings, his own the firſt in the heap, to heat the baths of Alexandria for a twelvemonth? But the iron foot of deſtiny takes a far different courſe, regardleſs of the immortality of individual performances in ſcience, or in art. The grand Propylæum of Athens, all the temples of the gods, thoſe magnificent palaces, walls, coloſſuſes, columns, ſeats, aqueducts, ſtreets, altars, which the ancients erected for eternity, have fallen beneath the fury of the conqueror; and ſhould a few feeble leaves of human induſtry and reflection be ſpared? Rather is it a ſubject of wonder, that we have ſo many; too many, perhaps, for us to have uſed them all as they ought to have been uſed. In concluſion, let us now conſider the hiſtory of Greece as a whole, after having thus gone through it's parts: it inſtructively carries it's philoſophy with it, ſtep by ſtep.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Greece.*

However abundant the revolutions, that embroil the pages of grecian hiſtory, the threads of them lead to a few principal points, the natural laws of which are clear. For,

1. That in the three tracts of land, with their iſlands and peninſulas, which conſtituted Greece, many tribes and colonies, from the higher countries and the ſea, ſhould migrate from place to place, ſettle, and expel one another, is conformable to the univerſal hiſtory of the ancient world in ſimilar tracts of land and ſea. But here the migration was more animated, as the populous northern mountains, and the extenſive country of Aſia, were near; and the ſpirit of enterpriſe was kept in great activity by a ſeries of adventures, the tales of which were current. This is the hiſtory of Greece for about ſeven hundred years.

2. That different degrees of cultivation, and from different quarters, muſt have come to theſe tribes, follows equally from the nature of the country, and of circumſtances. They ſpread from the north; they paſſed over from different parts of the neighbouring civilized regions, and ſettled in different ways in different places. At length the predominating hellenes gave uniformity to the whole, and ſtamped the character of the grecian language and way of thinking.

Now

Now the ſeeds of cultivation, thus introduced, muſt have germinated very differently and unequally in Aſia Minor, in Græcia Magna, and in Greece properly ſo called: but this variety aided the grecian ſpirit by means of tranſplantation and rivalry: for it is an acknowledged fact, both in the hiſtory of plants and animals, that the ſame ſeed does not eternally flouriſh on the ſame ſpot, but produces more perfect and racy fruits, if tranſplanted at proper ſeaſons.

3. The ſeparate ſtates, from originally ſmall monarchies, in time became ariſtocracies, and ſome of them democracies: both were often in danger of falling again under the will of one ruler; the democracies moſt frequently. This, too, is the natural progreſs of political eſtabliſhments in their early youth. The chief people of the tribe thought proper to withdraw themſelves from obedience to the will of a monarch; and, as the people were unable to guide themſelves, they became their guides. But according as the occupation, the ſpirit, and the inſtitutions of the people were, they remained under theſe leaders, or aſſumed a ſhare in the government. The former was the caſe in Lacedæmon; the latter, in Athens. The cauſes of this may be found in the circumſtances and conſtitutions of the two cities. In Sparta the regents ſtrictly watched each other, ſo that no tyrant could ariſe: in Athens the people were more than once decoyed into a tyranny, either avowed or concealed. Both towns, with all they effected, were as natural conſequences of their ſituation, epoch, conſtitution, and circumſtances, as any natural production could be.

4. Several republics, pitted as it were more or leſs againſt each other, by common occupations, boundaries, or ſome other intereſt, but ſtill more by martial ſpirit and love of fame, would ſoon find cauſes of quarrel: the moſt powerful firſt; and theſe, when they could, would draw others to their party, till one obtained a preponderance. This was the caſe in the long wars between the juvenile ſtates of Greece, particularly between Lacedæmon and Athens, and latterly Thebes. The wars were carried on with animoſity, rigour, and often barbarity: as all wars will be, in which every citizen and ſoldier takes a common part. They moſtly originated from trifles, or points of honour, as battles among youths generally ariſe: and what appears ſingular, though it is not ſo by any means, every vanquiſhing party, Lacedæmon in particular, ſought to impoſe it's laws and conſtitution on the vanquiſhed, as if theſe would indelibly impreſs on it the marks of defeat. For ariſtocracy is a ſworn enemy to tyranny, as well as to popular government.

5. The wars of the greeks, however, conſidered as to the manner in which they were conducted, were not the mere incurſions of ſavages: in time they developed

the whole ſpirit of war and politics, which has ever turned the wheel of events *. Even the greeks knew the neceſſities of a ſtate, and the ſources of it's wealth and power, which they often endeavoured to create, though in a rude way. They underſtood the meaning too of the balance of power between the republics, and the different ranks in the ſtate; of ſecret and open confederacies; of ſtratagems of war; of preventing, abandoning, &c. Both in military and political affairs, the moſt expert of the romans, and of the moderns, have learned from the greeks: for however military manœuvres may change, with change of weapons, times, and the circumſtances of the World; the ſpirit of man, which invents, deceives, conceals it's purpoſes, attacks, defends, advances, retreats, diſcovers the weakneſs of an enemy, and in this way or that avails itſelf of advantages, or abuſes them, will remain at all times the ſame.

6. The war with the perſians makes the firſt grand era in grecian hiſtory. It was occaſioned by the aſiatic colonies, which had been unable to reſiſt the ſpirit of conqueſt of the vaſt oriental monarchy, but, accuſtomed to be free, ſought the earlieſt opportunity, to ſhake off the yoke. That the athenians ſent twenty ſhips to their aid, aroſe from the pride of democracy; for Cleomenes, the ſpartan, had refuſed them aſſiſtance: and with their twenty ſhips they led all Greece into the wildeſt war. When once it had commenced, however, it was a prodigy of valour, that a few inconſiderable ſtates ſhould gain important victories over two great kings of Aſia. But it was no miracle: the perſians were drawn altogether out of their focus; the greeks contended for land, life, and liberty. They fought againſt ſlaviſh barbarians, who had ſhown them, in the example of the eretrians, what they had to expect; and therefore neglected nothing, that human wiſdom and valour could perform. The perſians under Xerxes attacked as barbarians: in one hand they brought chains to enſlave; in the other, fire to lay deſolate: but this was not fighting with prudence. Themiſtocles employed merely the advantage of the wind againſt them: and it muſt be confeſſed, that to an unwieldy fleet a contrary wind is a dangerous opponent. In ſhort, the perſians conducted the war with a great force, and much fury; but without ſkill: conſequently the event could not be ſucceſsful. Even had the greeks been defeated, and their whole country laid waſte like Athens; the perſians, from the centre of Aſia, and with ſuch an internal ſtate of the kingdom, could never have retained them in ſubjection; for they found it extremely difficult even to hold Egypt. The ſea was the friend of Greece, as the Delphian oracle ſaid in another ſenſe.

* A compariſon of ſeveral nations, in this reſpect, will ariſe from the progreſs of hiſtory.

7. But

7. But the defeated perſians left behind them in Athens, with their ſpoils and diſgrace, a ſpark, which kindled flames, that deſtroyed all the grecian inſtitutions. This conſiſted of the wealth and glory, the ſplendour and jealouſy, in ſhort all the ingredients of that pride, which followed the war. In Athens the age of Pericles ſoon aroſe; the moſt brilliant ever experienced by a ſtate ſo ſmall: and it was quickly followed, from very natural cauſes, by the unfortunate peloponneſian war, and the two ſpartan; till at length a ſingle victory enabled Philip of Macedon, to throw his chains over all Greece. Let no one ſay, that an unpropitious deity controls the fate of mankind, and enviouſly ſeeks to caſt them down: men are the malignant demons of each other. As Greece was in thoſe days, could it fail of being an eaſy prey to a conqueror? And whence could this conqueror come, but from the mountains of Macedon? From Perſia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Rome, Carthage, it was ſecure: but near it was an enemy, who griped it in his ſtrong and wily talons. The oracle was here more prudent than the greeks: it philippized; and the whole of the event confirmed the general poſition, 'that a race of united mountaineers, expert in war, and ſeated on the neck of a divided, enfeebled, enervated nation, muſt neceſſarily conquer it, if it purſue it's object with prudence and valour.' This Philip did, and ſeized on Greece, which had long before been vanquiſhed by itſelf. Here the hiſtory of Greece would have terminated, had Philip been a barbarian like Alaric or Sylla: but he was himſelf a greek, and his ſtill greater ſon was the ſame; and thus, even with the loſs of their liberty, the greeks obtained a name in the annals of the World, which few have equalled.

8. The young Alexander, who was ſcarcely twenty years old when he aſcended the throne, and fired with the unchecked ardour of ambition, proceeded to execute the plan, for which his father had made all the neceſſary preparations: he went over into Aſia, and invaded the dominions of the perſian monarch himſelf. This too was an event moſt naturally to be expected. All the expeditions of the perſians againſt Greece by land had paſſed through Thrace and Macedon; and in conſequence theſe two nations cheriſhed an ancient grudge againſt the people of Perſia. The weakneſs of the perſians, too, was ſufficiently known to the greeks, not only from the ancient battles of Marathon, Platæa, &c., but, from the more recent retreat of Xenophon with his ten thouſand greeks. Now whither ſhould the macedonian, the ruler of Greece and generaliſſimo of it's forces, direct his arms, and lead his phalanx, but againſt the wealthy monarchy, which had been deeply decaying internally for a century? The young hero fought three battles, and Aſia Minor, Syria, Phenicia, Egypt, Lybia, Perſia, and India, were his own: nay he might have advanced to the boundaries of the

ocean, if his macedonians, more prudent than himſelf, had not compelled him to retreat. Little as all this ſucceſs deſerves the name of miraculous, as little was his death at Babylon the work of envious fate. 'How grand was the conception, from Babylon to rule the World! a world, that extended from the Hindus to Lybia, and even over all Greece as far as the Icarian ſea. How vaſt the idea, to make of all this country a Greece in language, manners, arts, trade, and colonization; and to render Bactra, Suſa, Alexandria, and many other cities, each a new Athens! And behold, the conqueror was cut off in the bloom of his life; and with him died every hope of a new-created grecian world!' Should a man ſay thus to Fate, he would receive for anſwer: 'Let Babylon or Pella be the reſidence of Alexander; let the bactrians ſpeak the language of Greece or of Parthia; if the ſon of a mortal would execute his projects, let him be temperate, and not drink himſelf to death.' This Alexander did, and his kingdom was at an end. It is no wonder, that he deſtroyed himſelf; it is much rather to be wondered, that he, who had long ceaſed to be able to ſupport his good fortune, did not ſooner finiſh his career.

9. The empire was now divided: the vaſt bubble burſt. When and where was the event different under ſimilar circumſtances? The dominions of Alexander were in no reſpect united: they were ſcarcely conſolidated into a whole even in the mind of the conqueror himſelf. The cities he had founded in different places were unable to defend themſelves in their infant ſtate without ſuch a protector as he, much leſs to keep in check the nations, on which they were impoſed. Now as Alexander died in a manner without an heir, how could it be otherwiſe, than that the birds of prey, who had aſſiſted him in his victorious flight, ſhould begin to plunder for themſelves? They quarrelled among each other, and contended together for a long time, till each had eſtabliſhed his neſt on the ſpoils of victory. This has been the caſe with every ſtate formed by ſuch extenſive and ſpeedy conqueſt, and ſupported only by the mind of the conqueror: the nature of various nations and countries ſoon reclaims it's rights; ſo that it can be aſcribed only to the ſuperiority of the poliſhed Greeks over the barbarians, that ſo many forcibly united regions did not ſooner return to their old conſtitutions. Parthia, Bactra, and the countries beyond the Euphrates did this firſt: for they lay at too great a diſtance from the centre of an empire, which had nothing to protect it againſt mountaineers of parthian deſcent. Had the Seleucidæ made Babylon their reſidence, as Alexander intended to have done, or their own Seleucia, they would probably have retained more power toward the eaſt; but then, it may alſo be preſumed, they would ſooner have ſunk into enervating luxury. It was the ſame with the aſiatic provinces

of the thracian empire: they availed themſelves of the right to which their conquerors had reſorted, and, when the thrones of the companions of Alexander were filled by their feebler ſucceſſors, became ſeparate kingdoms. In all this the invariably recurring natural laws of political hiſtory are conſpicuous.

10. The kingdoms that lay neareſt to Greece were of longeſt duration: and they might have endured ſtill longer, had not the diſputes between themſelves, and more particularly thoſe between the romans and carthaginians, involved them in that ruin, which, proceeding from the queen of Italy, gradually overſpread the whole ſhore of the Mediterranean ſea. Feeble, worn out kingdoms ſtaked their fortunes in an unequal conteſt, againſt which no great ſhare of prudence was requiſite to forewarn them. Still, however, they retained as much of the grecian arts and poliſh, as their rulers and the times would admit. The ſciences flouriſhed in Egypt under the guiſe of learning, as thus only they had been there introduced: like mummies they lay buried in the libraries and muſeums. In the aſiatic courts the arts became licentious pomp. The kings of Pergamus and Egypt rivalled each other in collecting books: an emulation, which was both injurious and beneficial to all future literature. They collected books and falſified them: and afterwards, with the burning of what was collected a whole world of ancient learning was deſtroyed at once. It is obvious, that in theſe things fate no otherwiſe interfered, than it does in all worldly events, which it leaves to the wiſe, or fooliſh, yet ever natural, conduct of men. When the man of letters laments over a loſt book of antiquity, how many things of more importance have we to lament, which have followed the invariable courſe of fate! The hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Alexander particularly claims our notice; not only becauſe it involves ſo many cauſes of the fall or preſervation of empires, but as a melancholy pattern of kingdoms founded on foreign acquiſitions, as well of territory, as of ſciences, arts, and cultivation.

11. That Greece in ſuch a ſtate could never more regain it's priſtine ſplendour, needs no demonſtration: the period of it's bloom had long been over. Many vain rulers, indeed, laboured to raiſe up grecian freedom: but it was an empty labour for a freedom without ſpirit, a body without a ſoul. Athens never ceaſed to idolize it's benefactors; and the arts, as well as declamations on philoſophy and ſcience, maintained themſelves in this ſeat of the general cultivation of Europe, as long as it was poſſible; but proſperity and devaſtation continued to alternate with each other. The little ſtates were ſtrangers to harmony, and the principles of mutual ſupport, though they formed the ætolian confederacy, and renewed the achaian league. Neither the prudence of Philopœmen, nor the rectitude

rectitude of Aratus, reſtored the ancient times of Greece. As the declining Sun, ſurrounded by the vapours of the horizon, aſſumes a greater and more romantic appearance; ſo did the political ſtate of Greece at this period: but the beams of the ſetting luminary no longer impart meridian warmth, and the politics of dying Greece remained ineffective. The romans came upon them as cajoling tyrants, the judges of all the differences in the country to their own advantage; and ſcarcely any barbarians could have acted worſe, than Mummius in Corinth, Sylla in Athens, and Æmilius in Macedon. The romans long continued to rob Greece of every thing, that could be carried away; till at length they reſpected it juſt as much as men reſpect a plundered corpſe. They paid flatterers there, and ſent thither their ſons, to ſtudy in the ſacred paths of the ancient philoſophers the ſophiſms of wordy pedants. At length ſucceeded the goths, the chriſtians, and the turks, who put a complete end to the empire of the grecian divinities, which had been long ſunk in decrepitude. They are fallen, the great gods, the olympian Jupiter and athenian Pallas, the Apollo of Delphi and the Juno of Argos: their temples are ruins, their ſtatues heaps of ſtone, and even their fragments may now be ſought in vain *. They are vaniſhed from the face of the Earth, ſo that it is difficult to conceive the ſway their faith once held, and the wonders it effected, among the moſt ingenious of all people. As theſe moſt beautiful idols of the human imagination have fallen, will the leſs beautiful fall like them? and for what will they make way; for other idols?

12. Græcia Magna, though in a different vortex, experienced at laſt a ſimilar fate. The moſt flouriſhing, populous cities, in the fineſt climate of the Earth, founded under the laws of Zaleucus, Charondas, and Diocles, and taking the lead of moſt of the grecian provinces in civilization, ſcience, arts, and commerce, were not, it is true, in the way of the perſians, or of Philip; and in conſequence maintained themſelves longer than their european and aſiatic ſiſters: but the period of their deſtiny arrived. Involved in various wars between Rome and Carthage, they at length fell, and ruined Rome by their manners, as Rome had ruined them by her arms. There lie their beautiful and ſpacious ruins, lamentably deſolated by earthquakes and volcanoes, but ſtill more by the rage of man †. The nymph Parthenope mourns; the Ceres of Sicily ſeeks her temple, and can ſcarcely find again her golden plains.

* See the travels of Spon, Stuart, Chandler, Riedeſel, and others.
† See the travels of Riedeſel, Howel, and others.

## CHAPTER VII.

*General Reflections on the Hiſtory of Greece.*

We have conſidered the hiſtory of this celebrated region in ſeveral points of view, as it is in ſome meaſure a general baſis for a philoſophy of hiſtory in all countries. The greeks not only remained free from any intermixture with foreign nations, ſo that their progreſs has been entirely their own; but they ſo perfectly filled up their period, and paſſed through every ſtage of civilization, from it's ſlighteſt commencement to it's completion, that no other nation can be compared with them. The people of the continent have either ſtopped at the rudiments of civilization, and unnaturally perpetuated them by laws and cuſtoms; or become a prey to conqueſt, before they had advanced beyond them: the bloſſom withered before it was blown. Greece, on the contrary, enjoyed it's full time: it formed every thing it was capable of forming, and a happy combination of circumſtances aided it in it's progreſs to perfection. On the continent undoubtedly it would ſoon have fallen a victim to ſome conqueror, like it's aſiatic brethren: had Darius and Xerxes accompliſhed their deſigns, the age of Pericles would never have appeared. Or had a deſpot ruled over the greeks, he would ſoon have become himſelf a conqueror, according to the diſpoſition of all deſpots, and, as Alexander did, have empurpled diſtant rivers with grecian blood. Foreign nations would have been introduced into their country, and their victories would have diſperſed them through foreign lands. From all this they were protected by the mediocrity of their power, and even their limited commerce, which never ventured beyond the pillars of Hercules and of Fortune. As the botaniſt cannot obtain a complete knowledge of a plant, unleſs he follow it from the ſeed, through it's germination, bloſſoming, and decay; ſuch is the grecian hiſtory to us: it is only to be regretted, that, according to the uſual courſe, it is yet far from having been ſtudied like that of Rome. At preſent it is my place, to indicate, from what has been ſaid, ſome points of view in this important fragment of general hiſtory, which moſt immediately preſent themſelves to the eye of obſervation: and here I muſt repeat the firſt grand principle:

*Whatever can take place among mankind, within the ſphere of given circumſtances of time, place, and nation, actually does take place.* Of this Greece affords the ampleſt and moſt beautiful proofs.

In natural philoſophy we never reckon upon miracles: we obſerve laws, which

we perceive every where equally effectual, undeviating, and regular. And ſhall man, with his powers, changes, and paſſions, burſt theſe chains of nature? Had Greece been peopled with chineſe, our Greece would never have exiſted: had our greeks been fixed where Darius led the enſlaved eretrians, they would have formed no Athens, they would have produced no Sparta. Behold Greece now: the ancient greeks are no more to be ſeen; nay frequently their country no longer appears. If a remnant of their language were not ſtill ſpoken; if marks of their way of thinking, if ruins of their cities and works of art, or at leaſt their ancient rivers and mountains, were not ſtill viſible: it might be ſuppoſed, that Greece was not leſs fabulous, than the iſland of Calypſo, or the gardens of Alcinous. But as the modern greeks have become what they are only by the courſe of time, through a given ſeries of cauſes and effects, ſo did the ancient; and not leſs every other nation upon Earth. The whole hiſtory of mankind is a pure natural hiſtory of human powers, actions, and propenſities, modified by time and place.

This principle is not more ſimple, than it is luminous and uſeful, in treating of the hiſtory of nations. Every hiſtorian agrees with me, that a barren wonder and recital deſerve not the name of hiſtory: and if this be juſt, the examining mind muſt exert all it's acumen on every hiſtorical event, as on a natural phenomenon. Thus in the narration of hiſtory it will ſeek the ſtricteſt truth; in forming it's conceptions and judgment, the moſt complete connexion: and never attempt to explain a thing which is, or happens, by a thing which is not. With this rigorous principle, every thing ideal, all the phantoms of a magic creation, will vaniſh: it will endeavour to ſee ſimply what is: and as ſoon as this is ſeen, the cauſes why it could not be otherwiſe will commonly appear. As ſoon as the mind has acquired this habit in hiſtory, it will have found the way to that ſound philoſophy, which rarely occurs except in natural hiſtory and mathematics.

This philoſophy will firſt and moſt eminently guard us from attributing the facts, that appear in hiſtory, to the particular hidden purpoſes of a ſcheme of things unknown to us, or the magical influence of inviſible powers, which we would not venture to name in connexion with natural phenomena. Fate reveals it's purpoſes through the events that occur, and as they occur: accordingly, the inveſtigator of hiſtory developes theſe purpoſes merely from what is before him, and what diſplays itſelf in it's whole extent. Why did the enlightened greeks appear in the World? Becauſe greeks exiſted; and exiſted under ſuch circumſtances, that they could not be otherwiſe than enlightened. Why did Alexander invade India? Becauſe he was Alexander, the ſon of Philip; and from the diſpoſitions his father had made, the deeds of his nation, his age and character, his reading

reading of Homer, &c., knew nothing better, that he could undertake. But if we attribute his bold reſolution to the ſecret purpoſes of ſome ſuperiour power, and his heroic achievements to his peculiar fortune; we run the hazard, on the one hand, of exalting his moſt ſenſeleſs and atrocious actions into deſigns of the deity; and, on the other, of detracting from his perſonal courage, and military ſkill; while we deprive the whole occurrence of it's natural form. He who takes with him into natural hiſtory the fairy belief, that inviſible ſylphs tinge the roſe, or hang it's cup with pearly dew-drops, and that little ſpirits of light encaſe themſelves in the body of the glow-worm, or wanton in the peacock's tail, may be an ingenious poet, but will never ſhine as a naturaliſt or hiſtorian. Hiſtory is the ſcience of what is, not of what poſſibly may be according to the hidden deſigns of fate.

Secondly. *What is true of one people, holds equally true with regard to the connexion of ſeveral together: they are joined as time and place unites them; they act upon one another, as the combination of active powers directs.*

The greeks have been acted upon by the aſiatics, and the aſiatics reacted upon by the greeks. They have been conquered by romans, goths, chriſtians, and turks: and romans, goths, and chriſtians have derived from them various means of improvement. How are theſe things conſiſtent? Through place, time, and the natural operation of active powers. The phœnicians imparted to them the uſe of letters: but they had not invented letters for them; they imparted them by ſending a colony into Greece. So it was with the hellenes and egyptians; ſo with the greeks that migrated to Bactra; ſo with all the gifts of the muſe, which we have received from their hands. Homer ſung; but not for us: yet as his works have reached us, and are in our poſſeſſion, we could not avoid being inſtructed by him. Had any event in the courſe of time deprived us of theſe, as we have been deprived of many other excellent works, who would accuſe ſome ſecret purpoſe of fate, when the natural cauſe of the loſs was apparent? Let a man take a view of the writings that are loſt, and thoſe that remain, of the works of art that are deſtroyed, and thoſe that are preſerved, with the accounts that are given of their deſtruction and preſervation, and venture to point out the rule, which fate has followed in tranſmitting to us theſe, and depriving us of thoſe. Ariſtotle was preſerved in a ſingle copy under ground, other writings as waſte parchments in cheſts and cellars, the humouriſt Ariſtophanes under the pillow of St. Chryſoſtom, who learned from him to compoſe homilies; and thus the whole of the cultivation of our minds has depended preciſely upon the moſt trivial and precarious circumſtances. Now mental cultivation is unqueſtionably a thing of the greateſt importance in the

hiſtory of the World: it has thrown almoſt all nations into commotion, and now with Herſchel explores the milky way. Yet on what trifling events has it hinged; the events to which we are indebted for glaſs and a few books! inſomuch, that, but for theſe, we ſhould ſtill perhaps be wandering about in waggons, with our wives and families, like our elder brothers, the immortal ſcythians. Had the courſe of things ſo ordered, that we had received mungal letters inſtead of greek, we ſhould now be writing in the mungal manner: yet the Earth would ſtill purſue her grand career of years and ſeaſons, nouriſhing every thing, that lives and acts upon her, according to the divine laws of nature.

Thirdly. *The cultivation of a people is the flower of it's exiſtence; it's diſplay is pleaſing indeed, but tranſitory.*

As man, when he comes into the World, knows nothing, but has all his knowledge to learn; ſo an uncultivated people acquires knowledge from it's own practice, or from intercourſe with others. But every kind of human knowledge has it's particular circle, that is it's nature, time, place, and periods of life. The cultivation of Greece, for example, grew with time, place, and circumſtances, and declined with them. Poetry and certain arts preceded philoſophy: where oratory or the fine arts flouriſhed, neither the patriotic virtues, nor martial ſpirit, could ſhine with their higheſt ſplendour: the orators of Athens diſplayed the greateſt enthuſiaſm, when the ſtate drew near it's end, and it's integrity was no more.

But all kinds of human knowledge have this in common, that each aims at a point of perfection, which when attained by a concatenation of fortunate circumſtances, it can neither preſerve to eternity, nor can it inſtantly return, but a decreaſing ſeries commences. Every perfect work, as far as perfection can be required from man, is the higheſt of it's kind: nothing, therefore, can poſſibly ſucceed it, but mere imitations, or unſucceſsful attempts to excel. When Homer had ſung, no ſecond Homer in the ſame path could be conceived: he plucked the flower of the epic garland, and all who followed muſt content themſelves with a few leaves. Thus the greek tragedians choſe another track: they ate, as Æſchylus ſays, at Homer's table, but prepared for their gueſts a different feaſt. They too had their day: the ſubjects of tragedy were exhauſted, and their ſucceſſors could do no more, than remould the greateſt poets, that is, give them in an inferiour form; for the beſt, the ſupremely beautiful form of the grecian drama had already been exhibited in thoſe models. In ſpite of all his morality, Euripides could not rival Sophocles, to ſay nothing of his being able to excel him in the eſſence of his art; and therefore the prudent

dent Ariſtophanes purſued a different courſe. Thus it was with every ſpecies of grecian art, and thus it will be in all nations: the very circumſtance, that the greeks in their moſt flouriſhing periods perceived this law of nature, and ſought not to go beyond the higheſt in ſomething ſtill higher, rendered their taſte ſo ſure, and it's developement ſo various. When Phidias had created his omnipotent Jove, a ſuperiour Jupiter was not within the reach of poſſibility: but the conception was capable of being applied to other gods, and to every god was given his peculiar character: thus this province of art was peopled.

Poor and mean would it be, if our attachment to any object of human culture would preſcribe as a law to alldiſpoſing providence, to confer an unnatural eternity on that moment, in which alone it could take place. Such a wiſh would be nothing leſs, than to annihilate the eſſence of time, and deſtroy the infinitude of all nature. Our youth returns not again: neither returns the action of our mental faculties as they then were. The very appearance of the flower is a ſign, that it muſt fade: it has drawn to itſelf the powers of the plant from the very root; and when it dies, the death of the plant muſt follow. Unfortunate would it have been, could the age, that produced a Pericles and a Socrates, have been prolonged a moment beyond the time, which the chain of events preſcribed for it's duration: for Athens it would have been a perilous, an inſupportable period. Equally confined would be the wiſh, that the mythology of Homer ſhould have held eternal poſſeſſion of the human mind, the gods of the greeks have reigned to infinity, and their Demoſthenes have thundered for ever. Every plant in nature muſt fade; but the fading plant ſcatters abroad it's ſeeds, and thus renovates the living creation. Shakſpeare was no Sophocles, Milton no Homer, Bolingbroke no Pericles: yet they were in their kind, and in their ſituation, what thoſe were in theirs. Let every one, therefore, ſtrive in his place, to be what he can be in the courſe of things: this he will be, and to be any thing elſe is impoſſible.

Fourthly. *The health and duration of a ſtate reſt not on the point of it's higheſt cultivation, but on a wiſe or fortunate equilibrium of it's active living powers. The deeper in this living exertion it's centre of gravity lies, the more firm and durable it is.*

On what did thoſe ancient founders of ſtates calculate? Neither on lethargic indolence, nor on extreme activity; but on order, and a juſt diſtribution of never ſlumbering, ever vigilant powers. The principle of theſe ſages was genuine human wiſdom, learned from nature. Whenever a ſtate was puſhed to it's utmoſt point, though by a man of the greateſt eminence, and under the moſt flattering pretext, it was in danger of ruin, and recovered it's former

ſtate only by ſome happy violence. Thus when Greece entered the liſts with Perſia, it was on a dreadful verge: thus when Athens, Lacedæmon, and Thebes, contended together at outrance, the loſs of liberty to all Greece enſued. Thus, too, Alexander, with his brilliant victories, erected the edifice of his ſtate on a bubble: he died, the bubble burſt, and the edifice was daſhed to pieces. How dangerous Alcibiades and Pericles were to Athens their hiſtory ſhows: though it is not leſs true that epochs of this kind, particularly if they terminate ſpeedily and happily, diſplay rare effects, and ſet incredible powers in motion. All the ſplendour of Greece was created by the active operation of many ſtates and living energies: every thing ſound and permanent, on the contrary, in it's taſte, and in it's conſtitution, was produced by a wiſe and happy equilibrium of it's active powers. The ſucceſs of it's inſtitutions was uniformly more noble and permanent, in proportion as they were founded on humanity, that is, reaſon and juſtice. Here the conſtitution of Greece affords us an ample field for reflection, in what it contributed by it's inventions and inſtitutions both to the happineſs of it's own citizens, and to the welfare of mankind. But for this it is yet too early. We muſt firſt take a view of many periods and nations, before we can form concluſions on theſe ſubjects with ſecurity.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XIV.

WE now approach the ſhore, that brought deſtruction, often terrible, on moſt of the nations we have hitherto conſidered: for the ſpreading flood of devaſtation, that overwhelmed the ſtates of Græcia Magna, Greece itſelf, and all the kingdoms that were formed from the ruins of the throne of Alexander, burſt forth from Rome. Rome deſtroyed Carthage, Corinth, Jeruſalem, and many other flouriſhing cities of Greece and Aſia; as it brought to a melancholy end every thing civilized in the ſouth of Europe, that lay within the reach of it's ſword, particularly it's neighbours Etruria, and the brave Numantia. It reſted not till it attained the ſovereignty over a world of nations, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic ocean, from mount Atlas to the Rhine: at length, breaking over the boundary preſcribed it by fate, the valiant reſiſtance of the northern people, or inhabitants of the mountains, it's internal diſſenſions and luxury, the barbarous pride of it's rulers, the horrible ſway of the ſoldiery, and the fury of uncivilized nations, who ruſhed upon it like the waves of the ſea, brought it to a lamentable end. The fate of nations was never ſo long and ſo abſolutely dependent on one city, as when Rome poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the World: and while on this occaſion it diſplayed, on the one hand, all the force of human courage and reſolution, and ſtill more military and political ſkill; on the other, it exhibited in the mighty conteſt vices and barbarities, at which human nature muſt ſhudder, as long as it is capable of feeling the leaſt ſentiment of it's rights. This Rome has become, in a wonderful manner, the fearful, precipitous paſſage to all the cultivation of Europe; for not only were the melancholy remains of the plundered treaſures of all art and ſcience preſerved in it's ruins, but through a ſingular revolution it's language became the inſtrument, by which men learned to make uſe of all thoſe treaſures of antiquity. Even now the latin tongue is the medium of our learned tuition from our early youth; and we, who poſſeſs ſo little of the roman mind and ſpirit, are deſtined to form an acquaintance with the roman ravagers of the World, before we are introduced to the milder manners of more gentle nations, or the principles that conduce to the happineſs of our own country.

The

The names of Marius and Sylla, of Cæſar and Octavius, become familiar to us, before we know any thing of the wiſdom of Socrates, or the inſtitutions of our forefathers. The hiſtory of Rome, likewiſe, as the cultivation of Europe has hinged on it's language, has received political and literary illuſtrations, of which ſcarcely any other can boaſt: for the greateſt minds, that have reflected on hiſtory, have reflected on this, and have taken the principles and actions of the romans as the groundwork, on which to develope their own thoughts. Thus we tread the blood-drenched ſoil of roman glory as the ſanctuary of claſſical learning and ancient art, where at every ſtep ſome new object reminds us of the ſunken treaſures of an univerſal empire, never more to return. We conſider the faſces of the conqueror, beneath which innocent nations once groaned, as ſhoots of a lordly cultivation, which was planted among us alſo through cruel events. But before we ſeek a knowledge of this conqueror of the World, we muſt bring an offering to humanity, and caſt at leaſt a look of pity on a neighbouring people, that contributed moſt to the early formation of Rome, but, alas! lay too cloſe in the way of it's conqueſts, and thence experienced a melancholy end.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Etruſcans and Latins.*

The protruding peninſula of Italy lay expoſed from it's ſituation to a number of different ſettlers and inhabitants. As it is joined at it's upper part to the great continent, which extends from Spain and Gaul over Illyria to the Euxine ſea, while it's ſhore lies immediately oppoſite to the coaſts of Illyria and Greece; that, in the times of ancient migration, different tribes of various nations ſhould paſs into it, was inevitable. Above were ſome of illyrian, others of gallic deſcent: below dwelt auſonians, whoſe origin can be traced no higher: and as with moſt of theſe pelaſgians, and afterwards greeks, nay probably trojans too, intermingled at different times from diverſe parts; Italy may be conſidered, on account of theſe memorable ſtrangers, as a hothouſe, in which ſooner or later ſomething worthy of notice muſt be produced. Many of theſe people came hither not altogether uncivilized: the pelaſgian tribes had their letters, their religion, and their fables: ſo, it is probable, had many of the iberians likewiſe, from their intercourſe with the commercial phœnicians: thus the queſtion was, on what ſpot, and in what manner, the bloſſoms of the country would put forth.

Theſe

Theſe firſt appeared among the etruſcans, who, from whatever part they came, were one of the moſt early and original people in taſte and cultivation. Their minds were not bent on conqueſt: but on eſtabliſhments, inſtitutions, commerce, arts, and navigation, for which their coaſts were well adapted. They planted colonies throughout almoſt all Italy, as far as Campania, introduced arts, and purſued trade, ſo that a number of the moſt celebrated towns in this country are indebted to them for their origin *. Their civil conſtitution, in which they ſerved as a pattern to the romans themſelves, was far ſuperiour to the governments of barbarians; and bears ſo completely the ſtamp of an european ſpirit, that it certainly could not have been borrowed from any african or aſiatic people.

Long before the time of it's deſtruction Etruria was a federated republic of twelve tribes, united on principles, which were not introduced into Greece till a much later period, and then from the preſſure of extreme neceſſity. No ſeparate ſtate could engage in a war, or conclude a peace, without the common conſent. War itſelf they had already formed into an art; by the invention, or uſe of the trumpet, light javelin, pilum, &c., as ſignals of attack, of retreat, of marching, or of fighting in cloſe order. With the ſolemn rights of heralds, which they introduced, they obſerved a ſort of law of war and of nations; as their auguries, and many religious practices, which to us appear mere ſuperſtitions, were evidently engines of their political inſtitutions, through which they may juſtly claim to be conſidered as the firſt people of Italy, that attempted to form an artful alliance between religion and the ſtate. In almoſt all theſe things, they were the tutors of Rome: and if it be undeniable, that ſimilar inſtitutions contributed to the ſtability and greatneſs of the roman power, the romans are indebted principally for this to the etruſcans.

Theſe people purſued navigation likewiſe as an art, at an early period; and maintained, by their colonies or trade, the ſovereignty of the italian coaſts. They were acquainted with architecture and fortification: the tuſcan column, more ancient even than the doric of Greece, derives it's name from them, and was borrowed from no foreign nation. They were fond of chariot-races, theatrical performances, muſic, and even poetry; and had naturalized the pelaſgian fables, as their monuments of art evince. Thoſe remains and fragments of their art, which the protecting realms of the dead have principally tranſmitted to us, ſhow, that they roſe from the rudeſt beginnings; and afterwards, when ac-

* See Demſter's *Etrur. Regal.*, 'Regal Etruria, with the Obſervations of Buonaroti, and Supplement of Paſſerius,' Florence, 1723, 1767.

quainted

quainted with many nations, even with the greeks, were capable of remaining true to their own way of thinking. They have actually a particular ſtyle of art *; and preſerved this, as well as the uſe of their religious fables, even when their liberty was no more †. Thus, too, in good civil laws for both ſexes, and inſtitutions for the cultivation of corn and the vine, the internal ſecurity of commerce, the reception of foreigners, and other things, they appear to have come nearer to the rights of man, than even many of the grecian republics at a much later period: and as their alphabet was the immediate pattern of all thoſe of Europe, we may conſider Etruria as the ſecond nurſery of the cultivation of our quarter of the Globe. It is the more to be regretted, that we have ſo few monuments or accounts of the exertions of this poliſhed and ſkilful people; for an unfriendly accident has deprived us even of the immediate hiſtory of their downfal.

Now to what muſt we aſcribe this flouriſhing ſtate of Etruria? and why, inſtead of equalling that of Greece, did it fade before it reached the point of perfection? Little as we know of the etruſcans, ſtill we perceive in them the grand principle purſued by nature in the forming of nations, limiting them by their internal powers, and their external circumſtances of time and place. They were an european people, more remote from anciently inhabited Aſia, the parent of early civilization. The pelaſgian tribes, too, were half-ſavage wanderers, when they arrived on the different ſhores of Italy; while Greece, on the contrary, lay as a central point in the conflux of nations already civilized. In Italy many nations mingled together, ſo that the etrurian language ſeems to have been a compound of ſeveral ‡; and thus it enjoyed not the advantage of growing up from an uncontaminated ſeed. The ſingle circumſtance of the Appennines, covered with rude mountaineers, ſtretching through the middle of Italy was ſufficient, to prevent that uniformity of national taſte, on which alone the permanence of a general culture can be founded. Even in later times no country occaſioned more trouble to the romans than Italy: and as ſoon as their ſovereignty was at an end, it returned to it's natural ſtate of various diviſion. The face of the country with regard to it's mountains and coaſts, and the dif-

* See Winkelmann's *Geſchichte der Kunſt*, 'Hiſtory of the Arts,' Vol. I. chap. 3.

† See Heyne on the Nature and Cauſes of the frequent Employment of the Fables and Religion of the Greeks by Etruſcan Artiſts; on the Remains of the Religion of the Country in the Monuments of Etruſcan Art; Etruſcan Antiquity freed from fanciful Interpretations; and the Monuments of Etruſcan Art reſtored to their proper Age and Rank; in *Nov. Commentariis Soc. Gotting.* 'The new Memoirs of the Gottingen Society,' Vol. III, and following.

‡ See the Supplement of Paſſerius, in Dempſter's *Etrur. Regal.*

ferent hereditary character of it's inhabitants, made this diviſion natural: for even now, when it is the object of politics, to reduce all under one chief, or link all in one chain, Italy has remained the moſt divided country in Europe.

Several nations, likewiſe, ſoon preſſed upon the etruſcans; and as they were more of a commercial than a warlike people, even their more ſkilful tactics were compelled to give way to almoſt every attack of ruder nations. By the gauls they were deprived of their footing in upper Italy, and confined to what may properly be called Etruria; and their colonial towns in Campania became ſubſequently a prey to the ſamnites. As a commercial people addicted to the arts, they could not long ſtand againſt barbarous nations: for arts and commerce introduce luxury, from which their colonies on the moſt delightful ſhores of Italy were by no means free. At length they were fallen upon by the romans, to whom they were unfortunately too near; and whom, in ſpite of their noble reſiſtance, neither their civilization, nor their federal union, could withſtand for ever. By their refinement, indeed, they were already in part enfeebled, while the romans were yet a warlike hardy people: and from their confederation they derived little advantage, as their adverſaries had the art to divide their ſtates, and engage them ſeparately. Thus they were ſubdued one after another, though not without the labour of many years; while in the mean time the gauls were making continual incurſions upon Etruria. Preſſed upon by two powerful enemies, they fell a prey to that, which moſt ſyſtematically purſued their ſubjugation: and this was Rome. After the reception of the haughty Tarquins in Etruria, and the ſucceſs of Porſenna, they looked upon this city as their moſt dangerous neighbour: for the humiliations, which Rome had experienced from Porſenna, were ſuch, as it could never forgive. No wonder, that a rude warlike people ſhould overpower a ſoftened commercial nation; that a city firmly united ſhould ſubdue a disjointed confederacy. To prevent Rome from deſtroying it, Rome muſt have been early deſtroyed: and as the good Porſenna refrained from this, his country at length became a prey to the enemy he ſpared.

Thus, that the etruſcans never became wholly greeks in the ſtyle of their arts, is to be accounted for from the time and ſituation in which they flouriſhed. Their poetic mythology was merely the old heavy grecian mythology, into which however they infuſed aſtoniſhing ſpirit and animation. The ſubjects, on which their arts were employed, appear to have been confined to a few religious or civil feſtivities, the key to which we have nearly loſt. Beſides, we know little of theſe people except from funerals, graves, and urns. Etruſcan liberty ſurvived not to the brighteſt era of grecian art, which the conqueſt of the perſians produced; and the ſituation of Etruria denied it any ſimilar native impulſe, to wing

it's fame and genius to ſuch a height. Thus it muſt be conſidered as an immature fruit, which, placed in the corner of the garden, could not attain the delicious flavour of it's fellows, enjoying the more genial warmth of the Sun. Fate allotted a later period to the banks of the Arno, in which they were capable of producing more mature and beautiful fruits.

The marſhy ſhores of the Tiber were already deſtined for a ſphere of action, that ſhould include three quarters of the Globe; and the circumſtances of the times prepared this, long before the foundation of Rome. In this region, according to ancient ſtories, landed Evander; as did Hercules alſo with his greeks, and Æneas with his trojans: here, in the centre of Italy, Pallantium was built, and the kingdom of the latins, with Alba Longa, was founded: here, too, was a ſettlement of more early civilization, inſomuch, that ſome, indeed, have admitted a prior Rome, and imagined they have diſcovered the new city to have been erected on the ruins of one more ancient. But the laſt opinion is without foundation: for Rome was probably a colony from Alba Longa, under the direction of two ſucceſsful adventurers; as this undeſirable region would ſcarcely have been choſen in other circumſtances. Let us examine, however, what Rome had here before and around her from the beginning, ſo that, the moment ſhe quitted the breaſt of the wolf, ſhe betook herſelf to war and plunder.

She was wholly ſurrounded by little nations; whence ſhe was ſoon impelled to contend, not for her ſupport alone, but even for her territory. Her early conteſts with the cæninenſes, cruſtumini, antemnates, ſabines, camerini, fidenates, veientes, and others, are well known: they rendered Rome, when ſcarcely riſen above the ground, ſtanding thus on the frontiers of ſo many different nations, from the very beginning a kind of fortified camp; and accuſtomed the generals, the ſenate, the knights, and the people, to feſtivals of triumph over plundered countries. Theſe triumphal proceſſions, which Rome borrowed from the neighbouring etruſcans, were the grand lures, that animated this needy ſtate, of confined domains, but populous and warlike, to hoſtile enterpriſes, and foreign incurſions. In vain did the peaceful Numa erect the temples of Janus and Public Faith: in vain did he ſet up terminal gods, and celebrate a boundary feaſt. Theſe peaceable inſtitutions were obeyed only during his life: for Rome, accuſtomed to plunder by the thirty years victories of her firſt ruler, thought ſhe could not pay more acceptable homage to her Jove, than by offering him the ſpoils of war. A renovated martial ſpirit aroſe after this juſt legiſlator; and Tullius Hoſtilius already made war on Alba Longa, the mother of his country. Neceſſarily nothing of this would have taken place, had Rome been built in a different ſituation, or ſpeedily cruſhed by ſome powerful neighbour.

neighbour. But now, as a latin city, ſhe ſoon made her way to the head of the latin confederacy, and at length brought the latins under her yoke; ſhe interfered with the ſabines, till at laſt ſhe ſubjugated them; ſhe learned from the etruſcans, till ſhe became their miſtreſs: and thus ſhe acquired poſſeſſion of her triple boundary.

To theſe early undertakings ſuch kings were requiſite as Rome had, particularly her firſt. It was no fable, that Romulus had been nouriſhed by the milk of a wolf: he was evidently a bold, cunning, hardy adventurer, as his firſt laws and inſtitutions ſhow. His immediate ſucceſſor, Numa, rendered ſome of theſe milder: a clear proof, that they are not to be aſcribed to the times, but to the perſon by whom they were made. At the ſame time the rude heroiſm of the early romans in general appears from the ſeveral ſtories of Horatius Cocles, Junius Brutus, Mutius Scævola, and the behaviour of Tullia, Tarquin, &c. It was fortunate for this prædatory ſtate, that, in it's ſeries of kings, rude valour combined with policy, and both with patriotic magnanimity: fortunate, that to a Romulus ſucceeded a Numa, to him a Tullius, an Ancus, after theſe a Tarquin, and then a Servius, whom perſonal merit alone could have exalted from the condition of a ſlave to the rank of a king. Laſtly, it was fortunate, that theſe kings, of ſuch different characters, reigned long, ſo that each had time to ſecure the benefits of his talents to Rome; till at length an arrogant Tarquin came, and the firmly fixed ſtate choſe another form of government. A ſelect and continually renovating ſucceſſion of warriors and rude patriots now aroſe, who ſought annually to renew their triumphs, and ſtrengthen and exert their patriotiſm in a thouſand ways.

Would any one invent a political romance, to account for the origin of a Rome, he could not eaſily deviſe more ſuitable circumſtances, than hiſtory, or fable, here gives us *. Rhea Sylvia and the fate of her children, the rape of the ſabines and the apotheoſis of Quirinus, every rude adventure in war and conqueſt, and laſtly a Tarquin and a Lucretia, a Junius Brutus, a Poplicola, a Mutius Scævola, &c., ſerve to indicate a ſeries of future conſequences in the early diſpoſition of Rome itſelf. There is no hiſtory on which it is eaſier to philoſophize than the roman, as the political ſpirit of it's writers points out the chain of cauſes and effects in the courſe of events and actions.

* Monteſquieu, in his elegant work on the grandeur and decline of the romans, has almoſt exalted it into a political romance. Before him, Machiavel, Paruta, and many other ſagacious italians, had tried their ſkill in political reflections upon it.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Diſpoſitions of Rome for a ſovereign political and military State.*

Romulus numbered his people, and divided them into tribes, curiæ, and centuriæ: he meaſured the land, and parcelled it out to the people, the ſtate, and the ſervice of religion. The people he diſtinguiſhed into patricians and plebeians: out of the patricians he formed the ſenate; and to the ſame order he confined the principal offices of the ſtate, and the ſanctity of the prieſthood. He likewiſe ſelected a body of knights, which in a later period formed a kind of middle rank between the ſenate and people; and the two grand diviſions were more cloſely connected by the relationſhip of patron and client. From the etruſcans Romulus borrowed the lictors, with their faſces; a fearful emblem of authority, which every ſuperiour magiſtrate afterwards aſſumed in the functions of his office, though with ſome variations. He excluded foreign gods, to ſecure to Rome it's own tutelar divinity: he introduced augury, and other kinds of ſoothſaying, eſtabliſhing an intimate connexion between the popular religion, and civil and military affairs. He determined the reciprocal duties of huſband and wife, father and ſon, regulated the city, celebrated triumphs, was at length murdered, and afterwards adored as a god.

Behold the ſimple point, on which the wheel of roman events afterwards inceſſantly revolved. For though in time the claſſes of the people were increaſed, altered, or oppoſed to each other; though bitter conteſts aroſe, whether the claſſes or tribes of the people, and which of them, ſhould take the lead; though the increaſing debts of the plebeians, and the oppreſſions of the rich, occaſioned commotions, and many attempts were made for alleviating the burdens of the people by means of tribunes, agrarian laws, or the adminiſtration of juſtice by a middle rank, the knights; though diſputes reſpecting the limits of the ſenate, the patricians, and the plebeians, aſſumed now one form, then another, till the two ranks were confounded together: in all this we perceive nothing more than the neceſſary conſequences of a rudely compoſed living machine, ſuch as the roman ſtate within the walls of one city muſt have been. Thus ſuperiour offices were augmented, as the number of citizens, victories, conquered lands, and neceſſities of the ſtate increaſed: thus triumphs, games, expenſes, marital power, and paternal authority, were limited or enlarged, according to the different ſtages of manners and opinions: all however were ſhades of that ancient conſtitution,

which Romulus invented not, it is true, but which he ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that it was capable of remaining the baſis of the roman form of government even under the emperours, nay almoſt to the preſent day. It's device was S. P. Q. R. *, the ſenate and people of Rome; magic words, which ſubjugated and ravaged the World, and at length rendered the romans the inſtruments of their own ruin. Let us contemplate a few leading points in the roman conſtitution, from which the fate of Rome appears to have branched out, as a tree from it's roots.

1. *The roman ſenate, as well as the roman people, was, from the earlieſt times, a body of warriors: Rome, from it's higheſt, to it's loweſt member in caſe of neceſſity, was a military ſtate.* The ſenate was a deliberative council; but from it's patricians it ſupplied generals and ambaſſadors: the independent citizen was obliged to ſerve in the field from his ſeventeenth year to his forty-ſixth or fiftieth. He who had not made ten campaigns was ineligible to any of the higher offices. Hence the political ſpirit of the romans in the field: hence their military ſpirit in the council. Their deliberations were on affairs, with which they were familiar: their reſolves were acts. A roman ambaſſador was an object of reſpect to kings: for he might be at the head of an army, and decide the fate of kingdoms either in the ſenate or in the field. The people of the higher centuriæ were by no means a rude mob: they conſiſted of men of property, experienced in war, and foreign and domeſtic affairs. The votes of the poorer centuriæ had leſs weight; and in the better times of Rome their members were not thought qualified for the army.

2. *The education of the romans, particularly in the nobler families, was calculated for this deſtination.* They learned to deliberate, ſpeak, vote, and perſuade the people: they went early to the field, and prepared the way to triumphs, honours, and offices of ſtate. Hence the uniform character of the hiſtory and eloquence of the romans, and even of their juriſprudence and religion, philoſophy and language: all breathe a political and active ſpirit, a manly, adventurous courage, united with addreſs and urbanity. A wider difference can ſcarcely be conceived, than appears on compariſon of the hiſtory and eloquence of China, or Judea, with thoſe of Rome. From the ſpirit of the greeks, too, the ſpartans themſelves not excepted, that of Rome is diſtinct; as it is founded on a rougher nature, more ancient habit, and principles more fixed. The roman ſenate never died: it's reſolutions, it's maxims, and the roman character inherited from Romulus, were immortal.

* *Senatus populus que romanus.*

3. *The*

3. *The roman generals were frequently conſuls, whoſe military and civil offices uſually continued but a year:* accordingly they haſtened to return triumphant, and their ſucceſſors were eager to emulate their honours. Hence the incredible progreſs and multiplication of roman wars: one ſprung from another, and gave riſe to another in it's turn. Occaſions for future campaigns were reſerved, till the preſent was ended; and reſerved to accumulate with uſury, as a capital of ſpoil, ſucceſs, and glory. Hence the intereſt the romans ſo greedily took in foreign nations; on which they forced themſelves as allies and protectors, or as judges of differences, certainly not from motives of philanthropy. Their friendly alliances were the relation of a guardian to a ward; their advice was command; their deciſion, war or ſovereignty. More cool haughtineſs, and latterly ſhameleſs impudence, in the exerciſe of authority aſſumed by force, were never diſplayed, than by theſe romans, who thought the World was theirs, and made for them alone.

4. *The roman ſoldier too ſhared the glory and reward of his commander.* In the early ages of Rome's patriotic virtues the ſoldiers ſerved without pay; and afterwards it was ſparingly diſtributed: but out of it's conqueſts, and the increaſed power of the people by means of the tribunes, grew pay, reward, and booty. The lands of the conquered were often divided among the ſoldiery; and it is well known, that the moſt ancient and numerous quarrels in the roman republic aroſe from the diſtribution of lands. Subſequently, in foreign conqueſts the ſoldier ſhared the booty; and participated the triumph of his general, both in glory and valuable donations. Civic, mural, and roſtral crowns were conferred: and Lucius Dentatus could boaſt, 'that, having been in a hundred and twenty battles, eight times victorious in ſingle combat, wounded forty five times before, and not once behind, he had diſarmed his enemy five and thirty times, and been rewarded with eighteen *haſtæ puræ*, twenty five ſets of horſe furniture, eighty three chains, a hundred and ſixty bracelets, and twenty ſix crowns, namely, fourteen civic, eight golden, three mural, and one obſidional, beſide money, ten priſoners, and twenty oxen.'

As beſide this, the point of honour in our ſtanding armies, where no one ever ſerves in a rank inferiour to what he has once born, and every one is promoted in turn, according to the date of his ſervice, was unknown in the roman ſtate even to the lateſt period; but the general choſe his own tribunes, and the tribune his ſubordinate officers, at the commencement of a war: a more free competition for poſts of honour and military employments was opened, and a more intimate connection between the general, the officers, and the ſoldiery, was formed. The whole army was a body ſelected for the campaign, and the

ſpirit

ſpirit of the general was infuſed into every member of it, by thoſe who commanded under him. In proportion as the wall, that at the commencement of the republic ſeparated the patricians and plebeians, was broken down in the courſe of time, valour and ſucceſs in war became the road to honours, wealth, and power, for all ranks; ſo that in later times the firſt poſſeſſors of undivided power in Rome, Marius and Sylla, were plebeians *, and at length the higheſt dignities were obtained by the meaneſt perſons. Unqueſtionably this was the ruin of Rome; as, in the beginning of the republic, patrician pride was it's ſupport; and it was only by degrees, that the haughtineſs and oppreſſion exerciſed by men of rank became the cauſes of all the internal diſſenſions that enſued. To eſtabliſh an equilibrium between the ſenate and the people, the patricians and plebeians, was the perpetual bone of contention in the roman ſtate; where the balance preponderating now to one ſide, then to the other, at length overturned the commonwealth.

5. *Roman virtue, ſo highly celebrated, is for the moſt part inexplicable, without the narrow, ſevere conſtitution of the roman ſtate:* when this was gone, that was at an end. The conſuls ſucceeded in the place of the kings, and were compelled, as it were, in imitation of ancient example, to diſplay ſomething more than a royal, to diſplay a roman ſoul. All the magiſtrates, the cenſors eſpecially, participated this ſpirit. We are aſtoniſhed at the ſtrict impartiality, the diſintereſted magnanimity, the buſy lives, of the ancient romans, from the moment their day broke, nay before the break of day, even from the earlieſt peep of dawn. No ſtate in the World probably went ſo far in this earneſtneſs of application, this ſtrict diſcharge of civic duties, as Rome, where all was in cloſe comtact. The nobleneſs of their families, which was honourably deſignated by patronymic names; dangers continually renewed from without, and inceſſant conteſts for an equilibrium between the patricians and plebeians within; again, the bond of union between both in the relationſhip of patron and client; the crowded intercourſe with each other in the market places, in their houſes, and in political temples; the fine yet diſtinct limits between what belonged to the ſenate, and what to the people; their ſimplicity in domeſtic life; and the education of youth in a familiarity with all theſe things from their infancy; contributed to form in the romans the firſt and proudeſt nation of the World. Their nobility was not, as among others, an indolent nobility, founded on landed poſſeſſions, on wealth, or on a name: it was a proud, family, civic, roman ſpirit, in the firſt races; on which their country depended as it's firmeſt ſupport; and in the continued activity, the permanent ſtream of the ſame eternal ſtate, it was tranſmitted from father to ſon. I am

* Sulla was a patrician. F.

perſuaded,

perſuaded, that, in the moſt perilous times, no roman could conceive any idea of the deſtruction of Rome: all acted for their city, as if the gods had deſtined it to be immortal, and them to be the inſtruments of the gods for ſupporting it to eternity. But as the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of the romans converted their valour into inſolence, Scipio could not help applying to his country, on the deſtruction of Carthage, thoſe verſes of Homer, in which the fate of Troy is predicted *.

6. *The manner in which religion was interwoven with the ſtate in Rome unqueſtionably contributed to it's civil and military greatneſs.* As from the foundation of the city, and in the moſt valiant ages of the republic, the prieſthood was in the hands of the moſt reſpectable families, who were at the ſame time ſtateſmen and warriors, ſo that even the emperours themſelves diſdained not to execute it's functions; in all their ceremonies they guarded againſt the true peſt of every national religion, contempt, which the ſenate employed it's utmoſt endeavours to obviate. Accordingly, that able politician Polybius aſcribes part of the virtues of the romans, particularly their incorruptible faith and veracity, to religion, by him termed ſuperſtition: and even in the late ages of their decline, the romans were actually ſo addicted to this ſuperſtition, that ſome commanders, of the moſt ferocious diſpoſition, profeſſed themſelves to have communication with the gods; and believed, that, by their inſpiration and aſſiſtance, they had not only power over the minds of the people and the army, but even the control of chance and fortune. Religion was connected with every civil and military tranſaction, ſo as to ſanctify it; and hence the noble families contended with the people for the poſſeſſion of religious dignities, as for their moſt ſacred privilege. This is commonly aſcribed to their policy alone, as their auſpices and haruſpices put into their hands the direction of affairs by means of artful religious deceptions: but, though I will not deny, that theſe were occaſionally practiſed, this certainly was not the whole of the buſineſs. The worſhip of their fathers, and of the gods of Rome, was, according to the general belief, the ſupport of their good fortune, the pledge of their preeminence over other nations, and the revered ſanctuary of their unparagoned ſtate. As at the beginning they adopted no ſtrange gods, though they reſpected the deities of every foreign land, ſo they retained the ancient worſhip of their divinities, in which they became romans. To alter any thing in this, was to derange the fundamental pillars of the ſtate: hence in the regulation of religious ceremonies the ſenate and people maintained their ſovereign rights, which precluded all the plots and ſubtleties of a ſeparate prieſthood. The religion of the romans was a civil and military religion; which did not guard them, indeed, from unjuſt wars, but, giving them at leaſt an appear-

* They are pronounced by Hector, in his interview with Andromache. Iliad. Z. 447. ſeq. F.

ance

ance of juſtice by means of their feciales and auſpices, placed them under the eyes of the gods, and claimed their aſſiſtance.

At a later period it was equally politic in the romans, abandoning their ancient principles, to allure to them foreign deities. Their ſtate already began to totter, as, after immenſe conqueſts, was inevitable: but this politic toleration preſerved it from the ſpirit of perſecuting foreign religions, which firſt appeared under the emperors, by whom it was exerciſed only occaſionally from political motives, and not from hatred or affection to ſpeculative truth. Upon the whole, the romans troubled themſelves about no religion, unleſs ſo far as it attacked the ſtate: in this reſpect they were not men and philoſophers, but citizens, ſoldiers, and conquerors.

7. What ſhall I ſay of the *roman art of war*, certainly at that time the moſt perfect of it's kind, as it united the ſoldier and citizen, the ſtateſman and general, and ever vigilant, ever pliable and new, acquired knowledge from every enemy? It's rude foundations were of equal antiquity with the city itſelf, the citizens that Romulus muſtered forming the firſt legion: but they were not aſhamed in time to alter the primitive arrangement of the army, to render the ancient phalanx leſs unwieldy, and thus, by imparting to it a greater capacity for action, to diſcomfit the veteran macedonians, whoſe order of battle was then reckoned the model of the military art. Inſtead of their ancient latin arms, they borrowed ſuch as ſuited them from the etruſcans and ſamnites; and they learned the regulation of marches from Hannibal, whoſe long reſidence in Italy gave them the ſevereſt leſſons of war they had ever received. All their great commanders, among whom are to be reckoned the Scipios, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæſar, ſtudied war as an art during the whole of their lives: and as they had to carry it on againſt the moſt various nations, nations too acting valiantly from ſtrength, courage, and deſpair, they neceſſarily made great progreſs in every branch of the ſcience.

The might of the romans however conſiſted not wholly in their weapons, their order of battle, and their encampments; but in the imperturbable martial ſpirit of their generals, and in the tried ſtrength of the ſoldier; who could brave hunger, thirſt, and peril; who was as ready at the uſe of his weapons, as if they had been his own limbs; and who, ſtanding firm againſt the ſhock of the ſpear, with his ſhort roman ſword in his hand, fought the heart of his enemy even in the midſt of the phalanx. This ſhort roman ſword, wielded with roman valour, conquered the World. It was the roman art of war to attack rather than defend, to fight rather than beſiege, and to take the ſhorteſt, ſtraighteſt way to victory and fame. To the aſſiſtance of this came the inveterate principles of the

republic, to which all reſiſtance proved vain: never to deſiſt till the enemy was completely overthrown, and therefore to engage only with one enemy at a time; never to accept peace in misfortune, even if peace would give more than victory could obtain, but to ſtand firm, and act ſo much the more bravely againſt the ſucceſsful victor; to begin with magnanimity, and the maſk of diſintereſtedneſs, as if they ſought only to ſuccour the oppreſſed, and gain allies, till in time they were enabled to rule their allies, oppreſs the ſuccoured, and triumph as victors over friend and foe. Theſe and ſimilar maxims of roman inſolence, or, if you pleaſe, of cool, prudent magnanimity, reduced a world of nations to the ſtate of provinces: and ſo they ever would, if ſimilar times, and a ſimilar people, could ariſe.

Let us now traverſe the bloody field, through which theſe conquerors of the World waded, and examine what they have left behind them.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Conqueſts of the Romans.*

When Rome began it's career of heroiſm, Italy was covered with a number of little nations; each living according to it's own laws, and hereditary character; more or leſs enlightened; but active, induſtrious, prolific. We are aſtoniſhed at the number of men, that every little ſtate, even in rude mountainous regions, was able to bring againſt the romans; men who had there found, and could ſtill find ſubſiſtence. The civilization of Italy was by no means confined to Etruria; it was ſhared by every little people, the gauls themſelves not excepted: the land was cultivated; rude arts, trade, and war, were purſued after the manner of the times; no ſtate was without good laws, though few in number; and even the natural regulation of the balance of power between different ſtates was not unknown. Impelled by pride or neceſſity, and favoured by various circumſtances, the romans were engaged with them in arduous, bloody wars, for five centuries; ſo that all the reſt of the World that they ſubdued coſt them leſs trouble, than this little chain of people, which they gradually brought under the yoke.

And what were the conſequences of their exertions? Ravage and deſtruction. I do not reckon the men ſlain on both ſides; and with the loſs of whom whole nations, as the ſamnites and etruſcans, were ſwept away: the obliteration of theſe communities, and the deſtruction of their towns, were misfortunes of

greater magnitude to this country, becauſe affecting remoteſt poſterity. Whether theſe nations were tranſplanted to Rome, or their ſad remains reckoned in the number of it's allies, or treated as ſubjects and bridled by colonies, their primitive energy was never reſtored. Once chained to Rome's brazen yoke, they were compelled, for centuries, as ſubjects or allies, to ſpill their blood in her ſervice, and for her profit and glory, not their own. Once chained to this yoke, notwithſtanding all the privileges conferred on this people, or on that, every individual was at laſt reduced to ſeek fortune, honour, wealth, and juſtice, in Rome alone; ſo that in a few centuries the great city became the grave of Italy. Soon or late the laws of Rome univerſally prevailed; the manners of Rome became the manners of Italy; her mad aim to acquire the ſovereignty of the World enticed all theſe people to throng round her, and at length periſh in the gulf of roman luxury. No denial, no reſtriction, no prohibition, was capable at laſt of affording any aid: for the courſe of nature, once turned out of it's direction, cannot be altered afterwards at will by human laws.

Thus by degrees Rome drained, enervated, and depopulated Italy; ſo that at length rude barbarians were requiſite, to give it new people, new laws, new manners, and new courage. But what was no more, returned not again: Alba and Cameria, the wealthy Veii, and moſt of the etrurian, latin, ſamnite, and apulian cities were deſtroyed: the ſcanty colonies, planted amid their aſhes, had reſtored to none their ancient dignity, numerous population, induſtry in arts, laws and manners. It was the ſame with all the flouriſhing republics of Græcia Magna: Tarentum and Croton, Sybaris and Cumæ, Locri and Thurium, Rhegium and Meſſana, Syracuſe, Catania, Naxus, Megara, were no more; and many of them had experienced the ſevereſt fate. Thou, wiſe and great Archimedes, waſt ſlain in the midſt of thy geometrical labours; and it is no wonder, that thy grave remained unknown to thy more modern countrymen, ſince thy country was buried with thee; for the ſtate periſhed, though the city was ſpared. The miſchief done to the arts and ſciences, to the cultivation of the ſoil and the improvement of the human mind, by the dominion of Rome in this corner of the World, is incredible. Wars and proconſuls laid waſte the delightful iſle of Sicily; and Lower Italy was ruined by the various ravages committed in it, though ſtill more by it's proximity to Rome; till at length both countries were parcelled out into eſtates and country ſeats of the romans, while they were likewiſe the neareſt objects of their extortion. The once flouriſhing land of Etruria was already in a ſimilar ſituation, in the time of the elder Gracchus: a fertile ſolitude, inhabited only by ſlaves, and drained by the romans. And what fine country in

the World experienced a better fate, when once within the gripe of roman talons?

When Rome had ſubjugated Italy, ſhe began with Carthage; and this in a manner, at which her moſt determined friends muſt bluſh. Her aſſiſting the mamertines, in order to gain footing in Sicily; her ſeizing upon Corſica and Sardinia, while Carthage was embroiled with her mercenaries; and laſtly, the deliberating of her grave ſenators, whether a Carthage were to be ſuffered to exiſt upon the Earth, with as little ceremony as if the debate had been on a cabbage of their own planting; with a hundred inſtances of like nature; render the roman hiſtory, with all the valour and addreſs it diſplays, a hiſtory of demons. Be it Scipio himſelf, that preſents to a Carthage, little capable of doing farther injury to Rome, praying even her aid with the offer of an ample tribute, and, truſting to her promiſes, delivering up her weapons, ſhips, arſenals, and three hundred of her principal inhabitants as hoſtages; be it Scipio, or a god, that preſents to her, in ſuch a ſituation, the cold, haughty propoſal of her deſtruction, as a decree of the ſenate; it is ſtill a black, deviliſh propoſal, of which unqueſtionably the noble deliverer himſelf was aſhamed. 'Carthage is taken,' he writes back to Rome; as if with this expreſſion he would veil his infamous act: for never have the romans given, or been the means of giving to the World, ſuch a Carthage. Even an enemy to Carthage, aware of all it's vices and defects, beholds with anger it's deſtruction; and reſpects the carthaginians at leaſt when he beholds them as diſarmed, betrayed republicans, fighting on their graves, and fighting for a burying place.

Why was it denied thee, thou great, thou matchleſs Hannibal, to prevent thy country's ruin, and march directly to the wolf's den of thy hereditary foe, immediately after the battle of Cannæ? Weak poſterity, that never croſſed the Alps and Pyrenees, condemns thee for this; not reflecting on the people whom thou hadſt under thy command, and on the condition in which, after the terrible winter campaign in Upper and Middle Italy, they muſt have been. It condemns thee, from the mouth of thy enemies, for want of military diſcipline: though it is almoſt incomprehenſible, how thou couldſt keep together thy mercenaries ſo long, and after ſuch marches and ſuch actions, reſt not till thou hadſt reached the plains of Campania. Renown will ever deck the name of this brave enemy of Rome, whom ſhe more than once imperiouſly demanded, to be delivered up to her as ſome engine of war. Not fate, but the factious avarice of his countrymen, prevented him from completing that victory, which he, not Carthage, had obtained over Rome: and thus he was incapable of becoming

becoming more than an inſtrument for inſtructing the romans in the art of war, as they had learned that of navigation wholly from his countrymen. In both fate has given us a fearful warning, never to ſtop ſhort of the full completion of our purpoſes; otherwiſe we ſhall certainly promote, what we are endeavouring to prevent. Suffice it, that with Carthage fell a ſtate, which the romans could never replace. Commerce deſerted it's coaſts; and pirates ſucceeded, as they ever will, to the ſhores that commerce had abandoned. Under the roman colonies Africa ceaſed to be that horn of plenty, which it had long been under Carthage: it was a granary for the people of Rome alone, a menagerie of wild beaſts for their amuſement, and a magazine of ſlaves. Deſolate to this moment lie the ſhores and plains of that fine country, which the romans firſt robbed of it's internal culture. Even every line of the punic writings is loſt to us: Æmilianus preſented them to the grandchildren of Maſiniſſa; one enemy of Carthage, to another.

Whatever way I turn my eyes from Carthage, devaſtation riſes before them; for this ever marked the footſteps of theſe conquerors of the World. Had the romans really intended to be the deliverers of Greece, when they announced themſelves under this proud name at the iſthmian games to the greeks now ſunk into childhood, how different would have been their conduct! But when Paulus Æmilius permitted ſeventy cities of Epirus to be deſpoiled, and a hundred and fifty thouſand perſons to be ſold for ſlaves, merely to reward his army; when Metellus and Silanus ravaged and plundered Macedon, Mummius Corinth, and Sylla Athens and Delphos, as ſcarcely any cities in the World had been plundered; when this devaſtation was ſpread likewiſe through the grecian iſlands, and Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, experienced no better fate than Greece, namely that of becoming ſources of tribute, and magazines of ſpoil to deck the triumphs of the romans; when the laſt king of Macedon was led in triumph with his ſons, languiſhed in the moſt wretched priſon, whilſt one ſon eſcaped death only to gain his livelihood as a ſkilful turner and ſcribe at Rome; when the laſt glimmering of grecian liberty, the ætolian and achaian league, was extinguiſhed, and the whole country became a roman province, or a field of carnage, on which the plundering, ravaging armies of the triumvirs at length engaged each other: O Greece, what an end was reſerved for thee by thy protectreſs, thy pupil, Rome, the tutoreſs of the World! Nothing remains of thee but ruins, which the barbarous ſpoilers carried away with them in triumph, that, at a ſubſequent period, whatever the art of man had invented might periſh amid the aſhes of their own city.

From Greece let us ſteer our courſe to the ſhores of Aſia and Africa. Into the

the kingdoms of Aſia Minor, Syria, Pontus, Armenia, and Egypt, the romans ſoon intruded; either as heirs, or as guardians, umpires, and pacificators: but hence, as a juſt reward for their ſervices, they drew the poiſon, that proved fatal to their own conſtitution. The great military exploits of Scipio Aſiaticus, Manlius, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, are known to every one; to the laſt of whom was decreed a triumph at one time over fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities, and a thouſand fortreſſes. The gold and ſilver diſplayed in ſolemn pomp on the occaſion were eſtimated at twenty thouſand talents *; he augmented the revenues of the ſtate a third part, to the amount of twelve thouſand talents †; and his whole army was ſo enriched, that the meaneſt ſoldier received from him as a triumphant gift to the value of more than thirty pounds ſterling, beſide what he had already acquired as booty. What a robber! Craſſus, who plundered Jeruſalem alone of ten thouſand talents ‡, purſued the ſame ſteps; and no one penetrated farther into the eaſt, without returning, if he did return, laden with wealth and luxury. What by way of compenſation did the romans beſtow on the aſiatics? Neither laws, nor peace; neither inſtitutions, nor arts, nor people. They ravaged countries, burned libraries, deſpoiled cities, temples, and altars. Part of the alexandrian library was given to the flames by Julius Cæſar; and Mark Antony beſtowed the greater portion of that of Pergamus on Cleopatra, that both might afterwards periſh together. Thus the romans, endeavouring to ſpread day over the World, wrapped it in deſolating night: treaſures of gold and ſilver were extorted: nations, and myriads of ancient ideas, were whelmed in the abyſs: the characters of countries were obliterated, and the provinces were drained, plundered, and abuſed, under a ſucceſſion of execrable emperors.

With almoſt yet more melancholy do I bend my courſe weſtwards to the ravaged countries of Spain, Gaul, and wherever the romans ſtretched their arms. The nations they deſtroyed in the eaſt for the moſt part had already bloſſomed, and begun to fade: here, yet unripe, but full of buds, they were ſo injured in their firſt youthful growth, that the race and family of many are ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed. Spain, before the romans entered it, was a well-cultivated, and in moſt places fertile, rich, and happy land. It's trade was conſiderable; and the ſtate of civilization among ſome of it's people by no means to be deſpiſed; of which the turdetani, on the banks of the Bætis, to whom the phenicians and carthaginians had been longeſt known, and even the celtiberians, in the heart of the country, are ſufficient proofs. No place upon

* About 3800000 £ ſterling.
† About 2280000 £.
‡ About 1900000 £.

Earth

Earth more ſtoutly reſiſted the romans than the brave Numantia. For twenty years it ſupported the war; defeated one roman army after another; and at laſt defended itſelf againſt all the military ſkill of a Scipio, with a valour, the melancholy fate of which excites the commiſeration of every reader. And what did the deſpoilers ſeek here, in an inland country, from nations that had never given them offence, and ſcarcely heard of their names? Gold and ſilver mines. Spain was to them, what America is now forced to be to Spain, a place for plunder. Lucullus, Galba, and others, plundered in contempt of the faith they had pledged: the ſenate itſelf annulled two treaties of peace, which it's defeated generals had been fain to conclude with the numantines. It inhumanly delivered up to them the generals; but was again overcome by the numantines in generoſity to theſe unfortunate commanders. And now Scipio appeared with all his force before Numantia; completely blockaded it; cut off the right arms of four hundred young men, the only perſons who would come to the aſſiſtance of this injured town; liſtened not to the moving intreaties, with which a people oppreſſed by famine endeavoured to excite his pity and juſtice; and completed the deſtruction of theſe unhappy beings like a true roman. Like a true roman, too, acted Tiberius Gracchus; when in the country of the celtiberians alone he ravaged three hundred towns, even if we ſuppoſe them to have been nothing more than fortreſſes and villages. Hence the inextinguiſhable hatred of the ſpaniards toward the romans: hence the valiant exploits of Viriatus and Sertorius, both of whom fell by unworthy means, and undoubtedly excelled many roman commanders in military ſkill and courage: hence the ſcarcely ever ſubdued mountaineers of the Pyrenees, who, in deſpite of the romans, retained their ſavage ſtate as long as poſſible. Unfortunate land of gold, Iberia, thou, with thy culture, and thy nations, art ſunk almoſt unknown into the realm of ſhades, in which Homer already depicted thee, beneath the rays of the ſetting Sun, as a ſubterranean kingdom.

Of Gaul we have little to ſay, as we know nothing of it's conqueſt, but from the military journal of it's conqueror. For ten years it coſt Cæſar himſelf incredible pains, and required all the powers of his great mind. Though he excelled every other roman in generoſity, ſtill he was unable to change the fate of his roman deſtination, and gained the melancholy praiſe of having been engaged in fifty pitched battles, not reckoning the civil wars, and having ſlain in fight eleven hundred and ninety two thouſand men. Moſt of theſe were gauls. Where are the numerous, lively, valiant people of this extenſive country? where were their ſpirit and courage, their numbers and ſtrength, when centuries after ſavage nations fell upon them, and ſhared them among themſelves

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as roman ſlaves? Even the name of this leading ſtock of people, with it's peculiar religion, cultivation, and language, is obliterated throughout the whole of the country, that became a roman province. You great and noble minds, Scipio and Cæſar, what are your thoughts, what your feelings, when now, as departed ſpirits, you look down from your celeſtial ſpheres on Rome, that neſt of robbers, and the ſcenes of your murders? How foul to you muſt appear your honour, how bloody your laurels, how baſe and inhuman your exterminating arts! Rome is no more: and when it did exiſt, the feelings of every worthy man muſt have whiſpered to him, that all theſe monſtrous, ambitious victories would call down vengeance and deſtruction on his country.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *The Decline of Rome.*

The law of retaliation is an eternal ordinance of nature. As in a balance neither ſcale can be depreſſed without the aſcent of the other; ſo no political equilibrium can be deſtroyed, no ſin againſt the rights of nations and of mankind can be committed, without avenging itſelf; and the more the meaſure is heaped, the more tremendous will be it's fall. If any hiſtory proclaim to us this natural truth, it is the hiſtory of Rome: but let the reader extend his views, and not confine them to a ſingle cauſe of the ruin of that ſtate. Had the romans never beheld Greece or Aſia, and proceeded after the manner in which they did againſt other poorer countries; undoubtedly their fall would have happened at a different period, and under different circumſtances: ſtill it would have been equally inevitable. The ſeeds of deſtruction lay in the heart of the plant; the worm gnawed it's roots, and it's vital juices were corrupted: the gigantic tree, therefore, muſt ultimately fall to the ground.

1. In the eſſence of the roman conſtitution was a leaven of diſſenſion, which, if not removed, could not fail ſoon or late to effect it's deſtruction: this was *the diſpoſition of the ſtate itſelf, the unjuſt or uncertain limits between the ſenate, the knights, and the citizens.* It was impoſſible for Romulus to foreſee all the future circumſtances of his city, when he eſtabliſhed this diviſion: he formed it according to it's preſent ſtate and wants; as theſe altered, he himſelf loſt his life by the hands of thoſe, to whom his power became burdenſome. None of his ſucceſſors had courage, or occaſion, to do what Romulus had not done: they gave a preponderance to either party by their perſonal authority, and preſerved an union between the different ranks in a rude ſtate ſurrounded with dangers. Servius muſtered

muſtered the people, and put the balance in the hands of the rich. Under the firſt conſuls dangers were extremely preſſing: at the ſame time men of ſuch merit, ſtrength, and greatneſs, were conſpicuous among the patricians, that they could not fail to lead the people.

But circumſtances ſoon changed; and the oppreſſion of the nobles became inſupportable. The citizens were overwhelmed with debt: they had too little ſhare in the legiſlation; they reaped too little advantages from the victories, for which their blood was ſpilled: ſo the people retired to the Sacred Mount, and ſo diſputes aroſe, which the appointment of tribunes was calculated rather to multiply than remove, and with which the whole ſubſequent hiſtory of Rome was accordingly interwoven. Hence the long and frequently renewed conteſts reſpecting the diviſion of lands, and the participation of the plebeians in magiſterial, conſular, and ſacerdotal offices; in which conteſts each party ſought it's own ends, and no one attempted an unbiaſſed and equitable adjuſtment of the intereſts of both. This contention ſurvived even to the triumvirates: nay the triumvirates themſelves were conſequences of it. Now as theſe put an end to the whole of the roman conſtitution, and this contention was nearly as old as the republic itſelf; it appears, that it aroſe from no external circumſtances, but from an internal cauſe, which from the beginning corroded the vitals of the ſtate. It is ſingular, therefore, that the roman conſtitution ſhould have been repreſented as a pattern of perfection: a conſtitution one of the moſt imperfect in the World, originating from crude temporary circumſtances, and never afterwards reformed from a general comprehenſive view of the whole, but partially altered from time to time. Cæſar alone was capable of giving it a radical reform: but it was too late, and the dagger, that deprived him of life, deſtroyed all poſſibility of an improved conſtitution.

2. There is an inconſiſtency in the poſition: Rome, the queen of nations, Rome the ſovereign of the World: for *Rome was merely a city; and it's conſtitution, the conſtitution of a city alone.* That Rome's reſolves for war, however, were the reſolves of an immortal ſenate, not of a mortal king; while the ſpirit of it's world-deſtroying maxims was naturally more durable in a college, than in a fluctuating ſeries of rulers; unqueſtionably contributed to it's perſevering obſtinacy in war, and conſequently to it's victories. Beſides, the patricians and plebeians were almoſt always at variance; ſo that the ſenate found it neceſſary to create wars, for the purpoſe of employing the unruly multitude, or ſome turbulent leader, abroad, that peace might be preſerved at home. Thus this permanent variance contributed greatly to the continuance of foreign devaſtation. Laſtly, as the ſenate itſelf was often cloſely beſet with dangers, and frequently

found victories, or the fame of victories, neceſſary for it's ſupport; and as every daring patrician, who wiſhed the people to eſpouſe his cauſe, ſtood in need of donations, games, celebrity, and triumphs, which war alone, or for the moſt part, could furniſh; this divided, reſtleſs government was a cauſe of diſturbing the peace of the World, and keeping it in commotion for centuries: for, out of regard to it's own happineſs, no orderly ſtate, tranquil in itſelf, would have been the actor of ſuch a fearful tragedy.

To make conqueſts, however, is one thing; to retain them, another: one thing, to gain victories; another, to render them of advantage to the ſtate. Rome, from it's internal conſtitution, was never capable of the latter: and the former it was enabled to do only by means altogether inimical to the conſtitution of a city. Already the firſt kings, that applied their arms to conqueſt, were compelled to admit ſome of the conquered towns and nations within the walls of Rome; that the feeble tree, which was deſirous of ſhooting forth ſuch enormous branches, might acquire roots, and a ſubſtantial trunk: thus the inhabitants of Rome increaſed alarmingly. The city afterwards formed alliances, and it's allies joined it's armies in the field: ſo that they took part in it's victories and conqueſts, and were romans, though they were neither citizens nor inhabitants of Rome. Hence ſoon aroſe warm conteſts on the part of the allies for admiſſion to the rights of citizenſhip: a demand inevitable from the nature of the caſe. Hence aroſe the firſt ſocial war, which coſt Italy three hundred thouſand of it's youths, and brought Rome, which had been obliged to arm even it's freedmen, to the brink of deſtruction: for it was a war between the head and the members, which terminated only by the conſolidation of the members into this miſshapen head. All Italy was now become Rome, which continued to ſpread itſelf, to the great diſturbance of the World. I ſhall paſs over the diſorder, which this romanizing muſt have introduced into the laws of all the italian ſtates; and only notice the evils, that thenceforward flowed from all corners, and from every region, into Rome.

If there were previouſly ſuch a conflux to this city, as rendered it ſo impoſſible, to keep the tables of the cenſus uncontaminated, that even a man, who was no roman citizen, was elected conſul; how muſt it have been, when the head of the World was a mixed mob from all Italy; the moſt monſtrous head, that Earth ever bore? Immediately on the death of Sylla, the lords of the World amounted to four hundred and fifty thouſand; the admiſſion of the allies infinitely increaſed the number; and in Cæſar's time there were three hundred and twenty thouſand, who ſhared in the public donations of corn. Think of this turbulent mob of moſtly idle perſons aſſembling to vote, in company

pany with it's patrons, and thoſe who aſpired to poſts of honour; and it will not be difficult to conceive how donations, ſpectacles, parade, and flattery, and ſtill more military force, could excite thoſe tumults, ſpill thoſe ſeas of blood, and eſtabliſh thoſe triumvirates, which at length reduced this haughty ſovereign of the World into a ſtate of ſlavery to herſelf. Where now was the authority of the ſenate? or what were five or ſix hundred perſons againſt the innumerable multitude, that claimed the rights of ſovereignty, and, marſhalled in powerful armies, were at the beck now of this man, now of that? What a poor figure did the divine ſenate, as the flattering greeks ſtyled it, make before Marius or Sylla, Pompey or Cæſar, Antony or Octavius! The father of his country, Cicero, appears ſhorn of his glories, when attacked only by a Clodius; and his beſt councils were of little avail, not only againſt what Pompey, Cæſar, Antony, and others, actually did, but what even a Catiline had nearly accompliſhed. Not from the ſpices of the eaſt, not from the effeminacy of Lucullus, ſprung this diſorderly ſtate of things; but from the eſſence of the conſtitution of Rome, which, merely as a city, aimed at being the head of the World *.

3. *In Rome, however, there were not a ſenate and people alone, but ſlaves alſo; and of theſe the number increaſed, in proportion as the romans extended their ſway.* By the hands of ſlaves they cultivated their extenſive, fertile lands in Italy, Sicily, Greece, &c. A number of ſlaves conſtituted their domeſtic wealth; and the traffic in them, nay the tuition of them, was an extenſive occupation at Rome, of which even Cato was not aſhamed. The days when maſter and ſervant lived almoſt like brothers together, and Romulus could promulgate a law, that a father might ſell his ſon for a ſlave three times, had long been paſt: the ſlaves of the conquerors of the World were collected from every quarter of the Globe, and were treated by good maſters mildly, by the pitileſs frequently as brutes. It would have been wonderful had no detriment accrued to the romans from this vaſt multitude of oppreſſed beings: for, like every other bad inſtitution, this could not fail to avenge itſelf. The vengeance taken by the bloody war of the ſlaves, which Spartacus waged againſt the romans for three years, with the valour and ſkill of a conſummate general; his followers increaſing from ſeventy four perſons to an army of ſeventy thouſand, with which he defeated different commanders, among whom were two conſuls; during which war many cruelties were perpetrated; was only a prelude. The grand miſchief aroſe from the

* For all the good that can be ſaid of the ſimplicity of the ancient romans, and the improvement of the roman people, read the firſt volume of Meierotto's well ſupported work on the manners and way of life of the romans; and for the progreſs of luxury, both among the plebeians and patricians, ſee the ſecond volume of the ſame book.

favourites of their maſters, the freedmen, who at length reduced Rome to the ſtate of a ſlave of ſlaves, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the words. This evil commenced as early as Sylla's time; and under the emperors it increaſed ſo dreadfully, that I am incapable of deſcribing the diſorders and barbarities, which originated with freedmen and favourite ſlaves. The hiſtories and ſatires of roman authors abound with them: no ſavage nation upon Earth is acquainted with any thing, that will bear a compariſon. Thus Rome was puniſhed by Rome: the oppreſſor of the World became the abject ſervant of the moſt infamous ſlaves.

4. To this *luxury* likewiſe greatly contributed: towards which unfortunately Rome was not leſs forcibly impelled by circumſtances, than to the conqueſt of the World by ſituation. As from a central point ſhe ruled the Mediterranean Sea, and with it the rich ſhores of three quarters of the Globe: while by the aid of conſiderable fleets ſhe acquired through the medium of Alexandria the precious commodities of Ethiopia, and the remoteſt parts of the eaſt. My words are too feeble to deſcribe the groſs diſſipation and luxury in feaſts and public ſpectacles, in dainties for the table and garments for the body, in houſes and in furniture, which prevailed, not only in Rome, but in every place connected with it, after the conqueſt of Aſia*. A man can ſcarcely believe his own eyes, when he reads the deſcriptions of theſe things, the high price of foreign commodities, and the profuſion of them, with the immenſe debts of the great men of Rome, who were latterly freedmen and ſlaves. This extravagance neceſſarily induced extreme poverty: nay it was in itſelf a preſſing want. Thoſe rivers of gold, which for centuries flowed into Rome from all the provinces, at laſt dried up: and as all the commerce of the romans was in the higheſt degree prejudicial to them, ſince they exchanged ready money for mere ſuperfluities, it is not to be wondered, that India alone drained them annually of immenſe ſums.

In the mean time, the land was neglected: agriculture was no longer purſued, as it had formerly been, by the romans and their contemporaries in Italy: the arts of Rome were employed not on the uſeful, but on the ſuperfluous; on extravagant ſplendour and expenſe in triumphal arches, baths, funeral monuments, theatres, amphitheatres, and the like; wonderful ſtructures, ſuch as it muſt be confeſſed theſe plunderers of the World alone could erect. To no

* See, beſide Petronius, Pliny, Juvenal, and abundance of paſſages in the ancients; and among modern compilations the ſecond volume of Meierotto's work on the manners and way of life of the romans, Meiners's *Geſchichte des Verfalls der Roemer*, 'Hiſtory of the Decline of the Romans,' &c.

roman are we indebted for any uſeful art, for any thing contributing to the ſupport of man; which might have benefitted other nations, and from which permanent and deſerved advantage might have been derived. Hence the empire ſoon became poor: the ſtandard of the coin was lowered; and in the third century of our era, if we take the baſeneſs of the coin into conſideration, a general received ſcarcely the pay, that was deemed inſufficient for a common ſoldier in the time of Auguſtus. Obvious natural conſequences of the courſe of things; which, conſidered merely in a manufacturing and commercial view, could not turn out otherwiſe.

From theſe deſtructive circumſtances the human ſpecies, too, degenerated; not only in number, but in ſtature, growth, and vital energy. Rome and Italy, which had rendered the moſt populous and flouriſhing countries in the World, Sicily, Greece, Spain, Aſia, Africa, and Egypt, nearly deſerts, naturally drew upon themſelves, by their laws and wars, and ſtill more by their depraved, indolent manner of living, their inordinate vices, the practice of divorce, ſeverity towards their ſlaves, and latterly tyranny toward the worthieſt men, the moſt unnatural death. Expiring Rome lay for centuries on her deathbed in the moſt frightful convulſions: a deathbed extending over a whole World, from which ſhe had ſucked her delicious poiſon, and which could then render her no aſſiſtance, but that of accelerating her death. Barbarians came to perform this office: northern giants, to whom the enervated romans appeared dwarfs: they ravaged Rome, and infuſed new life into expiring Italy. A tremendous yet wholeſome proof, that all irregularities in Nature avenge and conſume themſelves. We have to thank the luxury of the eaſt for having freed the World earlier from a carcaſe, which victories in other regions indeed would have deſtroyed, but it is probable neither ſo ſpeedily, nor ſo terribly.

5. I have now to conſolidate the whole into one view, and unfold the grand ordinance of nature, that, even without luxury, without plebeians, without a ſenate, and without ſlaves, *the military ſpirit of Rome alone muſt have ultimately deſtroyed it*; *and that ſword, which it ſo often drew againſt innocent cities and nations, have returned into it's own bowels.* But here all hiſtory ſpeaks for me. When the legions, unſatiated with ſpoil, found nothing more to plunder, and on the frontiers of Parthia and Germany ſaw an end to their fame, what could they do, but turn back, and devour the parent ſtate? The fearful tragedy began with the times of Marius and Sylla: attached to their commanders, or paid by them, the returning armies revenged their generals on their antagoniſts, even in the midſt of their country, and Rome was deluged with blood. This tragedy continued. When Pompey and Cæſar led againſt each other dearly paid armies, in the country where once the Muſes ſung, and Apollo paſtured

his

his flocks as a ſhepherd; romans, fighting againſt romans, decided the fate of their country at this diſtance. So it proceeded in the barbarous compact of the triumvirs at Modena, which in a ſingle liſt condemned to death or baniſhment three hundred ſenators, and two thouſand knights, and extorted two hundred thouſand talents * chiefly from Rome, and even from the women: as it did after the battle of Philippi, where Brutus fell; before the war againſt the younger Pompey, the nobler ſon of a great father; after the battle of Actium; and on other occaſions.

It was in vain that the weak, unfeeling Auguſtus acted the part of clemency and the love of peace: the empire had been won by the ſword; the ſword muſt maintain it, or by the ſword it muſt fall. If the romans began to ſlumber; the nations that had been injured, or put into commotion, would not ſlumber too: they demanded vengeance, and retaliated when opportunity arrived. In the roman empire the cæſars ever remained nothing more than commanders in chief of the armies: and many of them, who forgot their ſtations, were dreadfully reminded of them by their ſoldiers. Theſe ſet up, and put down emperors: till at length the commander of the pretorian guards made himſelf grand vizir, and the ſenators contemptible puppets. In a ſhort time, too, the ſenate was compoſed wholly of ſoldiers; of ſoldiers whom time had ſo enfeebled, that they were fit neither for war nor counſel. The empire fell to pieces: rival emperors perſecuted and aſſailed each other: foreign nations preſſed into the empire, and enemies were admitted into the army, who allured other enemies. Thus the provinces were torn and ravaged; and proud, eternal Rome fell, deſerted and betrayed by it's own commanders. A fearful monument of the end, that every where awaits the thirſt of conqueſt, whether in great or little ſtates; and more particularly the ſpirit of military deſpotiſm, according to the juſt laws of nature. Never was a martial ſtate more firm and extenſive than that of Rome: and never was a corpſe conveyed more horribly to the grave; ſo that after Pompey and Cæſar another conqueror could never have been expected, or another regiment of ſoldiers, to ariſe in a civilized nation.

Powerful Deſtiny! has the hiſtory of the romans been preſerved, has half the World been a victim to the ſword, to teach us this leſſon? And yet we learn from it nothing but words; or, miſunderſtood, it has formed new romans, incapable however of equalling their prototype. Thoſe ancient romans have appeared but once upon the ſtage, and acted, chiefly as private perſons, a tremendouſly grand tragedy, the repetition of which, for humanity's ſake, we can never deſire. Let us examine, however, what greatneſs and ſplendour this tragedy has exhibited in it's progreſs.

* £. 3875000.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Character, Sciences, and Arts of the Romans.*

After what has been ſaid, juſtice demands, that we ſhould name with due praiſe thoſe nobleminded individuals, who, in the unfavourable ſituation, in which deſtiny had placed them, bravely ſacrificed themſelves for what they called the good of their country, and in the ſhort courſe of their lives performed deeds reaching almoſt the ſummit of human powers. Following the courſe of hiſtory, I ſhall mention as deſerving fame in different degrees a Junius Brutus and Poplicola, Mutius Scævola and Coriolanus, Valeria and Veturia, the three hundred Fabii and Cincinnatus, Camillus and Decius, Fabricius and Regulus, Marcellus and Fabius, the Scipios and Catos, Cornelia and her unfortunate ſons; to whom, if military glory alone were to be conſidered, we ſhall add Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Cæſar; and, if good intentions and endeavours deſerve praiſe, Marcus Brutus, Cicero, Agrippa, Druſus, and Germanicus. Neither muſt we forget among the emperors Titus, the delight of mankind, the juſt and good Nerva, the fortunate Trajan, the indefatigable Adrian, the good Antoninus, the vigilant Severus, the manly Aurelian, and other powerful props of a ſinking edifice. But as theſe men are better known to every one, than even the greeks themſelves, I may be excuſed if I ſpeak generally of the character of the romans in their beſt ages, and conſider this character as a conſequence of the circumſtances of the times.

If a name were to be given to impartiality and firm reſolve, to indefatigable activity in words and deeds, and a determinate ardent purſuit of victory or honour; if to that cool courage, which peril cannot daunt, misfortune cannot bend, and ſucceſs cannot intoxicate; it muſt be that of roman fortitude. Many perſons even of the loweſt order in this ſtate have diſplayed this virtue in ſo conſpicuous a manner, that we, particularly in our youth, when we view the romans chiefly on the moſt brilliant ſide, honour ſuch perſonages of the old World as great departed ſpirits. Their generals ſtride like giants from one quarter of the Globe to another, and bear the fate of nations in their prompt and powerful hands. Thrones are overturned by their foot as they paſs, and they determine the life or death of myriads with a word. Perilous height, on which they ſtand! Ruinous game, where crowns are the ſtake, and where the wealth of nations, and the lives of millions, are played away!

On this height they walk as ſimple romans, diſdaining the pomp of barbarian kings; the helmet their crown, the coat of mail their only decoration.

And when on this ſummit of wealth and power I hear their manly eloquence, and ſee the unwearied activity of their domeſtic or patriotic virtues; when in the throng of battle, or in the tumult of the Forum, the countenance of Cæſar retains it's conſtant ſerenity, and his heart beats with magnanimous clemency even toward his enemies; great man, even with all the vices, into which levity led thee, if thou didſt not deſerve to be monarch of Rome, no man ever did! But Cæſar was more than this; he was Cæſar. The higheſt throne on Earth decorated itſelf with his name: O that it could have adorned itſelf with his ſpirit alſo! that for ages it could have been animated with the benevolent, vigilant, comprehenſive mind of Cæſar!

But there ſtands his friend Brutus with drawn dagger. Worthy Brutus! thy evil genius appeared to thee not for the firſt time at Sardis or Philippi: long before hadſt thou ſeen it in the ſhape of thy country, to which, though of ſofter ſoul than thy rude forefathers, thou madeſt a ſacrifice of the ſacred rights of friendſhip and humanity. Wanting the mind of a Cæſar and the vulgar ferociouſneſs of a Sylla, thou couldſt not profit by the deed impoſed upon thee; and waſt compelled to abandon Rome, now Rome no longer, to the wild deſigns of an Antony and an Octavius: Antony, who laid all the glory of Rome at the feet of an egyptian ſtrumpet; Octavius, who from the chamber of a Livia ruled with a ſemblance of divine tranquillity the wearied World. Nothing was left for thee, but thy own ſword: a melancholy yet neceſſary reſource for an unfortunate roman.

Whence aroſe this great character of the romans? From their education; often from family pride, and the glory of a name; from their occupations; from the condenſation of the ſenate, the people, and all nations, in the central point of the ſovereignty of the World; and laſtly from the fortunate, unfortunate neceſſity, in which the romans found themſelves. Hence every part of roman greatneſs was common to the people, as well as the nobler families; to the women, as well as the men. The daughters of Scipio and Cato, the wife of a Brutus, the mother and ſiſter of the Gracchi, could not act unbecoming their families: nay, noble roman ladies frequently excelled the men in prudence and worth. Thus Terentia poſſeſſed more heroic courage than Cicero; Veturia, more noblemindedneſs than Coriolanus; Paulina, more fortitude than Seneca. No natural advantages could produce in an eaſtern haram, or a gyneceum of Greece, thoſe female virtues, which bloſſomed in the public

public and domeſtic life of the romans: buf it muſt be confeſſed, that, in the times of roman depravity, female vices appeared, at which humanity ſhudders. Even ſo early as the ſubjugation of the latins, a hundred and ſeventy roman wives agreed to poiſon their huſbands; and, when they were diſcovered, quaffed off the fatal portion like heroes. The deeds, which the women of Rome were capable of perpetrating under the emperors, want a name. The deepeſt ſhade borders on the ſtrongeſt light: a ſtepmother Livia, and the faithful Antonia-Druſus, a Plancina and Agrippina-Germanicus, a Meſſalina and Octavia, appear ſide by ſide.

If we would eſtimate the merits of the romans in regard to ſcience, we muſt take their peculiar character into conſideration, and require from them no grecian arts. Their language was the æolian dialect, intermingled with almoſt all the tongues of Italy. From this rude form it was ſlowly improved; and yet, with all it's improvement, it could never completely attain that eaſe, beauty, and perſpicuity, which diſtinguiſh the greek. It is conciſe, grave, and worthy to be the language of the legiſlators and ſovereigns of the World: in every reſpect a type of the roman mind. As the romans did not become acquainted with the greeks, till their character and political ſtate had long been formed by the latins, the etruſcans, and their own efforts; it was late, before their native eloquence began, to receive any poliſh from Greece. We will paſs over, therefore, their firſt dramatic and poetical attempts, which unqueſtionably contributed much to the formation of their language, and ſpeak of what with them took deeper root; *legiſlation*, *oratory*, and *hiſtory*; flowers of the intellect, which their occupations produced, and in which the roman genius is more particularly diſplayed.

Here, too, we have to regret, that fate has favoured us with ſo little: for they, whoſe thirſt of conqueſt deprived us of ſo many works of other nations, were obliged, in like manner, to ſubmit the productions of their own genius to deſtructive time. Not to mention the ancient annals of their prieſts, the heroic hiſtories of Ennius and Nævius, or the attempt of a Fabius Pictor; where are the hiſtories of a Cincius, Cato, Libo, Poſthumius, Piſo, Caſſius Hemina, Servilian, Fannius, Sempronius, Cælius Antipater, Aſellio, Gellius, Lucinius, and others? Where are the lives of Æmilius Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, Lutatius Catulus, Sylla, Auguſtus, Agrippa, and Tiberius, of an Agrippina-Germanicus, and even of a Claudius, Trajan, &c., written by themſelves? Where, too, are the numerous hiſtorical works of the moſt important perſons of the ſtate in the moſt important periods of Rome? of Hortenſius, Atticus, Siſenna, Lutatius, Tubero, Lucceius, Balbus, Brutus, and Tiro; of Valerius

Meſſala, Cremutius Cordus, Domitius, Corbulo, and Cluvius Rufus? where, the many loſt works of Cornelius Nepos, Salluſt, Livy, Trogus, Pliny, and others? I inſert theſe names here, to abaſh thoſe moderns, who ſet themſelves far above the romans: for where is the modern nation, that can reckon among it's princes, generals, and chief officers of ſtate, ſo many and ſo great hiſtorians, as theſe pretendedly barbarous romans, in ſo ſhort a time, and during events of ſo much importance, in which they were actively employed? From the few fragments, yet remaining as ſpecimens of a Cornelius, Cæſar, Livy, &c., roman hiſtory, it muſt be confeſſed, has not the charms and pleaſing beauty of the greek; but it poſſeſſes roman dignity, and much philoſophical and political wiſdom in a Salluſt, Tacitus, and others. Where great actions are achieved, men think and write with dignity: ſlavery palſies the tongue, as appears from the later roman hiſtory itſelf: and, alas! the majority of the roman hiſtorians, during the times of roman liberty, or while that liberty was but half deſtroyed, are wholly loſt. An irreparable loſs: for ſuch men can live but once; but once can write their own hiſtory.

Roman Hiſtory walks by the ſide of Eloquence, her ſiſter, and the Art of War and of Politics, their common mother. Thus ſeveral of the greateſt of the romans were not only ſkilled in theſe ſciences, but writers alſo. The greek and roman hiſtorians are unjuſtly cenſured for the political and military ſpeeches, which they have frequently introduced into their narrative: for as public ſpeeches formed the chain, to which every affair of the commonwealth was linked, the hiſtorian could not find a more natural inſtrument to connect events, preſent them in different points of view, and enter into a philoſophical elucidation of them. Theſe ſpeeches afford the writer a far more elegant mode of philoſophiſing, than that ſubſequently adopted by Tacitus and his brethren, who, compelled by neceſſity, uniformly intermix their own reflections. Tacitus, however, has been unjuſtly criticiſed alſo, for his philoſophiſing ſpirit; for both in his delineations, and in the ſeverity of their ſtyle, he is in heart and mind a roman. It was impoſſible for him to relate events, without unfolding their cauſes, and painting in black colours what was deteſtable. His hiſtory ſighs for liberty; and it's obſcure conciſe tone diſplays deeper regret for it's loſs, than words could have expreſſed. Hiſtory and eloquence enjoy only times of freedom, that is of public activity in politics and war: they periſh with theſe; and, as the ſtate grows indolent, their thoughts and expreſſion are benumbed.

With regard to orators, though not inferiour in fame to the hiſtorians, we have leſs to deplore. Cicero alone is ſufficient, to indemnify us for the loſs

of many. In his writings on oratory he gives us the characters at leaſt of his great predeceſſors and contemporaries; and to us his orations may ſupply the place of thoſe of Cato, Antonius, Hortenſius, Cæſar, and others. The fate of this man is illuſtrious: more illuſtrious after his death, than during his life. He has preſerved to us not only the eloquence of Rome, in his precepts and examples, but the greater part of the grecian philoſophy; for of many of it's ſchools we ſhould have known little more than the names, and not their doctrines, but for the enviable garb, in which he has preſerved them. His eloquence excels the thunder of Demoſthenes, not only in philoſophical clearneſs and perſpicuity, but in urbanity and true patriotiſm. Almoſt to him alone is Europe indebted for the reſtoration of the pure latin language; an inſtrument, that has unqueſtionably done much for the human mind, notwithſtanding it's many abuſes. Light lie the turf upon thee, therefore, much occupied and much perſecuted man, the *pater patriæ* of all the latin ſchools in Europe! For thy frailties thou didſt ſufficient penance in thy lifetime: now thou art dead, may men enjoy the fruits of thy learned, elegant, juſt, and noble ſpirit, and learn from thy letters and works, if not to adore, at leaſt to love thee with gratitude and high eſteem*.

The poetry of the romans was but a foreign flower, which bloſſomed beautifully in Latium, it is true, and here and there aſſumed a more delicate tint, but it was incapable of producing any new fruits of it's own. The etruſcans, indeed, had already prepared the ruder warrior for poetry by their ſalian and funereal ſongs, and their feſcennine, atellanian, and ſcenic games. With the capture of Tarentum and other cities of Græcia Magna, grecian poets alſo were captured, who endeavoured to render the rude dialect of the conquerors of Greece more pleaſing to them, by the help of the more refined muſes of their mother country. The merits of theſe moſt ancient latin poets are known to us only from a few verſes and fragments; but we are aſtoniſhed at the number of their tragedies and comedies, that we find quoted, not only in ancient times, but in part even in the beſt ages. Time has deſtroyed them; but I do not think the loſs great, compared with that of the greeks; for many of them were founded on grecian ſtories, and probably imitations of grecian manners. The roman people delighted too much in farces and pantomimes, in the circenſian games and combats of gladiators, to poſſeſs a grecian ear, or grecian taſte for the theatre. The dramatic muſe was introduced to the romans

* For the character of this man, which has often been miſunderſtood, read Middleton's life of Cicero, an excellent work, not only as far as reſpects the writings of this roman, but the general hiſtory of his time.

as a ſlave; and a ſlave with them ſhe ever remained: ſtill I much regret the loſs of the hundred and thirty pieces of Plautus, and the ſhipwreck of a hundred and eight plays of Terence; as well as the poems of Ennius, a man of ſtrong mind, particularly his Scipio and his didactic poems; for in Terence alone, to uſe Cæſar's expreſſion, we had at leaſt half Menander. Cicero, too, we have to thank for having preſerved to us a Lucretius, a poet of a roman ſoul; and to Auguſtus we are indebted for a Semi-Homer in the Æneid. Let us thank Cornutus, likewiſe, for not having deprived us of ſome of the exerciſes of his noble pupil Perſius: and you, alſo, ye monks, for having ſaved, as means of learning latin, Horace, and Boethius, with ſomething of Terence, but above all your Virgil, as an orthodox poet. The ſole unſpotted laurel in the crown of Auguſtus is, that he cheriſhed the muſes, and allowed ſcience a free wing.

From the roman poets to the philoſophers I turn with pleaſure: many were both at the ſame time, and indeed philoſophers in their hearts as well as heads. In Rome no ſyſtems were invented; but philoſophy was practiſed, and introduced into law, politics, and private life. Never did a didactic poet write with more force and fire than Lucretius; for he believed what he taught: never ſince the time of Plato has the Academy been renovated with greater charms, than in the elegant dialogues of Cicero. The ſtoic philoſophy, likewiſe, not only obtained great ſway in roman juriſprudence, and formed a ſtrict rule for the conduct of men, but acquired a practical ſolidity and beauty in the writings of Seneca, the excellent meditations of Marcus Aurelius, the maxims of Epictetus, &c., to which the doctrines of various ſchools have evidently contributed. Exerciſe and neceſſity in many ſevere ſituations of the roman ſtate ſteeled the breaſts of the romans and fortified their courage: they examined into what was proper to be followed, and availed themſelves of what the greeks had conceived, not as idle ornament, but as the weapons and armour of the mind. The ſtoic philoſophy had great effect on the heads and hearts of the romans: not indeed in exciting them to the conqueſt of the World, but in promoting juſtice, rectitude, and the internal conſolation of men unjuſtly oppreſſed. For the romans were men; and as innocent poſterity ſuffered for the ſins of their progenitors, they ſought to ſtrengthen themſelves as they could: they firmly appropriated to themſelves what was not of their own invention.

The hiſtory of roman literature is to us a ruin of ruins; for, with the collections of it, we have loſt, for the moſt part, the ſources whence thoſe collections were drawn. What labour ſhould we have been ſpared, what light would have been thrown upon antiquity, if the writings of Varro, or the two thouſand books from which Pliny compiled, had come down to us! From what was known of the

the World to the romans, Ariſtotle undoubtedly would have made a collection different from Pliny's: yet is the book of Pliny a treaſure, which ſhows the induſtry and roman ſpirit of the writer, notwithſtanding his ignorance in particular points. Thus, too, the hiſtory of roman juriſprudence is the hiſtory of great diligence and acuteneſs, which could have been exerciſed, and ſo long purſued, in the roman ſtate alone: what in the courſe of time has been made out of it, or foiſted into it, muſt not be charged on the lawyers of ancient Rome. In ſhort, defective as roman literature appears in almoſt every branch compared with the greek, this muſt not be aſcribed to the circumſtances of the times alone, but to the very nature of the romans alſo, for ages proudly aſpiring to be the lawgivers of the World. The ſequel of the work will ſhow this, when we ſee a new Rome ariſing from the aſhes of the old, in a very different form, but yet big with the ſpirit of conqueſt.

Laſtly I have to ſpeak of the arts of the romans, in which they diſplayed themſelves to the preſent World, and to poſterity, as the ſovereigns of the Earth, at whoſe nod, were the materials of every country, and the hands of every conquered nation. From the beginning they were inſpired with the deſire of proclaiming the ſplendour of their victories by monuments of fame, and the majeſty of their city by magnificent and durable ſtructures; ſo that they very early thought of nothing leſs than the eternity of their proud exiſtence. The temples that Romulus and Numa erected, and the places they aſſigned for public aſſemblies, already had victory in view, and a mighty popular government; till, ſoon after, Ancus and Tarquin laid the firm foundations of that architecture, which ultimately roſe almoſt to immenſity. The etruſcan king built the walls of Rome of hewn ſtone. To ſupply his ſubjects with water, and keep the city clean, he erected thoſe vaſt reſervoirs, the ruins of which even now are among the wonders of the world; for modern Rome is unable even to clean them, and keep them in repair. In the ſame ſtyle were it's galleries, it's temples, it's courts of juſtice, and that immenſe circus, which, erected for the amuſement of the people merely, excites our veneration even now in it's ruins. This path was purſued by the kings, the haughty Tarquin in particular; afterwards by the conſuls and ediles; then by the conquerors of the World, and the dictators; but chiefly by Julius Cæſar; and the emperors followed. Thus by degrees aroſe thoſe gates and towers, theatres and amphitheatres, circuſes and ſtadia, triumphal arches and honorary columns, ſplendid monuments and mauſolea, roads and aqueducts, palaces and baths, which diſplay the eternal footſteps of theſe lords of the World, in the provinces as well as in Rome and Italy. To contemplate

many

many of theſe, even in their ruins, almoſt fatigues the eye; and the mind ſinks under the conception of the vaſt idea, from which the artiſt generated theſe grand deſigns of ſolidity and magnificence. Still more little do we feel ourſelves, when we reflect on the purpoſes of theſe ſtructures, the way of life that was purſued in and among them, the people to whoſe uſe they were dedicated, and the perſons, not unfrequently private individuals, by whom they were erected. Then the mind feels, that the World never contained but one Rome; and that one genius prevailed, from the wooden amphitheatre of Curio, to the Coliſeum of Veſpaſian; from the temple of Jupiter Stator, to the Pantheon of Agrippa, or the temple of Peace; from the firſt triumphal gate of a returning victor, to the triumphal arches, and honorary columns of Auguſtus, Titus, Trajan, Severus, and throughout every monument of public or private life. This genius was not the ſpirit of general liberty and comprehenſive benevolence: for, when we reflect on the enormous toil of the labourers, who, as the ſlaves of war, were often obliged to procure theſe mountains of ſtone and marble from diſtant lands; when we conſider the ſums expended on theſe monſters of art, ſums wrung from the blood and ſweat of plundered and oppreſſed provinces; when we think of the barbarouſly proud and ſavage taſte, which moſt of theſe edifices cheriſhed, by their bloody combats of gladiators, their inhuman battles with wild beaſts, their barbarous triumphal proceſſions, &c.; not to mention the luxury of their baths and palaces; we are compelled to think, that Rome was founded by ſome demon inimical to mankind, to exhibit to all human beings traces of his ſupernatural, demoniacal ſovereignty. On this ſubject let the reader turn to the complaints of the elder Pliny, and every noble roman; let him trace the wars and oppreſſions, that brought to Rome the arts of Etruria, Greece, and Egypt: he will probably admire the mountains of roman magnificence, as the ſummit of human greatneſs and power; but at the ſame time he will learn to deteſt them, as the murderous and tyrannical graves of mankind. The rules of art, however, remain what they were: and though the romans, properly ſpeaking, invented nothing in the arts, nay latterly combined together what had elſewhere been invented, in a manner ſufficiently barbarous; yet, in this accumulating, piling taſte, they ſhow themſelves the great lords of the Earth.

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra:
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus:
Orabunt cauſas melius: cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, et ſurgentia ſidera dicent:

Tu

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes, paciſque imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis & debellare ſuperbos.

Æneid. Lib. VI, l. 867–73.

Let others better mould the running maſs
Of metals, and inform the breathing braſs;
And ſoften into fleſh a marble face:
Plead better at the bar: deſcribe the ſkies,
And when the ſtars deſcend, and when they riſe.
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful ſway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
Diſpoſing peace, and war, thy own majeſtic way.

Dryden.

We would willingly excuſe the romans for the want of all the grecian arts they deſpiſed, and which notwithſtanding they employed for uſe or ornament; nay for the neglect of improving the nobleſt ſciences, aſtronomy, chronology, &c.; and undertake a pilgrimage to the places, where theſe flowers of the intellect bloomed in their native ſoil; had they but left them there, and exerciſed with more philanthropy that art of government, which they deemed their ſupreme excellence. But this was not in their power; as their wiſdom was ſubſervient only to their overweening authority, and the pretended pride of nations bent to a ſtill greater pride.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *General Reflections on the Hiſtory and Fate of Rome.*

IT has been of old an exerciſe of political philoſophy, to determine, whether Rome were more indebted for her greatneſs to fortune, or to valour. Already Plutarch, and many other writers, both greek and roman, have given their opinions on this point; and in modern times the queſtion has been handled by almoſt every reflecting adventurer in the paths of hiſtory. Plutarch, after all that he is obliged to allow to roman valour, gives fortune the preponderance: in this inquiry, however, as in his other writings, he ſhows himſelf the flowery, pleaſing greek, not the poſſeſſor of a comprehenſive mind fully equal to his ſubject. Moſt of the romans, on the contrary, aſcribe all to their valour; and the philoſophers

philoſophers of later times have diſcovered a ſyſtem of policy, on which the roman power was erected, from the firſt foundation ſtone to it's greateſt amplitude. Hiſtory clearly ſhows, that neither of theſe hypotheſes is excluſively true; but that all muſt be taken in conjunction for a ſolution of the problem. Valour, fortune, and policy muſt have combined, to effect what was actually accompliſhed; and we find theſe three deities leagued in favour of Rome from the days of Romulus. Whether, after the manner of the ancients, we term the whole aſſemblage of living cauſes and effects nature, or fortune, the valour of the romans, not excluding even their barbarous ſeverity, together with their policy and cunning, muſt be taken as part of this all-ruling fortune. Our view muſt ever remain incomplete, if we attach ourſelves excluſively to either of theſe qualities, and, while we contemplate the excellencies of the romans, forget their failings and vices; while we conſider their intimate character, omit concomitant circumſtances; and, while we admire their firmneſs and ſkill in military affairs, overlook thoſe accidents, by which they were often ſo happily aſſiſted. The geeſe, that ſaved the Capitol, were not leſs the tutelary deities of Rome, than the courage of Camillus, the temporizing of Fabius, or Jupiter Stator. In the phyſical world all things that act together, and upon each other, whether generating, ſupporting, or deſtroying, muſt be conſidered as one whole: the ſame in the natural world of hiſtory.

It is a pleaſing exerciſe of the mind, to inquire, on this occaſion or that, what Rome would have been under different circumſtances: as, if it had been founded on a different ſpot; if at an early period it had been tranſported to Veii; if the Capitol had been taken by Brennus: if Italy had been attacked by Alexander; if the city had been conquered by Hannibal; or if his counſel had been followed by Antiochus. In like manner we may inquire, how Cæſar would have reigned in the place of Auguſtus; how Germanicus, in the place of Tiberius: what would have been the ſtate of the World, without the powerful ſpread of chriſtianity: &c. Theſe inquiries would lead us to ſuch an accurate concatenation of circumſtances, that at length we ſhould learn to conſider Rome, after the manner of the oriental ſage, as a living creature, capable under ſuch circumſtances alone of riſing from the banks of the Tiber, as from the ſea; gradually acquiring ſtrength to contend with all nations, by ſea and land, ſubdue, and cruſh them; and laſtly finding within itſelf the limits of it's glory, and the origin of it's corruption, as it actually did find them. Thus contemplated, every thing arbitrary and irrational vaniſhes from hiſtory. In it, as in every production of nature, all, or nothing, is fortuitous; all, or nothing, is arbitrary. Every phenomenon in hiſtory is a natural production, and for man perhaps of all

moſt

moſt worthy contemplation; as in it ſo much depends on men, and he may find the moſt uſeful kernel, though included perhaps in a bitter ſhell, even in what lies without the ſphere of his own powers, in the overbearing weight of times and circumſtances; in the oppreſſion of a Greece, a Carthage, or Numantia; in the murder of a Sertorius, a Spartacus, or a Viriatus; in the ruin of the younger Pompey, Druſus, Germanicus, or Britannicus. This is the only philoſophical method of contemplating hiſtory, and it has been even unconſciouſly practiſed by all thinking minds.

Nothing has tended more to obſtruct this impartial view, than the attempt to conſider even the bloody hiſtory of Rome as ſubſervient to ſome ſecret limited deſign of providence: as, for inſtance, that Rome was raiſed to ſuch a height principally for the production of orators and poets, for extending the roman law and latin language to the limits of it's empire, and ſmoothing the way for the introduction of chriſtianity. No one is ignorant of the prodigious evils, under which Rome, and the World around her, groaned, before ſuch orators and poets could ariſe; how dear, for inſtance, Sicily bought Cicero's ſpeech againſt Verres; and how much his orations againſt Catiline, and his philippics againſt Antony, coſt his country and himſelf. Thus a ſhip muſt be loſt, to ſave one pearl; and thouſands muſt loſe their lives, merely that one flower might ſpring from their aſhes, ſoon to be diſſipated by the winds. To purchaſe the Æneid of a Virgil, and the tranquil muſe and urbane epiſtles of a Horace, rivers of roman blood muſt previouſly flow, nations and kingdoms innumerable muſt be deſtroyed. Were theſe fine fruits of a forced golden age worth the expenſe they coſt? The caſe is the ſame with the roman law: for who knows not what vexations were ſuffered through it, and how many more humane inſtitutions in very different countries it deſtroyed? Foreign nations were judged conformably to manners, with which they were unacquainted; crimes and puniſhments were introduced among them, of which they had never heard: nay, has not the general progreſs of this juriſprudence, adapted to the conſtitution of Rome alone, after a thouſand oppreſſions, ſo extinguiſhed or vitiated the characters of all it's conquered nations, that, inſtead of their peculiar ſtamp, the roman eagle at laſt every where appears, covering with feeble wings the exenterated, eyeleſs carcaſes of murdered provinces? The latin language, too, neither gained any thing from conquered nations, nor conferred any thing upon them. It was corrupted, and at length became a mixed jargon, not only in the provinces, but even in Rome itſelf. Through it's means, alſo, the chaſte beauty of the more elegant greek was contaminated; and the languages of many nations, which would have been far more uſeful, both to them and to us, than a

corrupt latin, have vaniſhed without leaving behind them the ſmalleſt remains. Laſtly, with regard to the chriſtian religion; highly as I venerate the benefits it has conferred on mankind, ſo far am I from believing, that a ſingle mileſtone was erected in Rome by human hands on it's account. For it Romulus founded not his city, Pompey and Craſſus entered not into Judea: ſtill leſs were all the roman eſtabliſhments in Europe and Aſia made, to prepare it's way over the World. Rome embraced chriſtianity, no otherwiſe than it embraced the worſhip of Iſis, and all the contemptible ſuperſtitions of the eaſt: it would be derogatory to divine Providence, to ſuppoſe, that, for her nobleſt work, the propagation of truth and virtue, ſhe could employ no other inſtrument, than the tyrannical and bloody hands of the romans. The chriſtian religion raiſed itſelf by it's own energy, as the roman empire grew by it's own powers; and if they at length united, it was to the advantage of neither: a romiſh chriſtian baſtard ſprung from the union, of which there are many who wiſh, that it had never been born.

Natural hiſtory has reaped no advantage from the philoſophy of final cauſes, the ſectaries of which have been inclined, to ſatisfy themſelves with probable conjecture, inſtead of patient inquiry: how much leſs the hiſtory of mankind, with it's endleſsly complicated machinery of cauſes mutually acting upon each other!

We muſt alſo diſapprove the opinion, that, the romans came on the ſtage in the ſucceſſion of ages, to form a more perfect link in the chain of cultivation than the greeks, as in a picture deſigned by man. In whatever the greeks excelled, there the romans never went beyond them: on the other hand, in what was properly their own, they learned nothing from the greeks. They endeavoured to profit by all nations, of which they had any knowledge, even to the indians and troglodytes: but this they did as romans; and it may be queſtioned, whether to their advantage or to their detriment. Now as little as all other nations exiſted for the ſake of the romans, or framed for them their political inſtitutions ages before, not more did the greeks. Athens and the italian colonies made laws for themſelves, not for the romans: and if Athens had never exiſted, Rome might have ſent to Scythia for her twelve tables. In many reſpects, too, the grecian laws were more perfect than the roman; and the defects of the latter diffuſed themſelves over a far more extenſive region. If perchance they were in any points more humane, they were ſo after the roman mode; but it would have been altogether unnatural, if the conquerors of ſo many civilized people had not learned at leaſt a ſemblance of humanity, by which nations were often deceived.

Nothing

Nothing remains, therefore, but to conſider the roman nation, and the latin language, as bridges placed by Providence, for the conveyance of ſome of the treaſures of antiquity to us. Yet for this purpoſe the bridges were the worſt that could have been contrived, for of moſt of theſe treaſures we were robbed by their very erection. The romans were deſtroyers, and in their turn deſtroyed: but deſtroyers are no preſervers of the World. They irritated all nations, till at length they became their prey; and Providence performed no miracle in their behalf. Let us, therefore, contemplate this, like any other natural phenomenon, the cauſes and effects of which we would inveſtigate freely, without any preconceived hypotheſis. The romans were preciſely what they were capable of becoming: every thing periſhable belonging to them periſhed, and what was ſuſceptible of permanence remained. Ages roll on; and with them the offspring of ages, multiform man. Every thing, that could bloſſom upon Earth, has bloſſomed; each in it's due ſeaſon, and it's proper ſphere: it has withered away, and will bloſſom again, when it's time arrives. The work of Providence purſues it's eternal courſe, according to grand univerſal laws: and to the conſideration of this we proceed with unpreſuming ſteps.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XV.

THUS every thing in hiſtory is tranſient: the inſcription on her temple is, evaneſcence and decay. We tread on the aſhes of our forefathers, and ſtalk over the entombed ruins of human inſtitutions and kingdoms. Egypt, Perſia, Greece, Rome, flit before us like ſhadows: like ghoſts they riſe from their graves, and appear to us in the field of hiſtory.

'When any political body has outlived it's maturity, who would not wiſh it a quiet diſſolution? Who does not ſhudder, when, in the circle of living active powers, he ſtumbles over the graves of ancient inſtitutions, which rob the living of light, and narrow their habitations? And when the preſent race has cleared away theſe catacombs, how ſoon will it's inſtitutions have a ſimilar appearance to another, and be in like manner levelled with the earth!

'The cauſe of this tranſitorineſs of all terreſtrial things lies in their eſſence, in the place they inhabit, and in the general laws, to which our nature is ſubject. Man's body is a fragile, ever-renovating ſhell, which at length can renew itſelf no longer: but his mind operates upon Earth only in and with the body. We fancy ourſelves independent; yet we depend on all nature: implicated in a chain of inceſſantly fluctuating things, we muſt follow the laws of it's permutation, which are nothing more than to be born, exiſt, and die. A ſlender thread connects the human race, which is every moment breaking, to be tied anew. The ſage, whom time has made wiſe, ſinks into the grave; that his ſucceſſor may likewiſe begin his courſe as a child, perhaps madly deſtroy the work of his father, and leave to his ſon the ſame vain toil, in which he too conſumes his days. Thus year runs into year: thus generations and empires are linked together. The Sun ſets, that night may ſucceed, and mankind rejoice at the beams of a new morn.

'Now were any advancement obſervable in all this, it would be ſomething: but where is it to be found in hiſtory? In it we every where perceive deſtruction, without being able to diſcern, that what riſes anew is better, than what was deſtroyed. Nations flouriſh and decay; but in a faded nation no new flower, not

to ſay a more beautiful one, ever blooms. Cultivation proceeds; yet becomes not more perfect by progreſs: in new places new capacities are developed; the ancient of the ancient places irrevocably paſs away. Were the romans more wiſe, or more happy, than the greeks? are we more ſo than either?

'The nature of man remains ever the ſame: in the ten thouſandth year of the World he will be born with paſſions, as he was born with paſſions in the two thouſandth, and ran through his courſe of follies to a late, imperfect, uſeleſs wiſdom. We wander in a labyrinth, in which our lives occupy but a ſpan; ſo that it is to us nearly a matter of indifference, whether there be any entrance or outlet to the intricate path.

'Melancholy fate of the human race! with all their exertions chained to an Ixion's wheel, to Siſyphus's ſtone, and condemned to the proſpect of a Tantalus. We muſt will; and we muſt die, without having ſeen the fruit of our labours ripen, or learned a ſingle reſult of human endeavours from the whole courſe of hiſtory. If a people ſtand alone, it's characters wear away under the hand of Time: if it come into colliſion with others, it is thrown into the crucible, where it's impreſſion is equally effaced. Thus we hew out blocks of ice; thus we write on the waves of the ſea: the wave glides by, the ice melts; our palaces, and our thoughts, are both no more.

'To what purpoſe then the unbleſſed labour, to which God has condemned man as a daily taſk during his ſhort life? To what purpoſe the burden, under which every one toils on his way to the grave; while no one is aſked, whether he will take it up or not, whether he will be born on this ſpot, at this period, and in this circle, or no? Nay, as moſt of the evils among mankind ariſe from themſelves, from their defective conſtitutions and governments, from the arrogance of oppreſſors, and from the almoſt inevitable weakneſs both of the governors and the governed; what fate was it, that ſubjected man to the yoke of his fellows, to the mad or fooliſh will of his brother? Let a man ſum up the periods of the happineſs and unhappineſs of nations, their good and bad rulers, nay the wiſdom and folly, the predominance of reaſon and of paſſion, in the beſt: how vaſt will be the negative number! Look at the deſpots of Aſia, of Africa, nay of almoſt the whole Earth: behold thoſe monſters on the throne of Rome, under whom a World groaned for centuries: note the troubles and wars, the oppreſſions and tumults, that took place, and mark the event. A Brutus falls, and an Anthony triumphs: a Germanicus dies, and a Tiberius, a Caligula, a Nero, reign: Ariſtides is baniſhed: Confucius is a wanderer upon the Earth: Socrates, Phocion, Seneca, are put to death. Every where, it muſt be confeſſed, is diſcoverable the propoſition: "what is, is; what can be, will be; what is

ſuſceptible

ſuſceptible of diſſolution, diſſolves:" a melancholy confeſſion, however, which univerſally proclaims, that rude Violence, and his ſiſter, malignant Cunning, are every where victorious upon Earth.'

Thus man doubts, and redoubts, after much apparent hiſtorical experience: nay, this melancholy complaint has in a certain degree the ſuperficies of all earthly occurrences in it's favour: hence I have known many, who on the wide ocean of human hiſtory imagined they had loſt that god, whom on the firm ground of natural knowledge they beheld with their mental eye in every ſtalk of graſs, in every grain of duſt, and adored with overflowing heart. In the temple of the earthly creation, every thing appeared to them full of omnipotence, and benevolent goodneſs: in the theatre of human actions, on the contrary, for which the periods of our life are calculated, they beheld nothing but a ſtage of conflicting ſenſual paſſions, brutal powers, deſtructive arts, or evaneſcent good purpoſes. To them hiſtory is a ſpider's web, in a corner of the mundane manſion, the intricate threads of which diſplay abundant traces of deſtructive rapine, while it's melancholy centre, the ſpider by which it was ſpun, no where appears.

Yet, if there be a god in nature, there is in hiſtory too: for man is alſo a part of the creation, and in his wildeſt extravagances and paſſions muſt obey laws, not leſs beautiful and excellent than thoſe, by which all the celeſtial bodies move. Now as I am perſuaded, that man is capable of knowing, and deſtined to attain the knowledge of every thing, that he ought to know; I ſtep freely and confidently from the tumultuous ſcenes, through which we have been wandering, to inſpect the beautiful and ſublime laws of nature, by which they have been governed.

## CHAPTER I.

*Humanity is the End of human Nature; and, with this End, God has put their own Fate into the Hands of Mankind.*

The end of whatever is not merely a dead inſtrument muſt be implicated in itſelf. Were we created, to ſtrive with eternally vain endeavours after a point of perfection external to ourſelves, and which we could never reach, as the magnet turns to the north; we might not only pity ourſelves as blind machines, but the being likewiſe, that had condemned us to ſuch a ſtate of tantaliſm, in forming

forming us for the purpoſe of ſuch a malignant and diabolical ſpectacle. Should we ſay in his exculpation, that ſome good at leaſt was promoted, and our nature preſerved in perpetual activity, by theſe empty endeavours, incapable of ever attaining their object; it muſt be an imperfect, ferocious being, that could deſerve ſuch an exculpation: for in activity that never attains it's end can lie no good; and he has weakly or maliciouſly deceived us, by placing before our eyes ſuch a dream, from a purpoſe unworthy of him. But happily we are taught no ſuch doctrine by the nature of things: if we conſider mankind as we know them, and according to the laws that are intrinſic to them, we perceive nothing in man ſuperiour to humanity; for even if we think of angels, or of gods, we conceive them as ideal, ſuperiour men.

We have ſeen*, that our nature is evidently organized to this end: for it our finer ſenſes and inſtincts, our reaſon and liberty, our delicate yet durable health, our language, art, and religion, were beſtowed. In all ſtates, in all ſocieties, man has had nothing in view, and could aim at nothing elſe, but humanity, whatever may have been the idea he formed of it. For it, the arrangements of ſex, and the different periods of life, were made by nature; that our childhood might be of long continuance, and we might learn a kind of humanity by means of education. For it, all the different modes of life, throughout the wide World, have been eſtabliſhed, all the forms of ſociety introduced. Hunter, or fiſherman, ſhepherd, huſbandman, or citizen, in every ſtate man has learned to diſcriminate food, and conſtruct habitations for himſelf and his family; to clothe and adorn either ſex, and regulate his domeſtic economy. He invented various laws, and forms of government, the object of all which was, that every one might exerciſe his faculties, and acquire a more pleaſing and free enjoyment of life, undiſturbed by others. For this purpoſe, property was ſecured, and labour, arts, trade, and an extenſive intercourſe between perſons, facilitated: puniſhments were invented for culprits, rewards for the deſerving; and numberleſs moral practices for people of different claſſes, in public and private life, and even in religion, were eſtabliſhed. For this, wars were carried on, treaties were made; by degrees a ſort of law of nations and of war, and various compacts of hoſpitality and commerce were framed, ſo that man might meet compaſſion and reſpect beyond the confines of his own country. Thus whatever good appears in hiſtory to have been accompliſhed, humanity was the gainer; whatever fooliſh, vicious, or execrable, was perpetrated, ran counter to humanity: ſo that in all his earthly inſtitutions man can conceive no other end, than what lies in himſelf, that is, in the weak or ſtrong, baſe or noble

* Book IV.

nature,

nature, that God gave him. Now if throughout the whole creation we know nothing, except by what it is, and what it effects, man's end upon Earth is ſhown us by his nature and hiſtory, as by the cleareſt demonſtration.

Let us take a retroſpect of the regions, over which we have been wandering: in all the civil eſtabliſhments from China to Rome, in all the varieties of their political conſtitutions, in every one of their inventions, whether of peace or war, and even in all the faults and barbarities that nations have committed, we diſcern the grand law of nature: let man be man; let him mould his condition according as to himſelf ſhall ſeem beſt. For this nations took poſſeſſion of their land, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in it as they could. Of women and of the ſtate, of ſlaves, clothing, and habitations, of recreation and food, of ſcience and of art, every thing has been made, in the different parts of the Earth, that man thought was capable of being made for his own or for the general good. Thus we every where find mankind poſſeſſing and exerciſing the right of forming themſelves to a kind of humanity, as ſoon as they have diſcerned it. If they have erred, or ſtopped at the half way of an hereditary tradition; they have ſuffered the conſequences of their errour, and done penance for the fault they committed. The deity has in nowiſe bound their hands, farther than by what they were, by time, place, and their intrinſic powers. When they were guilty of faults, he extricated them not by miracles, but ſuffered theſe faults to produce their effects, that man might the better learn to know them.

This law of nature is not more ſimple, than it is worthy of God, conſiſtent, and fertile in it's conſequences to mankind. Were man intended to be what he is, and to become what he was capable of becoming, he muſt preſerve a ſpontaneity of nature, and be encompaſſed by a ſphere of free actions, diſturbed by no preternatural miracle. All inanimate ſubſtances, every ſpecies of living creature that inſtinct guides, have remained what they were from the time of the creation: God made man a deity upon Earth; he implanted in him the principle of ſelf-activity, and ſet this principle in motion from the beginning, by means of the internal and external wants of his nature. Man could not live and ſupport himſelf, without learning to make uſe of his reaſon: no ſooner, indeed, did he begin to make uſe of this, than the door was opened to a thouſand errours and miſtaken attempts; but at the ſame time, and even through theſe very miſtakes and errours, the way was cleared to a better uſe of his reaſon. The more ſpeedily he diſcerned his faults, the greater the promptitude and energy with which he applied to correct them: the farther he advanced, the more his humanity was formed; and this muſt be formed, or he muſt groan for ages beneath the burden of his miſtakes.

We

We ſee, too, that Nature has choſen as wide a field for the eſtabliſhment of this law, as the abode of mankind would allow: ſhe organized man as variouſly as the human ſpecies could be organized on this Earth. She placed the negro cloſe to the ape; and ſhe offered for ſolution the grand problem of humanity, to all people, of all times, from the intellect of the æthiop to the moſt refined underſtanding. Scarcely a nation upon Earth is without the neceſſaries of life, to which want and inſtinct guide: for the greater refinement of man's condition more genial climates produce a race of finer mould. But as all beauty and perfection of order lie in the midſt of two extremes; the moſt beautiful form of reaſon and humanity muſt find it's place in the temperate middle region. And this it has abundantly found, according to the natural law of this general fitneſs. For though ſcarcely any of the aſiatic nations can be abſolved from that indolence, which reſted ſatisfied too early with good inſtitutions, and regarded hereditary forms as ſacred and unalterable; yet they muſt be excuſed, when the vaſt extent of their continent is conſidered, together with the circumſtances to which they were expoſed, particularly beyond the mountains. Upon the whole, their firſt attempts at the promotion of humanity, early as they were, conſidered each in it's place and time, deſerve praiſe; and ſtill leſs can we refrain from acknowledging the progreſs made by the more active nations on the coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea. Theſe ſhook off the deſpotic yoke of ancient forms of government and traditions, and gave thereby an example of the great and good law of human deſtiny: that, whatever a nation, or a whole race of men, wills for it's own good with firm conviction, and purſues with energy, Nature, who has ſet up for man's aim neither deſpots nor traditions, but the beſt form of humanity, will aſſuredly grant.

The fundamental principle of this divine law of nature reconciles us wonderfully not only with the appearance of our ſpecies all over the Globe, but likewiſe with it's variations through the different periods of time. Every where man is what he was capable of rendering himſelf, what he had the will and the power to become. Were he contented with his condition, or were the means of his improvement not yet ripened in the ample field of time; he remained for ages what he was, and became nothing more. But if he employed the inſtruments God had given him for his uſe, his underſtanding, power, and all the opportunities that a favourable current conveyed to him; he raiſed himſelf higher with art, and improved himſelf with courage. If he did not this, his very indolence ſhowed, that he was little ſenſible of his misfortune: for every lively feeling of injuſtice, accompanied by intelligence and ſtrength, muſt become an emancipating power. The long ſubmiſſion to deſpotiſm, for in-

ſtance, aroſe by no means from the overbearing might of the deſpots: the eaſy, confiding weakneſs of their ſubjects, and latterly their patient indolence, were it's great and only ſupports. For, it muſt be confeſſed, it is eaſier to bear with patience, than to redreſs ourſelves with vigour; and hence ſo many nations have forborn to aſſert the right, that God has conferred on them in the divine gift of reaſon.

Still there is no doubt, generally ſpeaking, that what has not yet appeared upon Earth will at ſome future period appear: for no preſcription is a bar to the rights of man, and the powers, that God has implanted in him, are ineradicable. We are aſtoniſhed, to ſee how far the greeks and romans advanced in a few centuries, in their ſphere of objects: for, though the aim of their exertions was not always the moſt pure, they proved, that they were capable of reaching it. Their image ſhines in hiſtory, and animates every one, who reſembles them, to ſimilar and better exertions, under the ſame and greater aſſiſtance of fate. In this view the whole hiſtory of nations is to us a ſchool, for inſtructing us in the courſe, by which we are to reach the lovely goal of humanity and worth. So many celebrated nations of old attained an inferiour aim: why ſhould not we ſucceed in the purſuit of a purer and more noble object? They were men like us: their call to the beſt form of humanity was ours, according to the circumſtances of the times, to our knowledge, and to our duties. What they could perform without a miracle, we can and ought to perform: the deity aſſiſts us only by means of our own induſtry, our own underſtanding, our own powers. When he had created the Earth, and all it's irrational inhabitants, he formed man, and ſaid to him: 'be my image; a god upon Earth; rule and diſpoſe. Whatever of noble and excellent thy nature will permit thee to produce, bring forth: I will aſſiſt thee by no miracle; for I have placed thy own fate in thy own hand: but all my ſacred, eternal laws of nature will be thy aids.'

Let us conſider ſome of theſe natural laws, which, according to the teſtimony of hiſtory, have promoted the progreſs of humanity in our ſpecies; and, as truly as they are the natural laws of God, will continue, to promote it.

## CHAPTER II.

*All the deſtructive Powers in Nature muſt not only yield in the Courſe of Time to the maintaining Powers, but muſt ultimately be ſubſervient to the Conſummation of the Whole.*

*Example the firſt.* As the ſubſtance of future worlds lay floating in infinite ſpace, the creator of theſe worlds was pleaſed, to leave matter to form itſelf by means of the internal energies imparted to it. Toward the centre of the whole, the Sun, whatever could find no courſe of it's own, or was attracted by the ſuperiour power of this orb, bent it's way. Whatever found another centre of attraction revolved in like manner around it, and either tended to it's great focus in an elliptical orbit, or flew off in a parabola or hyperbola, and returned no more. Thus the ether purified itſelf: thus from a confuſed fluctuating chaos aroſe an harmonious ſyſtem of worlds, according to which earths and comets have revolved for ages in regular orbits round their ſun: an eternal proof, that *order aroſe out of confuſion by means of divine implanted powers.* As long as this grand and ſimple law of all powers numbered and balanced againſt each other endures, the ſtructure of the univerſe ſtands firm; for it is founded on a divine rule and quality.

*Second example.* In like manner as our Earth formed itſelf from a ſhapeleſs maſs into a planet, it's elements ſtruggled and contended upon it, till each found it's place; ſo that, after much wild confuſion, all are now become ſubſervient to the harmoniouſly regulated orb. Land and water, air and fire, ſeaſons and climates, winds and currents, and all it's atmoſpherical phenomena, obey one great law of it's form and denſity, it's motion and diſtance from the Sun, and are regulated in harmony with theſe. Thoſe innumerable volcanoes, that once flamed on the ſurface of our Earth, flame on it no longer: the ocean no longer boils with thoſe vitriolic effuſions, and other matters, that once covered the ſurface of our land. Millions of creatures have periſhed, that were fated to periſh: whatever could preſerve itſelf abides, and ſtill, after the lapſe of thouſands of years, remains in great harmonious order. Wild animals and tame, carnivorous and graminivorous inſects, birds, fiſhes, and man, are adapted to each other; and among all theſe, male and female, birth and death, the term and ſtages of life, wants and enjoyments, neceſſities and gratifications. Not, however, at the will of a daily changing, inexplicable order; but according to

evident laws of nature, inherent in the ſtructure of the creatures themſelves, that is, *in the relation of all the organic powers, which have animated and maintained themſelves on our planet.* As long as the natural law of this ſtructure and relation endures, it's conſequences will likewiſe endure; namely harmonious order between the animate and inanimate parts of our creation, which, as the interiour of our Earth evinces, was producible only by the deſtruction of millions.

What? and ſhall not this law, conformable to the internal powers of nature, educing order out of chaos, and converting into regularity the confuſion of human affairs, prevail in the life of man? Undoubtedly it does: we bear it's principle within us, and it muſt and will act ſuitably to it's nature. All the errours of man are miſts of truth: all the paſſions of his breaſt are wild impulſes of a power, which yet knows not itſelf, but, according to it's nature, acts only for the beſt. Even the tempeſts of the ocean, thoſe frequent engines of ravage and deſtruction, are the offspring of an harmonious order of things, to which they are not leſs ſubſervient than the gentle zephyr. It is hoped a few obſervations may be placed in ſuch a light, as to confirm this pleaſing truth.

1. As the ſtorms of the ſea occur leſs frequently than moderate gales, ſo in the human ſpecies nature has benevolently ordered, *that fewer deſtroyers than preſervers ſhould be born.*

It is a divine law in the animal kingdom, that not ſo many lions and tigers are capable of exiſtence, and actually exiſt, as ſheep and doves: in hiſtory we find the ſame beneficent diſpoſition of things; ſo that we have a much ſmaller number of Nebuchadnezzars, Cambyſes, Alexanders, Syllas, Attilas, and Genghis-Khans, than of leſs ferocious generals, or quiet peaceful monarchs. To the production of the former either very inordinate paſſions, and faulty natural diſpoſitions, are requiſite, whence they appear to the Earth as fiery meteors inſtead of aſſociate planets; or ſingular circumſtances of education, rare occurrences of early habit, or the imperious demands of hoſtile, political neceſſity, ſtir up theſe ſcourges of divine wrath, as they are called, againſt mankind, and keep up their relentleſs ſwing. If it be true, therefore, that Nature deviates not from her courſe on our account, when, among the innumerable varieties of form and temperament ſhe produces, ſhe occaſionally exhibits to the World men of unruly paſſions, ſpirits of deſtruction, not of preſervation; ſtill it remains in men's own power, not to entruſt their flocks to theſe wolves and tigers, and even to tame them by the laws of humanity. The wild ox no longer appears in Europe, which formerly enjoyed it's foreſt domains in every part of it; and Rome

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at length found it difficult, to procure the number of african monſters, ſhe required for her amphitheatres. In proportion as lands are cultivated, deſerts are diminiſhed, and their wild inhabitants become more rare. In the human ſpecies the increaſing civilization of man has had a ſimilar effect; his diſpoſition to unruly paſſions giving way with his decreaſe of ſtrength, a more delicate creature was formed. With all this, irregularities are poſſible; and theſe frequently rage more perniciouſly, from being founded on infantile weakneſs, as the examples of many roman and eaſtern deſpots ſhow: however, as a ſpoiled child is always more eaſy to reſtrain than a bloodthirſty tiger, Nature, with her corrective regulations, has taught us the way to rule the lawleſs, and tame the inſatiable ſavage, by increaſing diligence. If there be no longer regions of dragons, to employ the arms of the giants of antiquity, we require no herculean deſtructive powers againſt men themſelves. Heroes of this ſtamp may purſue their bloody game on Caucaſus, or in Africa, and there ſeek new minotaurs to encounter: the ſociety in which they live poſſeſſes the undoubted right itſelf to deſtroy all the flame-breathing oxen of a Geryon. It ſuffers by it's own fault, if it tamely yield itſelf up to them as a prey; as it was the fault of the nations themſelves, that they did not unite againſt deſolating Rome with all the force of a common league, to maintain the freedom of the World.

2. *The progreſs of hiſtory ſhows, that, as true humanity has increaſed, the deſtructive demons of the human race have diminiſhed in number; and this from the inherent natural laws of a ſelf-enlightening reaſon and policy.*

In proportion as reaſon increaſes among mankind, men muſt learn from their infancy to perceive, that there is a nobler greatneſs, than the inhuman greatneſs of tyrants; and that it is more laudable, as well as more difficult, to form, than to ravage a nation, to eſtabliſh cities, than to deſtroy them. The induſtrious egyptians, the ingenious greeks, the mercantile phenicians, not only make a more pleaſing figure in hiſtory, but enjoyed, during the period of their exiſtence, a more uſeful and agreeable life, than the deſtroying perſians, the conquering romans, the avaricious carthaginians. The remembrance of the former ſtill lives with fame, and their influence upon Earth will continue eternally with increaſing power; while the ravagers, with their demoniacal might, reaped no farther benefit, than that of becoming a wretched, luxurious people, amid the ruins of their plunder, and at laſt quaffing off the poiſoned draught of ſevere retaliation. Such was the fate of the aſſyrians, babylonians, perſians, romans: even the greeks received more injury from their internal diſſenſions, and from their luxury in many cities and provinces, than from the ſword of the enemy. Now as theſe are fundamental principles of a natural order, which not only

only ſhows itſelf in particular caſes of hiſtory, or in fortuitous inſtances; but is founded on it's own intrinſic properties, that is, on the nature of oppreſſion and an overſtretched power, or on the conſequences of victory, luxury and arrogance, as on the laws of a diſturbed equiponderance, and holds on coeternally with the courſe of things: why muſt we be compelled to doubt, that this law of Nature is not as generally acknowledged as any other, and does not operate, from the forcibleneſs with which it is perceived, with the infallible efficacy of a natural truth? What may be brought to mathematical certainty, and political demonſtration, muſt be acknowledged as truth, ſoon or late; for no one has yet queſtioned the accuracy of the multiplication table or the propoſitions of Euclid.

Even our brief hiſtory already demonſtrates beyond all doubt, that the increaſed diffuſion of true knowledge among people has happily diminiſhed their inhuman, mad deſtroyers. Since the downfal of Rome there has ariſen no other cultivated nation in Europe, which has founded the whole of it's conſtitution on war and conqueſt; for the military nations of the middle ages were rude and ſavage. In proportion as they advanced in civilization, and learned to have a regard for their property, the more amiable and peaceful ſpirit of induſtry, of agriculture, of trade, and of ſcience, forced itſelf upon them unnoticed, or indeed often againſt their wills. Men learned to uſe without deſtroying, as what was deſtroyed was no longer capable of being uſed; and thus in time, from the nature of the caſe itſelf, a peaceful balance between nations took place; for, after centuries of wild warring, all began to perceive, that the object of every one's wiſh was not to be attained, unleſs they contributed to promote it in common. Even that, which of all things appeared moſt to require excluſive poſſeſſion, commerce, could take no other way; as it is a law of nature, againſt which paſſions and prejudice are ultimately of no avail. Every commercial nation of Europe now laments, and will hereafter lament ſtill more, what envy or ſuperſtition once prompted it fooliſhly to deſtroy. As reaſon increaſes, the object of navigation will proportionably turn from conqueſt to trade; which is founded on reciprocal juſtice and courteſy, on a progreſſive emulation to excel in arts and induſtry, in ſhort, on humanity and it's eternal laws.

Our minds feel inward ſatisfaction, when they not only perceive the balm, which flows from the laws of human nature, but ſee it ſpread, and make it's way among mankind, even againſt their wills, from it's natural force. God himſelf could not diveſt man of the capability of errour; but he implanted this in the nature of human miſtakes, that ſoon or late they ſhould ſhow themſelves to

be ſuch, and become evident to the calculating creature. No prudent ſovereign of Europe now governs his provinces, as did the kings of Perſia, or even the romans themſelves; if not from philanthropic motives, yet from a clearer inſight into the buſineſs, as with the courſe of time political calculation has become more certain, eaſy, and perſpicuous. A madman only would build egyptian pyramids in our days; and any one, that ſhould attempt ſuch uſeleſs enterprizes, would be deemed inſane by all the rational part of the World, if not from his want of love for the people, yet from conſiderations of economy. The bloody combats of gladiators, and barbarous fights with animals, are no longer ſuffered among us: the human ſpecies has run through theſe wild tricks of youth, and learned at length to ſee, that it's mad frolics coſt more than they are worth. In like manner, we no longer require the poor oppreſſed ſlaves of the romans, or helots of Sparta; becauſe in our conſtitutions we know how to obtain more eaſily from free beings, what they accompliſhed with more danger, and even expenſe, by means of human animals: nay the time muſt come, when we ſhall look back with as much compaſſion on our inhuman traffic in negroes, as on the ancient roman ſlaves, or ſpartan helots; if not from humanity, yet from calculation. In ſhort, we have to thank God, for having given us, with our weak fallible nature, reaſon, that immortal beam from his ſun, the eſſence of which it is to diſpel night, and ſhow things in their real forms.

3. *The progreſs of arts and inventions puts into the hands of man increaſing means of reſtraining or rendering innocuous, what Nature herſelf cannot eradicate.*

The ſurface of the ſea muſt be ruffled by ſtorms, and the mother of all things could not diſpenſe with them for man's advantage. But what did ſhe beſtow on him, to compenſate theſe? The art of navigation. Theſe very ſtorms excited man, to invent the elaborate ſtructure of his complicated ſhip, which enables him not merely to eſcape the ſtorm, but to profit by it's rage, and ſail on it's wings.

The wandering mariner, toſſed on the ocean, could not call the ſons of Tyndarus to appear and direct him on his courſe; accordingly he himſelf invented his guide the compaſs, and ſought in the ſkies his Dioſcuri, the Sun, the Moon, and the ſtars. Thus equipped with art he launched out on the boundleſs ocean, and braved it from the equator to the arctic circle.

Nature could not take from man the deſtructive element of fire, without depriving him of manhood itſelf: but then, what did ſhe beſtow on him by means of fire? Multifarious art: art not only to ſet bounds to the devouring poiſon, and render it innocent, but even to employ it for a thouſand beneficial purpoſes.

It is the ſame with the raging paſſions of man, as with theſe ſtorms on the ocean, with this raging element of fire. By and in theſe the human ſpecies has ſharpened it's reaſon, and invented a thouſand means, regulations, and arts, not only to reſtrain them, but even to turn them to advantage, as all hiſtory ſhows. A race of men without paſſions would never have cultivated their underſtanding; they would have ſtill lain as troglodytes in ſome cave.

Man-devouring war, for example, was during ages the trade of robbery rudely exerciſed. It was long the practice of men ſwayed by turbulent paſſions; for while perſonal ſtrength, cunning, and addreſs, were it's requiſites, it could cheriſh only the dangerous virtues of robbers and murderers, even in thoſe who poſſeſſed the moſt laudable qualities; as the wars of ancient times, of the middle ages, and even ſome of modern date, abundantly teſtify. But in the midſt of this depraving trade the art of war was invented, perhaps involuntarily; for the inventors of this art perceived not, that it would ſap the foundations of war itſelf. In proportion as the art of fighting became a profound ſtudy, and various mechanical inventions were introduced into it, the paſſions and brute ſtrength of individuals became uſeleſs. Soldiers were converted into mere machines, moved by the mind of a ſingle general, and at the order of a few commanders; till at length ſovereigns alone were permitted to play this dangerous and coſtly game, while in ancient times almoſt all warlike nations were continually in arms. We have ſeen proofs of this in ſeveral aſiatic nations, and not leſs in the greeks and romans. The latter were for centuries almoſt conſtantly in the field: the volſcian war continued 106 years; the ſamnite, 71: the city of Veii was beſieged ten years, like a ſecond Troy: and the deſtructive peloponneſian war of 28 years among the greeks is ſufficiently known. But as in all wars, to fall in battle is the leaſt of evils, while the diſeaſes and devaſtation, that attend the motions of an army, or the ſiege of a town, with the lawleſs ſpirit of plunder, that then pervades all ranks and conditions, are much greater evils, which paſſion-ſtirring war calls forth in a thouſand frightful forms; we may thank the greeks and romans, and ſtill more the inventors of gunpowder and firearms, for having reduced the moſt ſavage trade to an art, and latterly indeed the moſt honourable art of crowned heads. Since kings have perſonally engaged in this game of honour, with armies as devoid of paſſion as numerous, we are ſecured from ſieges of ten years duration, or wars of ſeventy, carried on merely for the honour of the commander; for the very magnitude of an army is ſufficient to prevent the continuance of war. Thus, conformably to an unalterable law of nature, the evil itſelf has produced ſome good; the art of war having ſuppreſſed in a certain degree the practice of warfare.

warfare. This art has likewiſe diminiſhed plunder and devaſtation, if not from philanthropy, yet for the honour of the general. The laws of war, and the treatment of priſoners, are become incomparably milder, than they were even among the greeks; not to mention the public ſecurity, which firſt exiſted merely in warlike ſtates. The whole roman empire, for inſtance, enjoyed ſecurity in it's highways, as they were covered by the wings of it's eagles; while travelling was dangerous to a foreigner in Aſia and Africa, and even in Greece, becauſe in theſe countries a general ſpirit of ſecurity was wanting. Thus the poiſon was converted into a medicine, as ſoon as it came into the hands of art: generations indeed were ſwept away, but the immortal whole outlived the ſufferings of the parts that diſappeared, and learned good even from evil.

If this be true of the art of war, it muſt ſtill more of the ſcience of politics; the ſtudy of which, however, is more intricate, as in it centres the welfare of a whole nation. Even the ſavages of America have their politics; yet in how confined a ſtate! being of adyantage indeed to a few particular families, but by no means ſecuring the whole people from ruin. Several little nations have exterminated one another; others are ſo thinned, that a ſimilar fate probably awaits many of them, from their unequal conteſt with the ſmall-pox, ſpirituous liquors, and the avarice of europeans. The more the political ſyſtem of a ſtate became an art, both in Aſia and Europe, the more ſtable it was in itſelf, and the more cloſely it was connected with others, ſo that one could not fall without the reſt. Thus ſtands China, thus Japan; ancient edifices, the foundations of which lie deep beneath their walls. The conſtitution of Greece, the principal republics of which contended centuries for the balance of power, was ſtill more elaborate. Common dangers united them: and had the union been perfect, theſe active people would have withſtood Philip and the romans with no leſs glory, than they once gained againſt Xerxes and Darius. The defective politics of the neighbouring nations alone gave Rome her advantage: ſeparately they were attacked; ſeparately they were conquered. Rome experienced a ſimilar fate, when ſhe declined in the arts of war and politics: ſo did Judea; and ſo did Egypt. No people, whoſe ſtate is well regulated, can periſh, even ſuppoſing them to be conquered, as China ſhows even with all it's faults.

The utility of an art profoundly underſtood is more evident, when we ſpeak of the internal economy of a country, it's trade, it's adminiſtration of juſtice, it's ſciences, and it's manufactures. In all theſe it is obvious, the greater the art, the more the advantage. A true merchant employs no deception, becauſe deceit never

leads to wealth: as the man of real learning never makes a parade of falſe ſcience; as the judge, who deſerves the name, is never knowingly unjuſt; for this would be to confeſs themſelves tyroes, not maſters of their arts. As certainly muſt the time come, when the irrational politician will be aſhamed of his ignorance; and when it will be as abſurd and ridiculous, to be a tyrannical deſpot, as it has ever been deteſtable. It will then be clear as day, that every irrational politician reckons with an erroneous multiplication table, and that, however great the ſums he calculates, no real advantage is obtained from them. For this hiſtory is written; and in the courſe of it the proofs of this propoſition will become evident. All the faults of government muſt precede, and exhauſt themſelves as it were; that, after all their diſorders, man may at length perceive the happineſs of his ſpecies to depend not on any thing arbitrary, but on an eſſential law of nature, on reaſon and equity. To the developement of this law we now proceed; and may the internal force of truth ſtamp light and conviction on the propoſition.

## CHAPTER III.

*The human Race is deſtined to proceed through various Degrees of Civilization, in various Mutations; but the Permanency of it's Welfare is founded ſolely and eſſentially on Reaſon and Juſtice.*

*First natural law.* It is demonſtrated in phyſical mathematics, that *to the permanent condition of a thing a ſort of perfection is requiſite, a maximum or minimum, ariſing out of the mode of action of the powers of that thing.* Thus, for example, our Earth could not poſſeſs durability, if it's centre of gravity did not lie deep within it, and all it's powers act to and from this, in equiponderating harmony. Every ſtable being, therefore, bears in itſelf, according to this beautiful law of nature, it's phyſical truth, goodneſs, and neceſſity, as the grounds of it's ſtability.

*Second natural law.* It is in like manner demonſtrated, *that all perfection and beauty of compound, limited things, or ſyſtems of them, reſt on ſuch a maximum.* Thus ſimilitude and difference, ſimplicity in means and diverſity in effects, the ſlighteſt application of power to attain the moſt certain or profitable end, form a kind of ſymmetry and harmonious proportion, univerſally obſerved by Nature, in her laws of motion, in the form of her creatures, in the greateſt things and in the leaſt; and imitated by the art of man, as far as his powers extend. In this, many rules limit each other, ſo that what would be greater according to

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one is diminiſhed by another, till the compound whole attains the moſt beautiful form, with the greateſt economy, and at the ſame time internal conſiſtency, goodneſs, and truth. An excellent law, which baniſhes from Nature every thing arbitrary, and all diſorder; and diſplays to us, even in every variable and limited part of the creation, a rule of the higheſt beauty.

*Third natural law.* It is equally proved, that, *if a being, or ſyſtem of beings, be forced out of this permanent condition of it's truth, goodneſs, and beauty, it will again approach it by it's internal powers, either in vibrations, or in an aſymptote; as out of this ſtate it finds no ſtability.* The more active and multifarious the powers, the leſs is the imperceptible ſtraight courſe of the aſymptote poſſible, and the more violent the vibrations and oſcillations, till the diſturbed ſubject attain an equilibrium of it's powers, or harmony in their movements, and therewith the permanent condition eſſential to it.

Now as mankind, both taken as a whole, and in it's particular individuals, ſocieties, and nations, is a permanent natural ſyſtem of the moſt multifarious living powers; let us examine, wherein it's ſtability conſiſts; in what point it's higheſt beauty, truth, and goodneſs, unite; and what courſe it takes, in order to reapproach it's permanent condition, on every aberration from it, of which many are exhibited to us by hiſtory and experience.

1. The human ſpecies is ſuch a copious ſcheme of energies and capacities, that, as every thing in nature reſts on the moſt determinate individuality, it's great and numerous capacities could not appear on our planet otherwiſe than *divided among millions.* Every thing has been born, that could be born upon it; and every thing has maintained itſelf, that could acquire a ſtate of permanence according to the laws of Nature. Thus every individual bears within himſelf that ſymmetry, for which he is made, and to which he muſt mould himſelf, both in his bodily figure, and mental capacities. Human exiſtence appears in every ſhape and kind, from the moſt ſickly deformity, that can ſcarcely ſupport life, to the ſuperhuman form of a grecian demigod; from the paſſionate ardour of the negro brain, to the capacity for conſummate wiſdom. Through faults and errours, through education, neceſſity, and exerciſe, every mortal ſeeks the ſymmetry of his powers; as in this alone the moſt complete enjoyment of his exiſtence lies: yet few are ſufficiently fortunate, to attain it in the pureſt, happieſt manner.

2. As an individual man can ſubſiſt of himſelf but very imperfectly, *a ſuperiour maximum of cooperating powers* is formed with every ſociety. Theſe powers contend together in wild confuſion, till, agreeably to the unfailing laws of nature, oppoſing regulations limit each other, and a kind of equilibrium and harmony

of movement takes place. Thus nations modify themſelves, according to time, place, and their internal character: each bears in itſelf the ſtandard of it's perfection, totally independant of all compariſon with that of others. Now the more pure and fine the maximum on which a people hit, the more uſeful the objects to which it applied the exertions of it's nobler powers, and, laſtly, the more firm and exact the bond of union, which moſt intimately connected all the members of the ſtate, and guided them to this good end; the more ſtable was the nation itſelf, and the more brilliant the figure it made in hiſtory. The courſe that we have hitherto taken through certain nations ſhows how different, according to place, time, and circumſtances, was the object for which they ſtrove. With the chineſe it was refined political morality; with the hindoos, a kind of retired purity, quiet aſſiduity in labour, and endurance; with the phenicians, the ſpirit of navigation, and commercial induſtry. The culture of the greeks, particularly at Athens, proceeded on the maximum of ſenſible beauty, both in arts and manners, in ſcience and in political inſtitutions. In Sparta, and in Rome, men emulated the virtues of the patriot and hero; in each, however, in a very different mode. Now as in all theſe moſt depended on time and place, the ancients will ſcarcely admit of being compared with each other in the moſt diſtinguiſhed features of national fame.

3. In all, however, we ſee the operation of *one principle*, namely *human reaſon*, which endeavours to produce unity out of multiplicity, order out of diſorder, and out of variety of powers and deſigns one ſymmetrical and durably beautiful whole. From the ſhapeleſs artificial rocks, with which the chineſe ornaments his garden, to the egyptian pyramid, or the ideal beauty of Greece, the plan and deſign of a reflecting underſtanding is every where obſervable, though in very different degrees. The more refined the reflections of this underſtanding were, and the nearer it came to the point, which is the higheſt in it's kind, and admits no deviation to the right or to the left; the more were it's performances to be conſidered as models, for they contain eternal rules for the human underſtanding in all ages. Thus nothing of the kind can be conceived ſuperiour to an egyptian pyramid, or to ſeveral greek and roman works of art. They are ſimple ſolutions of certain problems of the underſtanding, which admit no arbitrary ſuppoſition, that the problems are perhaps not yet ſolved, or might be ſolved in a better way; for in them the ſimple idea of what they ought to be is diſplayed in the eaſieſt, fulleſt, and moſt beautiful manner. Every deviation from them would be a fault; and were they to be repeated and diverſified in a thouſand modes, we muſt ſtill return to that ſingle point, which is the higheſt of it's kind.

4. Thus through all the poliſhed nations, that we have hitherto conſidered, or ſhall hereafter conſider, *a chain of cultivation* may be drawn, flying off in extremely divergent curves. In each it deſignates increaſing and decreaſing greatneſs, and has maximums of every kind. Many of theſe exclude or limit one another, till at length a certain ſymmetry takes place in the whole; ſo that were we to reaſon from one perfection of any nation concerning another, we ſhould form very treacherous concluſions. Thus, becauſe Athens had exquiſite orators, it does not follow, that it's form of government muſt likewiſe have been the beſt poſſible; or that, becauſe the chineſe moralize ſo excellently, their ſtate muſt be a pattern for all others. Forms of government refer to a very different maximum, from that of beautiful morals, or a pathetic oration; notwithſtanding, at bottom, all things in any nation have a certain connexion, if it be only that of excluſion and limitation. No other maximum, but that of the moſt perfect bond of union, produces the moſt happy ſtates; even ſuppoſing the people are in conſequence obliged, to diſpenſe with many ſhining qualities.

5. But in one and the ſame nation every maximum of it's commendable endeavours ought not and cannot endure for ever; ſince it is but one point in the progreſs of time. This inceſſantly moves on; and the more numerous the circumſtances, on which the beautiful effect depends, the ſooner is it liable to paſs away. Happy if it's maſter pieces remain as rules for future ages; ſince thoſe that immediately ſucceed approach them too near, and will probably obliterate by attempting to excel them. Even the moſt active people frequently ſink moſt ſpeedily from the boiling to the freezing point.

The hiſtory of particular ſciences and nations has to calculate theſe maxima, and I wiſh we had ſuch a hiſtory only of the moſt celebrated nations during the periods beſt known. At preſent we ſpeak only of human hiſtory in general, and of it's ſtate of permanence in every form and climate. This is nothing elſe than *humanity*, that is, *reaſon and equity in all conditions, and in all occupations of men.* And this indeed it is, not through the will of a ſovereign, or the perſuaſive power of tradition, but through natural laws, on which the eſſence of man repoſes. Even his moſt corrupt inſtitutions cry aloud: 'had not a glimmering of equity and reaſon been retained in us, we ſhould long have ceaſed to be, nay we never ſhould have exiſted.' As the whole tiſſue of human hiſtory proceeds from this point, to it we muſt carefully bend our view.

*Firſt.* What is it we eſteem, and after which we inquire, in all human works? Reaſon, plan, and purpoſe. If theſe be wanting, nothing human is accompliſhed, a blind power is diſplayed. Wherever our underſtanding roams throughout

throughout the wide field of hiſtory, it ſeeks only itſelf, it finds only itſelf. The nearer it approaches pure truth, and the good of mankind, in all it's undertakings; the more durable, uſeful, and beautiful are it's works, and the more their rules meet the hearts and minds of all people, in all ages. Socrates and Confucius, Plato, Cicero, and Zoroaſter, agree unanimouſly in what conſtitutes clear underſtanding, and juſt morals: in ſpite of their various differences, they have all laboured to one point, on which our whole ſpecies reſts. As the wanderer enjoys no greater delight, than when he every where diſcovers, even unexpectedly, the traces of a thinking, feeling mind, like his own; ſo are we delighted when in the hiſtory of our ſpecies the echo of all ages and nations reverberates nothing from the nobleſt minds, but truth and benevolence towards man. As my reaſon ſeeks the connexion of things, and my heart rejoices when it perceives it; ſo has every honeſt man ſought it: though, probably, from the point of view which his ſituation afforded, he ſaw it differently, and differently deſcribed it. Where he erred, he erred both for himſelf and me, as he warned me againſt ſimilar errours. Where he guides me truly, inſtructs, ſolaces, animates me, he is my brother; a ſharer in the ſame ſoul of the World, the one human reaſon, the one human truth.

*Secondly.* As there is not a more pleaſing ſight in all hiſtory, than that of a man of goodneſs and underſtanding, who, in ſpite of all the changes of fortune, remains the ſame in every period of his life, and in every thing he does; ſo our pity is excited in a thouſand ways, when we perceive even in great and good men errours of the underſtanding, which, according to the laws of nature, cannot fail to bring upon them neceſſary pains. We too frequently meet with theſe fallen angels in hiſtory, and have to lament the weakneſs of the moulds, that human reaſon employs for her inſtruments. How little can a mortal bear, without bending underneath the load! how little that is extraordinary can come in his way, without turning him from it! A ſlight honour, a glimpſe of good fortune, or an unexpected occurrence in life, is a ſufficient ignis fatuus, to miſlead one into quagmires, or over precipices: another is ignorant of his own powers, attempts what is above his ſtrength, and faints under the enterprize. We are ſeized with ſentiments of compaſſion, when we perceive ſuch, unfortunately fortunate, on the point of deviating from the path of reaſon, juſtice, and happineſs, which they feel the want of ſtrength any longer to purſue. Behind them ſtands the graſping fury, and impels them againſt their will to overſtep the line of moderation: they are now in her hand, and probably will ſuffer during the remainder of their lives the conſequences of a ſlight folly, and dereliction of reaſon. Or if Fortune have raiſed them too high, and they feel themſelves

themſelves on her higheſt pinnacle, what preſents itſelf to their foreboding minds, but the inconſtancy of this fickle goddeſs, and misfortune burſting from the very ſeeds of their ſucceſs? In vain, compaſſionate Cæſar, didſt thou turn aſide thy face, when the head of thy defeated enemy Pompey was brought to thee, and build a temple to Nemeſis. Already thou hadſt paſſed the confines of Fortune, as well as the banks of the Rubicon; the goddeſs was now behind thee, and thy bloody corſe was doomed, to fall at the feet of the ſtatue of that very Pompey. The conſtitutions of countries experience a ſimilar fate, as they depend on the reaſon or folly of a few, who are their rulers, or by whom their rulers are ſwayed. The moſt beautiful inſtitutions, which promiſed mankind the moſt profitable fruits for ages, have often been torn to pieces by the folly of an individual, who has felled the tree, inſtead of lopping a few of it's branches. Succeſs is moſt difficult to be born by whole realms, as well as by individuals; whether they be governed by monarchs and deſpots, or by ſenates and the people. The people and the deſpot are the leaſt capable of perceiving the warning nod of the goddeſs of fate: dazzled by the ſplendour of vainglory, or made giddy by the ſound of a name, they ruſh beyond the bounds of prudence and humanity, and perceive the conſequences of their folly too late. This was the fate of Rome, of Athens, and of many nations; as well as of Alexander, and moſt of the conquerors, that have diſturbed the peace of the World: for Injuſtice is the ruin of every country, as Folly of every human undertaking. Theſe are the furies of Fate: Misfortune is no more than their younger ſiſter, the third member of the fearful confederacy.

Great father of mankind, what an eaſy yet difficult leſſon haſt thou given thy family upon Earth for the whole of their taſk! They have nothing to learn, but reaſon and juſtice alone: if they practiſe theſe, light gradually enters their minds, goodneſs their hearts, perfection their ſtates, happineſs their lives. Endowed with theſe gifts, and making proper application of them, the negro may form his ſociety as well as the greek, the troglodyte as well as the chineſe. Experience will lead each farther; and Reaſon, united with Equity, will give conſiſtence, beauty, and ſymmetry, to his undertakings. But if he deſert theſe, the eſſential guides of his life, what can give ſtability to his good-fortune, and ſave him from the furies of Inhumanity?

*Thirdly.* It follows likewiſe, that, whenever the equilibrium of reaſon and humanity is diſturbed among men, a return to it ſeldom occurs, except by violent oſcillations from one extreme to the other. One paſſion kicks up the ſcale of reaſon, another drives it down, and thus hiſtory goes on for years

and

and ages, before the period of tranquillity returns. Thus Alexander deſtroyed the equilibrium of an extenſive region of the World; and it was long after his death before the ſtorm ſubſided. Thus Rome diſturbed the peace of the Globe for more than a thouſand years; and half a World of ſavage nations was requiſite for the ſlow reſtoration of it's quiet. The peaceable progreſs of an aſymptote could by no means be expected, in theſe convulſions of countries and nations. The channel of cultivation on our Earth, with it's abrupt corners, it's ſaliant and reentering angles, ſcarcely ever exhibits a gentle ſtream, but rather the ruſhing of a torrent from the mountains. Such are the effects of human paſſions. It is evident, too, that the general compoſition of our ſpecies is calculated and eſtabliſhed on ſuch alternating vibrations. As our walk is a continual falling to the right and to the left, and yet we advance at every ſtep; ſo is the progreſs of cultivation in races of men, and in whole nations. Individually we often try both extremes, before we hit the point of reſt, as the pendulum oſcillates from ſide to ſide. Generations are renewed in continual change; and in ſpite of all the direct precepts of tradition, the ſon advances in his own way. Ariſtotle was aſſiduous to diſtinguiſh himſelf from Plato, Epicurus from Zeno, till more tranquil poſterity could at laſt impartially profit by both extremes. Thus, as in the machine of our body, the work of time proceeds to the good of the human race by neceſſary oppoſition, and acquires from it permanent health. But through whatever turnings and angles the ſtream of human reaſon may wind and break, it aroſe from the eternal fountain of truth, and by virtue of it's nature can never be loſt in it's courſe. Whoever draws from it, draws life and duration.

For the reſt, both reaſon and juſtice hinge *on one and the ſame law of nature*, from which the ſtability of our being likewiſe flows. Reaſon weighs and compares the relations of things, that ſhe may diſpoſe them in durable ſymmetry. Juſtice is nothing elſe than a moral ſymmetry of reaſon, the formula of the equilibrium of contending powers, on the harmony of which the whole creation repoſes. Thus one and the ſame law reaches from the Sun, and from all the ſuns in the univerſe, to the moſt inſignificant human action: one law upholds all beings, and their ſyſtems; *the relation of their powers to periodical reſt and order.*

## CHAPTER IV.

*From the Laws of their internal Nature, Reaſon and Juſtice muſt gain more Footing among Men in the Courſe of Time, and promote a more durable Humanity.*

All the doubts and complaints of men, reſpecting the uncertainty and little obſervable progreſs of good in hiſtory, ariſe from this, that the melancholy wanderer ſees too little on his way. If he extended his view, and impartially compared with each other the times, that we moſt accurately know from hiſtory; farther, if he dived into the nature of man, and weighed what truth and reaſon are; he would doubt as little of their progreſs, as of the moſt indiſputable phyſical truth. For thouſands of years our ſun and all the fixed ſtars were ſuppoſed to be immovable: a fortunate teleſcope now permits us no longer to doubt of their movement. So in ſome future age, a more accurate compariſon of the periods exhibited in the hiſtory of our ſpecies will not merely give us a ſuperficial view of this exhilarating truth, but, in ſpite of all apparent diſorder, will enable us to calculate the laws, according to which this progreſs is effected by the power of human nature. Standing on the verge of ancient hiſtory, as on a central point, I ſhall do no more than curſorily note a few general principles, which will ſerve as leading ſtars, to guide us on our future way.

Firſt. *Times connect themſelves together, in virtue of their nature; and with them the child of Time, the race of mankind, with all it's operations and productions.*

No ſophiſtical argument can lead us to deny, that our Earth has grown older in the courſe of ſome thouſands of years; and that this wanderer round the Sun is greatly altered ſince it's origin. In it's bowels we perceive how it once was conſtituted; and we need but look around us, to ſee it's preſent conſtitution. The ocean foams no longer; it is ſubſided peaceably into it's bed: the wandering ſtreams have found their ſhores; and plants and animals have run through a progreſſive ſeries of years in their different races. As not a ſunbeam has been loſt upon our Earth ſince it's creation; ſo no falling leaf, no wafted ſeed, no carcaſe of a decaying animal, and ſtill leſs an action of any living being, has been without effect. Vegetation, for example, has increaſed, and extended itſelf as far as it could: every living race has ſpread within the limits nature aſſigned it, through the means of others: and even the ſenſeleſs devaſtations of man, as well as his induſtry, have been active implements in the hand of Time. Freſh harveſts have waved over the ruins of the cities he has

deſtroyed: the elements have ſtrewed the duſt of oblivion upon them; and ſoon new generations have ariſen, who have erected new buildings upon the old, and even with their ancient remains. Omnipotence itſelf cannot ordain, that effects ſhall not be effects: it cannot reſtore the Earth to what it was thouſands of years ago, ſo that theſe thouſands of years, with all their conſequences, ſhall not have been.

Already therefore a certain progreſs of the human ſpecies is inſeparable from the progreſs of Time, as far as man is included in the family of Time and Earth. Were the progenitor of mankind now to appear, and view his deſcendants, how would he be aſtoniſhed! His body was formed for a youthful Earth; his frame, his ideas, and his way of life, muſt have been adapted to that conſtitution of the elements, which then prevailed; and conſiderable alteration in this muſt have taken place, in the courſe of ſix thouſand years or upwards. In many parts America is no longer what it was when diſcovered: two thouſand years hence, it's ancient hiſtory will have the air of romance. Thus we read the hiſtory of the ſiege of Troy, and ſeek in vain the ſpot where it ſtood; in vain the grave of Achilles, or the godlike hero himſelf. Were a collection of all the accounts, that have been given of the ſize and figure of the ancients, of the kind and quantity of their food, of their daily occupations and amuſements, and of their notions of love and marriage, the virtues and the paſſions, the purpoſe of life and a future exiſtence, made with diſcriminating accuracy, and with regard to time and place, it would be of no ſmall advantage toward a hiſtory of man. Even in this ſhort period, an advancement of the ſpecies would be ſufficiently conſpicuous to evince both the conſiſtency of ever-youthful Nature, and the progreſſive changes of our old mother Earth. Earth nurſes not man alone: ſhe preſſes all her children to one boſom, embraces all in the ſame maternal arms: and, when one changes, all muſt undergo change.

It is undeniable, too, that this progreſs of time has influenced the mode of thinking of the human ſpecies. Bid a man now invent, now ſing an Iliad; bid him write like Æſchylus, like Sophocles, like Plato: it is impoſſible. The childiſh ſimplicity, the unprejudiced mode of ſeeing things, in ſhort the youthful period of the greeks, is gone by. It is the ſame with the hebrews, and the romans; while on the other hand we are acquainted with a number of things, of which both the romans and the hebrews were ignorant. One day teaches another, one century inſtructs another century: tradition is enriched: the muſe of Time, Hiſtory, herſelf ſings with a hundred voices, ſpeaks with a hundred tongues. Be there as much filth, as much confuſion, as there will, in the vaſt ſnowball rolled up by Time; yet this very confuſion is the offſpring of ages,

which

which could have ariſen only from the unwearied rolling on of one and the ſame thing. Thus every return to the ancient times, even the celebrated year of Plato, is a fiction, is, from the ideas of the World and of Time, an impoſſibility. We float onward: but the ſtream that has once flowed, returns no more to it's ſource.

Secondly. *The habitations of mankind render the progreſs of the human ſpecies ſtill more evident.*

Where are the times when people dwelled as troglodytes, diſperſed about in caves, behind their walls, and every ſtranger was an enemy? Merely from the courſe of time no cave, no wall, afforded ſecurity: men muſt learn to know one another; for collectively they are but one family, on one planet of no great extent. It is a melancholy reflection, that every where they firſt learned to know one another as enemies, and beheld each other with aſtoniſhment as ſo many wolves: but ſuch was the order of nature. The weak feared the ſtrong; the deceived, the deceiver; he who had been expelled, him who could again expel him; the unexperienced child, every ſtranger. This infantile fear, however, and all it's abuſes, could not alter the courſe of nature: the bond of union between nations was knit, though, from the rude ſtate of man, in a rough manner. Growing reaſon may burſt the knots, but cannot untwiſt the band, and ſtill leſs undo the diſcoveries, that have once been made. What are the geologies of Moſes and Orpheus, Homer and Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny, compared with ours? What was the commerce of the phenicians, greeks, and romans, to the trade of Europe? Thus with what has hitherto been effected the clew to the labyrinth of what is to be done is given us. Man, while he continues man, will not ceaſe from wandering over his planet, till it is completely known to him: from this neither ſtorms nor ſhipwreck, nor thoſe vaſt mountains of ice, nor all the perils of either pole, will deter him; no more than they have deterred him from the firſt moſt difficult attempts, even when navigation was very defective. The incentive to all theſe enterprizes lies in his own breaſt, lies in man's nature. Curioſity, and the inſatiable deſire of wealth, fame, diſcovery, and increaſe of ſtrength, and even new wants and diſcontents, inſeparable from the preſent courſe of things, will impel him; and they by whom dangers have been ſurmounted in former times, his celebrated and ſucceſsful predeceſſors, will animate him. Thus the will of providence will be promoted both by good and bad incentives, till man knows and acts upon the whole of his ſpecies. To him the Earth is given; and he will not deſiſt, till it is wholly his own, at leaſt as far as regards knowledge and uſe. Are we

not already aſhamed, that one hemiſphere of our planet remained for ſo long a time as unknown to us, as if it had been the other ſide of the Moon?

Thirdly. *In conſequence of the internal nature of the human mind, it's activity has hitherto been employed ſolely on means of grounding more deeply the humanity and cultivation of our ſpecies, and extending them farther.*

How vaſt the progreſs from the firſt raft that floated on the water to an european ſhip! Neither the inventor of the former, nor the many inventors of the various arts and ſciences that contribute to navigation, ever formed the leaſt conception of what would ariſe from the combination of their diſcoveries: each obeyed his particular impulſe of want or curioſity: but it is inherent in the nature of the human intellect, and of the general connexion of all things, that no attempt, no diſcovery, can be made in vain. Thoſe iſlanders, who had never ſeen an european veſſel, beheld the monſter with aſtoniſhment, as ſome prodigy of another World; and were ſtill more aſtoniſhed when they found, that men like themſelves could guide it at pleaſure over the trackleſs ocean. Could their aſtoniſhment have been converted into rational reflection on every great purpoſe, and every little mean, of this floating world of art, how much higher would their admiration of the human mind have ariſen? Whither do not the hands of europeans at preſent reach, by means of this ſingle implement? Whither may they not reach hereafter?

Beſide this art, others innumerable have been invented within the ſpace of a few years by mankind, that extend their ſway over air and water, over Earth and Heaven. And when we reflect, that but few nations were engaged in this conteſt of mental activity, while the greater part of the reſt ſlumbered in the lap of ancient cuſtom; when we reflect, that almoſt all our inventions were made at very early periods, and ſcarcely any trace, ſcarcely any ruin, of an ancient ſtructure, or an ancient inſtitution, exiſts, that is not connected with our early hiſtory; what a proſpect does this hiſtorically demonſtrated activity of the human mind give us for the infinity of future ages! In the few centuries during which Greece flouriſhed, in the few centuries of modern improvement, how much has been conceived, invented, done, reduced to order, and preſerved for future ages, in Europe, the leaſt quarter of the Globe, and almoſt in it's ſmalleſt parts! How prolific the ſeeds, that art and ſcience have copiouſly ſhed, while one nouriſhes, one animates and excites the other! As when a ſtring is touched, not only every thing that has muſic reſounds to it, but all it's harmonious tones reecho the ſound, till it becomes imperceptible; ſo the human mind has invented and created, when an harmonious point of it's interiour has been hit. When a

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new concord was ſtruck, in a creation where every thing is connected, innumerable new concatenations followed of courſe.

But, it may be aſked, how have all theſe arts and inventions been applied? Have practical reaſon and juſtice, and conſequently the true improvement and happineſs of the human ſpecies, been promoted by them? In reply I refer to what has recently been urged reſpecting the progreſs of diſorder throughout the whole creation: that, according to an intrinſic law of nature, nothing can attain durability, which is the eſſential aim of all things, without order. A keen knife in the hand of a child may wound it: yet the art that invented and ſharpened the knife is one of the moſt indiſpenſable of arts. All that uſe ſuch a knife are not children; and even the child will be taught by pain, to uſe it better. Artificial power in the hand of a deſpot, foreign luxury in a nation without controlling laws, are ſuch pernicious implements: but the very miſchief they do will render men wiſer; and, ſoon or late, the art, that created luxury as well as deſpotiſm, will firſt confine both within due bounds, and then convert them into real benefits. The heavy ploughſhare wears itſelf out by long uſe: the ſlight teeth of new watchwork gain merely by their revolution the more ſuitable and artful form of the epicycloid. Thus in human powers abuſes carried to exceſs wear themſelves down to good practices: extreme oſcillations from ſide to ſide neceſſarily ſettle in the deſirable mean of laſting fitneſs in a regular movement. Whatever is to take place among mankind will be effected by men: we ſuffer under our faults, till we learn of ourſelves the better uſe of our faculties, without the aſſiſtance of miracles from Heaven.

We have not the leaſt reaſon, therefore, to doubt, that every good employment of the human underſtanding neceſſarily muſt and will, at ſome time or other, promote humanity. Since agriculture has prevailed, men and acorns have ceaſed to be food. Man found, that he could live better, more decently, and more humanely, on the pleaſing gifts of Ceres, than on the fleſh of his fellows, or the fruits of the oak; and was compelled ſo to live by the laws of men wiſer than himſelf. After men had learned to build houſes and towns, they ceaſed to dwell in caves: under the laws of a commonweal, the poor ſtranger was no longer liable to death. Thus trade brought nations together: and the more it's advantages were generally underſtood; the leſs murders, oppreſſions, and deceptions, which are always ſigns of ignorance in commerce, would neceſſarily be practiſed. Every addition to the uſeful arts ſecures men's property, diminiſhes their labour, extends their ſphere of activity, and neceſſarily lays therewith the foundations of farther cultivation and humanity. What labour was ſaved, for example, by the ſingle invention of printing! What an extenſive circulation of

men's

men's ideas, arts, and ſciences, did it promote? Were an european Kang-Ti now to attempt, to eradicate the literature of this quarter of the Globe, he would find it impoſſible. Had the phenicians and carthaginians, the greeks and romans, poſſeſſed this art; the deſtruction of their literature would not have been ſo eaſy to their ſpoilers, if it could by any means have been accompliſhed. Let ſavage nations burſt in upon Europe, they could not withſtand our tactics; and no Attila will again extend his march from the ſhores of the Black ſea and the Caſpian to the plains of Catalonia. Let monks, ſybarites, fanatics, and tyrants, ariſe, as they will; it is no longer in their power, to bring back the night of the middle ages. Now as no greater benefit can be conceived to ariſe from any art, divine or human, than not merely to beſtow on us light and order, but from it's very nature to extend and ſecure them; let us thank the Creator, that he conferred *underſtanding* on mankind, and made *art* eſſential to it. In them we poſſeſs the ſecret and the means of ſecuring order in the World.

Neither need we any way repine, that many excellently conceived theories, morals not excepted, have remained ſo long without being carried into practice among mankind. The child learns much, which the man alone can apply; but he has not therefore learned in vain. The youth heedleſsly forgets, what at ſome future period he muſt take pains to recollect, or learn a ſecond time. So no truth that is treaſured up, nay no truth that is diſcovered, among a race continually renovating, is wholly in vain: future circumſtances will render neceſſary what is now deſpiſed; and in the infinity of things every caſe muſt occur, that can in any way exerciſe the human ſpecies. As in the creation we firſt conceive the *power*, that formed Chaos, and then diſpoſing *wiſdom*, and harmonious *goodneſs*; ſo the natural order of mankind firſt developes rude powers: diſorder itſelf muſt guide them into the path of underſtanding; and the farther the underſtanding purſues it's work, the more it perceives, that goodneſs alone can beſtow on it durability, perfection, and beauty.

## CHAPTER V.

*A wiſe Goodneſs diſpoſes the Fate of Mankind; therefore there is no nobler Merit, no purer and more durable Happineſs, than to cooperate in it's Deſigns.*

The ſenſual contemplator of hiſtory, who in it has loſt ſight of God, and begun to doubt of Providence, has fallen into this misfortune, from having taken too ſuperficial a view of his ſubject, or from having had no juſt conception of Providence. If he have conſidered Providence as an apparition, that was to meet

meet him at every turn, and continually interrupt the courſe of human actions, to accompliſh this or that particular object of his will and fancy; I confeſs hiſtory is the grave of ſuch a Providence, but certainly to the advantage of truth. For what kind of a Providence muſt it be, that every one could employ as a hobgoblin in the order of things, as the agent of his narrow deſigns, as the ally of his pitiful follies; ſo that the whole would ultimately remain without a maſter! The God, whom I ſeek in hiſtory, muſt be the ſame as in nature: for man is but a ſmall part of the whole; and his hiſtory, like that of the grub, is intimately interwoven with that of the web he inhabits. In it, therefore, natural laws muſt prevail, that are inherent in the eſſence of things; and with which the deity is ſo far from being able to diſpenſe, that he reveals himſelf in his ſupreme power, with invariable wiſdom, goodneſs, and beauty, even in thoſe which himſelf has founded. Every thing, that can take place upon Earth, muſt take place upon it, provided it happens according to rules, that carry their perfection within themſelves. Let us repeat theſe rules, which we have already developed, as far as they regard the hiſtory of mankind: they all bear in themſelves the ſtamp of wiſe goodneſs, of exalted beauty, and even of intrinſic neceſſity.

1. Every thing, that can live on our Earth, lives upon it: for every organization carries in it's eſſence an union of various powers, which limit each other, and thus limited are capable of attaining in themſelves a maximum of durability. Could they not attain this, the powers would ſeparate, and form unions of a different kind.

2. Among theſe organized bodies man aroſe, the crown of the terreſtrial creation. Innumerable powers united in him, and attained a maximum, the underſtanding; as their material parts, the human body, did alſo, in the centre of gravity, according to laws of the moſt beautiful ſymmetry and order. Thus in the character of man were given the baſis of his duration and happineſs, the ſtamp of his deſtination, and the whole courſe of his earthly fate.

3. This character of man is termed intelligence: for it underſtands the language of God in the creation, that is, it ſeeks the rule of order, according to which things are founded connectedly on their eſſences. Thus it's intrinſic law is the perception of exiſtence and truth; the connexion of creatures according to their relations and qualities. It is an image of the deity: for it inveſtigates the laws of nature, the ideas in conformity to which the Creator connected them, and which he made eſſential to them. Reaſon, therefore, can no more act arbitrarily, than God himſelf has thought at random.

4. Man began to perceive and to examine the powers of nature from his immediate

mediate wants. His aim extended no farther than to his well being, that is, to the due employment of his own powers in exercise and rest. He became connected with other beings; and still his own state of existence was the measure of his connexions. The rule of equity pressed itself upon him; for this is nothing more than practical reason, the measure of the actions and reactions of similar beings for the general security.

5. Human nature is constructed on this principle; so that no individual can suppose himself to exist for the sake of another, or of posterity. If the lowest in the rank of men follow the law of reason and justice, that is within him; he possesses consistency; that is, he enjoys durability and well being; he is rational, just, and happy. These he is not by the will of another creature, or of the creator, but by the laws of a general order of nature, founded on that order itself. If he deviate from the rule of equity, his avenging faults themselves must show him the disorder, and induce him to return to reason and justice, as the laws of his existence and his happiness.

6. As his nature is composed of very different elements, this he seldom does in the shortest way; he vibrates between two extremes, till he accommodates himself to his state of existence, and reaches the temperate mean in which he imagines his well being to consist. If he err in this, he must be secretly conscious of it, and suffer the consequences of his fault. These, however, he suffers but to a certain degree; for either fate corrects them by means of his own endeavours, or his being no longer finds an internal capacity of subsistence. Supreme wisdom could not impart more beneficial uses to physical pain and moral evil, for nothing superiour can be conceived.

7. Had one single man alone trodden the Earth, the object of human existence would have been accomplished in him; as we must consider it to be accomplished, in so many individuals and nations, whom circumstances of time and place separated from the general chain of the species. But as every thing, that can live upon the Earth, endures as long as it can remain in it's state of permanency; so the human species, like every other kind of living beings, possesses such intrinsic transmissive powers, as could find, and have found, proportion and order suitable to the whole. Thus reason, the essence of man, and it's organ, tradition, have been inherited through a series of successive generations. The Earth was gradually filled, and man became every thing, that, in such a period and no other, he could become upon Earth.

8. Thus the propagation of families and traditions, connected human reason: not as if it were in each individual no more than a fragment of the whole, a whole existing no where in one subject, and therefore by no means the end of the Creator; but because the disposition and concatenation of the

whole ſpecies led to this. As men are propagated, ſo are animals; yet no general animal reaſon ariſes from their generations: but as reaſon alone gives permanency to mankind, it muſt be propagated, as the characteriſtic of the ſpecies; for without it the ſpecies would ceaſe to be.

9. In the ſpecies, as a whole, reaſon has experienced the ſame fate, as in it's individual members; for of individual members the whole conſiſts. It has often been diſturbed by the wild paſſions of men, acting with ſtill more violence from conjunction, turned out of it's way for centuries, and lain as if dormant beneath it's aſhes. To all theſe diſorders Providence has applied no other remedy, than what ſhe adminiſters to individuals; namely, that each fault ſhould be followed by it's correſpondent evil, and every act of indolence, folly, malice, raſhneſs, and injuſtice, be it's own puniſhment. But as the ſpecies appears in collective bodies in ſuch circumſtances, children muſt ſuffer for the faults of their parents, the people for the folly of their rulers, and poſterity for the indolence of their anceſtors; and if they will not, or cannot, correct the evil, they may ſuffer under it for ages.

10. Thus the weal of the whole is the greateſt good of each individual: for it is the inherent right and duty of every one, who ſuffers under it's evils, to ward off theſe evils from himſelf, and diminiſh them for his fellows. Nature has not calculated for ſovereigns and ſtates, but for the welfare of men. The former ſuffer not ſo ſpeedily for their vices and follies as individuals, becauſe they always reckon only with the whole, in which the miſeries of the poor are long ſuppreſſed; but the ſtate ultimately ſuffers, and with ſo much more violent a concuſſion. In all theſe things the laws of retaliation diſplay themſelves, as do the laws of motion on the ſhock of the ſlighteſt phyſical ſubſtance; and the greateſt ſovereign of Europe is not leſs ſubject to the natural laws of the human ſpecies, than the leaſt of his people. This condition merely binds him, to be an economiſt of theſe natural laws; and, by that power, which he enjoys only through the means of other men, to be for other men a wiſe and good terreſtrial divinity.

11. In general hiſtory, too, as in the lives of careleſs individuals, all the follies and vices of mankind are exhauſted; till at length they are compelled by neceſſity, to learn reaſon and juſtice. Whatever can happen, happens; and produces, what from it's nature it can produce. This law of nature hinders not even the moſt eccentric power in it's operation; but it confines all by the rule, that one oppoſing effect deſtroys another, and what is uſeful alone ultimately remains. The evil, that deſtroys another, muſt ſubmit to order, or deſtroy itſelf. The rational and virtuous are uniformly happy in the king-

dom of God; for virtue requires external reward, no more than reaſon covets it. If their works are not accompanied by external ſucceſs, not to them, but to their age will be the loſs: yet neither the diſcord nor folly of man can for ever counteract them; they will ſucceed, when their time arrives.

12. Still human Reaſon purſues her courſe in the ſpecies in general: ſhe invents, before ſhe can apply; ſhe diſcovers, though evil hands may long abuſe her diſcoveries. Abuſe will correct itſelf; and, through the unwearied zeal of ever-growing Reaſon, diſorder will in time become order. By contending againſt paſſions, ſhe ſtrengthens and enlightens herſelf: from being oppreſſed in this place, ſhe will fly to that, and extend the ſphere of her ſway over the Earth. There is nothing enthuſiaſtical in the hope, that, wherever men dwell, at ſome future period will dwell men rational, juſt, and happy: happy, not through the means of their own reaſon alone, but of the common reaſon of their whole fraternal race.

I bend before this lofty ſketch of the general wiſdom of Nature with regard to the whole of my fellow creatures the more willingly, as I perceive, that it is Nature's univerſal plan. The law that ſuſtained the mundane ſyſtem, and formed each cryſtal, each worm, each flake of ſnow, formed and ſuſtained alſo the human ſpecies: it made it's own nature the baſis of it's continuance, and progreſſive action, as long as men ſhall exiſt. All the works of God have their ſtability in themſelves, and in their beautiful conſiſtency: for they all repoſe, within their determinate limits, on the equilibrium of contending powers, by their intrinſic energy, which reduces theſe to order. Guided by this clew, I wander through the labyrinth of hiſtory, and every where perceive divine harmonious order: for what can any where occur, does occur; what can operate, operates. But reaſon and juſtice alone endure: madneſs and folly deſtroy the Earth and themſelves.

Thus when I hear a Brutus at Philippi, with the dagger in his hand, looking up to the ſtarry ſky, ſay, according to the fabled ſtory, 'O Virtue, I believed thee ſomething; but now I perceive, that thou art a dream!' I cannot diſcover the calm philoſopher in the latter part of the complaint. Had he poſſeſſed true virtue, this, as well as his reaſon, would ever have found it's own reward, and muſt have rewarded him even at that moment. But if his virtue were mere roman patriotiſm, is it to be wondered, that the weaker yielded to the more ſtrong, that the indolent ſunk before the more alert? Thus the victory of Antony, with all it's conſequences, belonged to the order of things, and to the natural fate of Rome.

In like manner when among us the virtuous man ſo often complains, that

his labours miſcarry; that brutal force and oppreſſion prevail upon Earth; and that mankind ſeem to be given merely as a prey to the paſſions, and to folly: let the genius of his underſtanding appear to him, and interrogate him friendly, whether his virtue be of the right kind, and connected with that intelligence, that activity, which alone deſerve the name of virtue. Every labour, it muſt be confeſſed, does not ſucceed on all occaſions; but do thy beſt, that it may ſucceed, and promote it's time, it's place, and that internal ſtability, in which real good alone ſubſiſts. Rude powers can be regulated only by reaſon: but they require an actual counterpoiſe, that is prudence, zeal, and the whole force of goodneſs, to reduce them to order, and maintain them in it with ſalutary control.

It is a beautiful dream of future life, that we ſhall there enjoy friendly intercourſe with all the wiſe and good, who have ever acted for the benefit of mankind, and gone to the regions above with the ſweet reward of accompliſhed labours: but hiſtory in a certain degree unlocks to us this arbour of pleaſing converſation and intimacy with the intelligent and juſt of all ages. Here Plato ſtands before me: there I liſten to the friendly interrogations of Socrates, and participate in his laſt fate. When Marcus Antoninus conſers in ſecret with his own heart, he confers alſo with mine; and the poor Epictetus iſſues commands more powerful than thoſe of a king. The afflicted Tully, the unfortunate Boethius, confidentially diſcloſe to me the circumſtances of their lives, their ſorrows, and their conſolations. How ample, yet how narrow, is the human heart! How individual, yet how recurrent, are all it's paſſions and deſires, it's faults and foibles, it's hope and it's enjoyment! The problem of humanity has been ſolved a thouſand ways around me, yet every where the reſult of man's endeavours is the ſame: 'the eſſence, the object, and the fate of our ſpecies, reſt on underſtanding and juſtice.' There is no nobler uſe of hiſtory than this: it unfolds to us as it were the counſels of Fate, and teaches us, inſignificant as we are, to act according to God's eternal laws. By teaching us the faults and conſequences of every ſpecies of irrationality, it aſſigns us our ſhort and tranquil ſcene on that great theatre, where Reaſon and Goodneſs, contending indeed with wild powers, ſtill, from their nature, create order, and hold on in the path of victory.

Hitherto we have been wandering through the obſcure field of ancient nations: we now joyfully advance to approaching day, and view the harveſt, that the ſeed of antiquity has produced for ſucceeding ages. Rome deſtroyed the balance of nations; and under her a World bled to death: what new ſtate will ariſe from this balance deſtroyed? what new creature will ſpring from the aſhes of ſo many nations?

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XVI.

AS we now come to the ancient nations of the northern part of the World, ſome of whom were our anceſtors, from whom we have derived our manners and political conſtitutions, I deem it unneceſſary, to apologize for ſaying the truth. For what would it avail, to write of the africans and aſiatics with boldneſs, if we were obliged to ſuppreſs our opinions concerning times and people, that concern us much more nearly, than all that has long been conſigned to the duſt beyond the Alps and the Taurus? Hiſtory demands truth; and to a philoſophy of hiſtory the impartial love of truth at leaſt is requiſite.

Nature herſelf has ſeparated this region by a mound of rocks, known by the names of Muſtag, Altai, Kitzigtag, Ural, Caucaſus, Taurus, Hæmus, and farther on the Carpathian mountains, the gigantic Alps, and the Pyrenees. To the north of theſe, in ſo different a ſoil and climate, the inhabitants muſt neceſſarily aſſume a form and mode of life altogether foreign to thoſe of more ſouthern nations: for there is nothing on the whole Earth, by means of which Nature has created ſuch laſting differences, as mountains. Here ſhe ſits on her eternal throne, ſends forth her ſtreams and meteors, and frequently diſtributes to nations oppoſite propenſities and fortunes, as to climates oppoſite qualities. If, therefore, we be told, that people beyond the mountains, who had dwelt for hundreds or thouſands of years in the vaſt ſaline and ſandy plains of Tatary, or in the woods and deſerts of northern Europe, had introduced into the fineſt territories of the roman and grecian empires a vandal, gothic, ſcythian, tatarian way of life, various marks of which are ſtill perceptible in Europe; we ſhall neither be ſurpriſed at this, nor deceitfully aſcribe to ourſelves a falſe appearance of cultivation; but, like Rinaldo, look into the mirror of truth, obſerve in it our form, and, if we ſtill bear about us here and there the jingling decorations of the barbariſm of our fathers, nobly exchange them for genuine cultivation and humanity, the only real ornaments of our ſpecies.

But before we enter the edifice, celebrated under the appellation of *the commonwealth of Europe*, that has become an object of aſtoniſhment or of dread by it's effect upon the whole Earth; let us endeavour to acquire ſome knowledge

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of the people, who have actively or paſſively contributed to the erection of this gigantic temple. The volume of our northern hiſtory, it muſt be avowed, is ſmall: with the moſt celebrated nations it reaches no farther than to the romans; and as little as a man knows of the annals of his birth and infancy, as little is known by theſe barbarous and unſettled nations. The remains of the moſt ancient are ſcarcely to be met with, except among mountains, or in nooks of land, in rude or impenetrable regions, where their ancient language, and the retention of a few old cuſtoms, barely indicate their origin: their conquerors, in the mean time, have every where ſeized on the more extenſive and fertile country; and if not expelled by others, poſſeſs them ſtill by the right of war, derived from their fathers, and govern them with greater equity, more or leſs in the tatarian manner, or from gradual improvement in juſtice and policy. Farewel, you milder regions beyond the mountains, India and Aſia, Greece and the ſhores of Italy! if we viſit moſt of you again, it will be in a different character, it will be as northern *conquerors*.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Baſques, Gael, and Cimbri.*

Of all the numerous tribes, that once inhabited the peninſula of Spain, there are none, who have the leaſt claim to antiquity remaining, the baſques excepted. Theſe, ſtill dwelling about the Pyrenees in Spain and France, have retained their ancient language, which is one of the oldeſt in the World. It is probable, they once extended over the greateſt part of Spain; if we may judge from the names of many rivers and towns, which, notwithſtanding the changes they have undergone, are obviouſly of baſque origin*. From them is ſaid to be derived the word *ſilver*, the name of a metal, which, together with iron, has effected moſt of the revolutions, that have taken place in Europe, and in all the reſt of the World: for Spain is reported, to have been the firſt country in Europe, where mines were worked, being very conveniently ſituate for the phenicians and carthaginians, the earlieſt mercantile nations in this part of the Globe, to whom it was anciently a Peru.

* See *Inveſtigaziones biſtoricas de las Antiquedades de Navarra*, 'Hiſtorical Inveſtigation of the Antiquities of Navarre,' by Moret, Pampelune, 1665, book I. *Oihenarti Notitia utriuſque Vaſconiæ*, 'Oihenart's Account of the two Gaſconies,' Par. 1638, book I: and particularly Larramendi's *Diccionario trilingue, de las Perfecciones de el Baſcuence*, 'Trilingual Dictionary, of the Perfections of the Baſque Language,' Part II.

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The people themſelves, who are well known under the appellation of vaſcones and cantabri, have ſhown themſelves in ancient hiſtory alert, active, valiant, and lovers of freedom. They accompanied Hannibal into Italy, and their name appears terrible in the roman poets. To them and the ſpaniſh celts it was owing, that the romans found the ſubjugation of Spain ſo difficult: Auguſtus was the firſt who triumphed over them, and this probably in appearance only, for ſuch as would not ſerve the romans retired to the mountains. As the vandals, alans, ſuevi, goths, and other teutonic nations, purſued their roving courſe through the Pyrenees, and ſome of them founded kingdoms in their neighbourhood, they were ſtill the brave, reſtleſs people, that had not loſt their courage under the yoke of the romans: and when Charlemagne returned through their country from his victory over the ſaracens in Spain, they were ſtill the ſame, their artful attack occaſioned the defeat at Roncevallos, ſo famous in ancient romance, where the great Roland was ſlain. They afterwards gave much trouble to the franks in Spain and Aquitain, as they had before to the ſuevi and goths; they were by no means idle in the recovery of the country out of the hands of the ſaracens; and even in the moſt barbarous ages of the deepeſt monachal oppreſſion they retained their character. When, after a long night, the dawn of ſcience beamed on Europe, the lively poetry of the neighbouring provencals diffuſed it in ſome degree over their land, which in later times has given many a gay and enlightened genius to France. It is to be wiſhed, that we knew more of the language, manners, and hiſtory, of theſe lively and impetuous people, and that, as Macpherſon has done among the caledonians, a ſecond Larramendi would ſearch after the remains of their ancient national gaſcon ſpirit.* It is probable, that the ſtory of the celebrated battle of Roland, which, from the monkiſh epopee of archbiſhop Turpin, gave birth to ſo many romances and heroic poems in the middle ages, has been ſtill preſerved among them: and if not, their country was at leaſt the Scæan gate, which for a long time filled the imaginations of the people of Europe with adventures, related there to have taken place.

The gael, who, under the name of gauls and celts, were much better known and more celebrated than the baſques, experienced in the end a ſimilar fate. In Spain they poſſeſſed an extenſive and fine country, in which they withſtood the arms of the romans with no ſmall fame. In Gaul, which derived it's name from

* Larramendi, in the prolix eſſay on the perfection of the baſque language quoted in the preceding note, could not think of ſuch a thing, § 18—20. That in his *Arte del Baſcuence*, 'Varieties of the Baſque,' he mentioned, nothing of it, may be ſeen from Dieze's *Geſchichte der Spaniſchen Dichtkunſt*, 'Hiſtory of Spaniſh Poetry,' p. 111, and following; and perhaps all remembrance of it is loſt.

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them, they employed Cæſar ten years; and in Britain they maintained themſelves ſtill longer againſt his ſucceſſors, all whoſe labours ultimately proved vain, as they were forced at laſt to abandon the iſland. Beſide theſe, Helvetia, the upper part of Italy, and the lower part of Germany along the Danube as far as Illyricum and Pannonia, were occupied by their different tribes and colonies, if not every where fully peopled by them; and in ancient times they were of all enemies the moſt dreaded by the romans. Their leader Brennus laid Rome in aſhes, and had nearly put an end to the future ſovereign of the World. One body of them penetrated into Thrace, Greece, and Aſia Minor, where they were more than once formidable under the name of galatians.

Their race was moſt durably fixed, however, in Gaul and the britiſh iſlands, where they certainly did not remain wholly uncivilized. Here they had their memorable druidical religion, and in Britain their chief druids: here they had eſtabliſhed that remarkable conſtitution, of which monuments ſtill exiſt, in thoſe heaps of ſtones, part of them of vaſt magnitude, that are to be ſeen in Britain, Ireland, and the neighbouring iſlands; monuments, that, like the pyramids of Egypt, will yet remain probably for thouſands of years, and be for ever perhaps inexplicable enigmas. They had a kind of political and military conſtitution of their own, which was at length overturned by the romans, in conſequence of the diſcords, that aroſe between their chiefs: they were by no means deſtitute of phyſical knowledge, and ſuch arts as appear ſuitable to their condition; and ſtill leſs were they in want of poetry and ſong, the ſoul of barbarous nations. Theſe, in the mouths of their bards, were particularly dedicated to the chaunting of deeds of valour, and celebrating the achievements of their fathers *. Oppoſed to Cæſar and his army, arrayed with all the military art of the romans, it muſt be confeſſed they appear as half ſavages: but compared with other northern nations, and with ſeveral german tribes, they wear a different aſpect, evidently excelling them in quickneſs and addreſs, and in arts, civilization, and political inſtitutions: for as the character of the germans ſtill reſembles in many leading features the picture drawn by Tacitus, ſo, in ſpite of all the changes induced by time, the ancient gaul is ſtill diſcernible in his mo-

* Beſide what has been collected or imagined concerning the celts by older writers, as Pelletier, Pezron, Martin, Picard, &c; and what has been ſaid of the origin and inſtitutions of the ancient inhabitants of Britain by engliſh, ſcots, and iriſh, as Barrington, Cordiner, Henry, Jones, Macpherſon, Maitland, Lhwyd, Owen, Shaw, Vallancey, Whitaker, and others; we may venture to cite a german work, which may be termed critical beyond them all, Sprengel's Hiſtory of Great Britain (Continuation of the Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. XLVII), the beginning of which tacitly corrects a number of old errours reſpecting the gael and cimbri. The author gives, too, in his uſual manner, an account of the remaining monuments of the britons, conveying in few words information, to which the reader may truſt with ſafety.

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dern deſcendants. But the numerous and widely ſpread nations of this race neceſſarily differed much, according to place, time, circumſtances, and their various degrees of civilization, ſo that the gael on the coaſts of Ireland, or in the highlands of Scotland, could have little in common with a gallic or celtiberian people, who had long enjoyed the neighbourhood of more cultivated nations or towns.

The fate of the gael in their extenſive region terminated lamentably. According to the earlieſt accounts we have of them, they had on either ſide the Channel the belgæ or cimbri on their borders, who appear to have preſſed upon them on all hands. On either ſide this ſtrait, too, they were conquered, firſt by the romans, and afterwards by ſeveral teutonic nations; by whom we ſee them frequently oppreſſed with great violence, enfeebled, or extirpated and expelled; ſo that the gaelic language is now to be found only in the extreme parts of their poſſeſſions, in Ireland, in the Hebrides, and on the bare highlands of Scotland. Goths, franks, burgundians, alemans, ſaxons, normans, and other german nations, variouſly intermixed, have taken poſſeſſion of their lands, eradicated their language, and extirpated their name.

Oppreſſion, however, ſucceeded not wholly to efface from the Earth every living monument of the intrinſic character of this people: ſoft as the tone of the harp broke from the grave a tender, mournful voice, the voice of Oſſian, the ſon of Fingal, and ſome of his contemporaries. It not only places before our eyes, as in a magic glaſs, repreſentations of ancient deeds and manners; but the general ſentiments and mode of thinking of a people at ſuch a point of cultivation, in ſuch a country, and with ſuch manners, vibrate through our hearts and minds. Oſſian and his contemporaries convey to us more information reſpecting the interiour ſtate of the ancient gael, than a hiſtorian could give, and are at the ſame time affecting preachers of humanity, as it exiſts even in the moſt ſimple forms of ſociety. There tender ſtrings are ſtretched from heart to heart, and every chord emits a plaintive note. What Homer was to the greeks, a gaelic Oſſian might have been to his countrymen, had the gael been greeks, and had Oſſian been a Homer. But as Oſſian's ſong reſounded only the dying words of an oppreſſed people, amid the miſty mountains of a deſert, illuminating as with a hallowed flame the graves of his fathers; while Homer, born in Ionia, in the boſom of a riſing nation, conſiſting of many flouriſhing ſtates and iſlands, in the radiance of the morning-beam, depicted under a far different ſky, and in a very different language, what he beheld before him clear, open, and diſtinct, and what other men of genius afterwards applied in ſuch various ways: he, who ſeeks a grecian Homer in the mountains of Caledonia, unqueſtionably

unqueſtionably ſeeks one in a wrong place. Sound ſtill, however, thou miſt-enveloped harp of Oſſian; happy in all ages he, who liſtens to thy gentle notes *.

The name of the *cimbri* denotes them, to be inhabitants of the mountains; and if they were the ſame with the belgians, we find them along the weſtern bank of the Rhine from the Alps to it's mouth, nay once perhaps to the Cimbrian cherſoneſe, which, it is probable, was originally a much more extenſive land. By german tribes, ſettling cloſe upon them, they were driven in bodies acroſs the ſea; ſo that they ſtraitened the gael in Britain, and ſoon acquired poſſeſſion of it's eaſt and ſouthern coaſts: and as the tribes on both ſides the water preſerved their connexion, and were more expert in many arts than the gael, there was nothing, which, from their ſituation, they could purſue with greater ſucceſs than piracy. They appear to have been more ſavage than the gael, and improved little in manners under the romans; and when theſe left their iſland, they ſunk into ſuch barbariſm and depravity, that they were obliged to call in to their aſſiſtance at one time the romans, at another, to their own coſt, the ſaxons. From theſe german auxiliaries they ſuffered much. They came over in hordes, and ſoon ravaged the country with fire and ſword: neither men, nor inſtitutions, were ſpared by them: the land was made a deſert; and at length we find ſuch of the poor cimbri, as were not extirpated, pent up in the weſtern corner of Britain, in the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, or forced to take refuge in Brittany.

Nothing can equal the hatred, which the cimbri conceived for their treacherous aſſiſtants, the ſaxons, and which they cheriſhed with great warmth for centuries, after they were confined to their naked mountains. Here they long maintained their independance, language, form of government, and manners, of which we have ſtill a remarkable deſcription in the regulations of the courts of their kings and their officers †; but at length their end arrived. Wales was conquered, and united with England: the language of the cimbri alone

* It ſeems ſingular, that, while two nations, the ſcots and iriſh, contend for the honour of having given birth to Oſſian and to Fingal, neither has yet juſtified it's claim, by publiſhing the beautiful ſongs of Oſſian, *with their original melodies*, which are ſaid to be ſtill in uſe. Theſe could not eaſily be forged; and the *ſtructure of the poems* in the *original language*, with a gloſſary, and ſuitable notes, would not ſerve merely as a juſtification, but would give us more information reſpecting the language, muſic, and poetry, of the gael, than their Ariſtotle, Blair. Such a gaelic anthology would not only be a claſſic work for the native admirers of theſe poems, by means of which what the language has to boaſt of as moſt beautiful would be long preſerved; but even foreigners would find in it much, that would be highly acceptable, and ſuch a book would ever remain of great importance to the *hiſtory of man*.

† Sprengel's *Geſchichte von Groſsbritannien*, 'Hiſtory of Great Britain,' p. 379–92.

was preſerved, as it is to this day, both in Wales and in Brittany. It is ſtill preſerved, but in remains that poſſeſs little ſecurity: and it would be well, if it's characteriſtics were conſigned to books*; for, like the languages of all nations thus expelled by others, it will infallibly be annihilated, and this firſt of all probably in Brittany. The characters of nations are gradually extinguiſhed in the natural courſe of things: their lineaments wear out, and they are caſt into the crucible of Time, where they ſubſide into a dead maſs, or are rendered pure for the reception of a freſh impreſſion.

The moſt memorable, of what has been handed down to us of the cimbri, is the account of their king Arthur, and his knights of the round table, which has had wonderful effect on the imaginations of men. It was naturally late, before the tales of theſe appeared in books, and they did not receive their romantic garb, till after the time of the croiſades; but they belonged originally to the cimbri, for Arthur reigned in Cornwall, where, and in Wales, a hundred places ſtill retain his name in popular ſtory. Animated by the romantic invention of the normans, it is probable, the tale received it's firſt embelliſhments in Brittany, which was peopled by a colony of the cimbri; whence it ſpread with numerous additions over England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and was afterwards adopted by the poets of more refined ages. Fables from the eaſt were engrafted into it; legends were called in, to give it their ſanction; and thus aroſe the beautiful ſeries of knights, giants, fairies, dragons, and adventures, with the enchanter Merlin, likewiſe a welchman, for centuries the delight of knights and ladies. It would be vain to inquire preciſely when king Arthur lived: but to trace the foundation, the hiſtory, and the effects, of theſe tales and fictions, through all the nations and ages in which they flouriſhed, and place them in their proper light as hiſtorical phenomena, would be an adventure of no ſmall fame, equally pleaſing and inſtructive, and to which the way has already been cleared †.

* In Borlaſe, Bullet, Lloyd, Roſtrenen, le Brigant, the tranſlation of the Bible, &c. The poetic tales of king Arthur and his knights, however, have been little examined in their original form.

† T. Warton's eſſay on the origin of romantic fiction in Europe, prefixed to his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, and tranſlated in Eſchenburg's *Brittiſch. Muſeum*, Vol. III, V, has ſome uſeful materials; but as he evidently adopts a miſtaken ſyſtem, the whole muſt aſſume a different form. In Percel's and the more modern *Bibliothéque des Romans*, 'Bibliotheca of Romances,' in the remarks of different engliſhmen on Chaucer, Spenſer, Shakſpeare, &c., in their archæologiæ, in the remarks of Du Freſne and others on ſeveral ancient hiſtorians, ſufficient data and materials might be found. A ſhort hiſtory by Sprengel would reduce this chaos to order, and unqueſtionably exhibit it in an inſtructive light.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Fins, Lettonians, and Pruſſians.*

THE race of fins, to whom, however, this name is as little known as that of laps to a branch of them, for they call themſelves *ſuomi*, extends, even in the preſent day, along the northern extremity of Europe, the ſhores of the Baltic, and into Aſia. In early times, it certainly ſpread ſtill farther, and more to the ſouth. In Europe, beſide the fins and laps, the ingrians, eſthonians, and livonians, belong to this race; and farther on the ſyrans, permians, woguls, wotiacs, cheremiſſes, morduans, condian oſtiacs, and others, are related to it; and the hungarians, or magyars, appear to be from the ſame ſtem, on comparing their language with that of the fins *.

It is not clear how far down in Norway and Sweden the laps and fins once dwelt; but this is certain, that the ſcandinavian germans were continually preſſing them farther towards the northern frontier, which they ſtill inhabit. They appear to have poſſeſſed moſt activity on the coaſts of the White Sea and the Baltic, where they followed piracy, and carried on a little trade. In Permia, or Biarmaland, their idol Jumala had a barbarouſly ſplendid temple. Hither, likewiſe, the northern german adventurers principally came, to barter, to plunder, and to demand tribute. Theſe people, however, nowhere attained any mature or ſubſtantial civilization, for which their unfavourable ſituation, not their capacity, muſt be blamed. They were not warriors, like the germans; for, after ſo many ages of oppreſſion, all the popular tales and ſongs of the laps, fins, and eſthonians, prove them to be a gentle people. Beſides, as their tribes lived for the moſt part without connexion, and many of them without any political conſtitution, what actually happened, when they were preſſed upon by other nations, was naturally to have been expected; namely, that the laps ſhould be driven toward the north pole; the fins, ingrians, eſthonians, &c., reduced under the yoke of ſlavery; and the livonians, nearly extirpated. The

* See Buettner's *Vergleichungs-tabellen der Schriftarten*, 'Comparative Tables of Modes of Writing;' Gatterer's *Einleitung zur Univerſal-hiſtorie*, 'Introduction to Univerſal Hiſtory;' Schlœtzer's *allgemeine Nordiſche Geſchichte*, 'General Hiſtory of the North;' &c. The book laſt quoted, being the 31ſt vol. of the Continuation of the Univerſal Hiſtory, contains a valuable collection of inquiries, by the author and others, concerning the deſcent and ancient hiſtory of the northern nations, which excites a wiſh for more ſuch compilations of the labours of an Ihre, Suhm, Lagerbring, &c.

fate of the nations on the Baltic fills a melancholy page in the hiſtory of mankind.

The only people of this race, that forced themſelves into the rank of conquerors, are the hungarians or magyars. It is probable they firſt ſeated themſelves in the land of the baſhkirians, between the Wolga and the Yaik: they then founded a hungarian kingdom between the Wolga and the Black Sea, which ſplit into pieces. They next came under the chazars, and were ſeparated by the petſhenegrins, founding on the one hand the magyar kingdom on the frontiers of Perſia, on the other entering into Europe in ſeven hordes, and carrying on furious wars with the bulgarians. Being impelled farther onwards by theſe, the emperor Arnulph called in their aſſiſtance againſt the moravians. From Pannonia they now invaded Moravia, Bavaria, and Upper Italy, which they cruelly ravaged: they carried fire and ſword into Thuringia, Saxony, Franconia, Heſſe, Swabia, Alſatia, and even France, and afterwards Italy; and impoſed a diſgraceful tribute on the german emperors: till at length they were ſo reduced, partly by the plague, partly by terrible defeats of their armies in Saxony, Swabia, and Weſtphalia, that the german empire was rendered ſecure from their attacks, and indeed Hungary itſelf annexed to the apoſtolical dominions. At preſent, intermingled with ſclavonians, germans, wallachians, and others, they conſtitute the ſmaller number of the inhabitants, and in a few centuries perhaps their language will be nearly extinct.

The lithuanians, courlanders, and lettonians, on the Baltic, are of uncertain origin: according to all probability, however, they were impelled onward, till the ſea ſtopped their progreſs. Notwithſtanding the mixture of their language with others, it ſtill retains a peculiar character, and is probably the daughter of an ancient parent, originally of ſome diſtant region. Surrounded by german, ſclavonian, and finniſh nations, the peaceable lettonian race could nowhere extend, ſtill leſs improve, and at length, like it's neighbours the pruſſians, was moſt remarkable for the violences, which all the inhabitants of theſe coaſts experienced, partly from the new-converted poles, partly from the teutonic knights, and thoſe whom they called in to their aſſiſtance *. Humanity ſhud-

* A ſhort hiſtory of the pruſſians, from the uſeful collections and preparatory labours of Hartknoch, Prætorius, Lilienthal, and others, is deſirable, and perhaps has already appeared unknown to me. This little corner of the Earth has done much, without any encouragement, for the hiſtory of it's own and the neighbouring nations: the name of Bayer alone is equivalent to a multitude. The ancient pruſſian conſtitution on the banks of the Viſtula, which names Widewut as it's founder, and a chief druid, Kriwe, with the whole race of the people, particularly deſerves inveſtigation. In the hiſtory of Livonia, Arndt, Hupel, and others, deſerve our praiſe.

ders at the blood, that was here ſpilled in long and ſavage wars, till the ancient pruſſians were nearly extirpated, and the courlanders and lettonians reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, under the yoke of which they ſtill languiſh. Centuries perhaps will paſs, before it is removed, and theſe peaceful people are recompenſed for the barbarities, with which they were deprived of land and liberty, by being humanely formed anew to the uſe and enjoyment of an improved freedom.

Our eyes have now been long enough fixed on oppreſſed, extirpated, or ſubjugated people; let us turn them on thoſe, by whom they were oppreſſed and ſubdued.

## CHAPTER III.

### *German Nations.*

We now come to the people, who, by their ſize and ſtrength of body; their enterprizing, bold, and perſevering ſpirit in war; their heroic propenſity to military ſervice, to follow in a body their leaders, wherever they choſe to conduct them, and to divide the lands they ſubdued as their booty; with their extenſive conqueſts, and the general diffuſion of the german political conſtitution around; contributed more than any other race to the weal and woe of this quarter of the Globe. From the ſhores of the Black Sea the arms of the germans were terrible throughout Europe: one gothic empire extended formerly from the Wolga to the Baltic: in Thrace, Mœſia, Pannonia, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and even Africa, different german nations, at different periods, ſettled, and founded kingdoms: by them the romans, ſaracens, gael, cimbri, laps, fins, eſthonians, ſclavonians, courlanders, pruſſians, and even one another, were driven from their poſſeſſions; by them all the modern kingdoms of Europe were founded, their diſtinctions of rank were introduced, and the elements of their juriſprudence were inculcated. More than once they attacked, took, and plundered Rome: ſeveral times they beſieged Conſtantinople, and even made themſelves maſters of it: at Jeruſalem they founded a chriſtian monarchy: and in the preſent day, partly by the princes whom they have ſeated on every throne in Europe, and partly by the kingdoms themſelves they have founded, they exerciſe more or leſs dominion, either as poſſeſſors, or by their manufactures and trade, over all the four quarters of the Globe. But ſince no effect is without a cauſe, there muſt have been ſome cauſe for this vaſt ſeries of effects.

1. *This*

1. *This cauſe lies not in the character of the nation alone: it's phyſical and political ſituation, and a number of circumſtances, which combined in no other northern nation, co-operated in the courſe of their achievements.* Their large, ſtrong, and well proportioned bodies, with their ſtern blue eyes, were animated by a ſpirit of fidelity and temperance, which rendered them obedient to their ſuperiours, bold in attack, unappalled by peril, and to other nations, the degenerate romans included, pleaſing as friends, terrible as foes. Germans ſerved in the roman armies at an early period, and they were particularly preferred as bodyguards by the emperors: nay, when the threatened empire was unable to protect itſelf, german armies fought for pay againſt it's enemies, even againſt their own brethren. In this ſervice, which continued for ſome centuries, ſeveral of their nations acquired a degree of military diſcipline and ſcience, to which other barbarians neceſſarily remained ſtrangers; at the ſame time the example of the romans, and an acquaintance with their feebleneſs, gradually inſpired them with a deſire of national expeditions, and of conquering for themſelves. If this degenerate Rome had once ſubdued nations, and raiſed itſelf to the ſovereignty of the World, why ſhould the ſame be done by them, without whoſe arms the romans were incapable of exerting any force? Accordingly, if we paſs over the more ancient incurſions of the teutones and cimbri, and begin with the enterprizing chiefs Arioviſtus, Marbutus, and Hermann, the firſt ſhocks were given to the territories of the romans by borderers, or by leaders who were acquainted with their art of war, and had been often employed in their armies, ſo as to be ſufficiently acquainted with the weakneſs of Rome, and ſubſequently of Conſtantinople. Some of them were even auxiliaries of the romans, at the time when they thought fit, to appropriate to themſelves the countries they had recovered. As the propinquity of a rich and feeble ſtate to one that is ſtrong and needy, the aid of which is indiſpenſable to it, neceſſarily leads to the ſuperiority and rule of the latter; the romans themſelves here put the ſword into the hands of the germans, who were eſtabliſhed directly oppoſite to them in the centre of Europe, and whom they ſoon admitted from neceſſity into their ſtate or their armies.

2. *The long reſiſtance, which ſeveral nations of our Germany had to make againſt the romans, neceſſarily ſtrengthened their powers, and their hatred to an hereditary enemy, who boaſted more of triumphing over them, than over any other people.* The romans were terrible to the germans both on the Rhine and on the Danube; willingly as theſe had aſſiſted the arms of Rome againſt the gauls and others, they were by no means inclined to ſerve under them as their own conquerors.

Hence

Hence the long wars from the time of Auguſtus, which, the feebler the roman empire grew, degenerated the more into plundering incurſions, and could not end but with it's ruin. The marcoman and ſuabian league, which ſeveral nations concluded againſt the romans; the *heerbann*, eſtabliſhed in all the german tribes, even the moſt diſtant, by which every man was obliged to arm in defence of his country, to be a ſoldier; with other inſtitutions; gave the whole nation both the name and conſtitution of *germans*, or *alemanns*, that is, united warriours: rude prototype of a ſyſtem, which centuries after was to extend to all the nations of Europe *.

3. *With ſuch a permanent military conſtitution, the germans muſt neceſſarily be deficient in many other virtues, which they not unwillingly ſacrificed to their leading inclination, or principal neceſſity, war.* Agriculture they purſued with no great diligence; and in many tribes a yearly diviſion of their lands precluded that pleaſure, which individuals take in poſſeſſions of their own, and in improving the cultivation of their own fields. Some tribes, particularly the eaſtern, long remained tatarian hunters and herdſmen. The rude idea of common paſtures, and a general poſſeſſion of property, was the favourite notion of theſe nomades, which they carried with them even into the countries and kingdoms they conquered. In conſequence Germany long remained a foreſt, interſperſed with paſtures, marſhes, and moraſſes, where the urus and the elk, the now extirpated animals of the heroic ages of Germany, dwelled with the ancient german heroes. Of ſcience they were ignorant; and the few arts, with which they could not diſpenſe, were carried on by the women, and ſlaves for the moſt part ſtolen. To ſuch people it muſt have been a pleaſure, to quit their deſert foreſts, in queſt of finer countries, or to ſerve as mercenaries, whenever prompted by revenge, want, the weariſomeneſs of inaction, ſociety, or any other call. Hence many tribes were in a ſtate of perpetual turmoil, with and againſt one another, either as enemies, or as allies. No people have ſo often ſhifted their quarters as theſe, if we except among them a few tribes of more peaceable ſettlers: and when one tribe moved, it commonly attracted more on it's way, ſo that the troop grew to an army. Many german nations, vandals, ſuevi, and others,

* It would be uſeleſs here to give a full delineation of all the political conſtitutions of the germans, varying at different times, among different people, and in different countries: ſuch as propagated themſelves in the hiſtory of nations will appear in due time. After the numerous illuſtrations of Tacitus, Mœſer has given a deſcription of them, connected with his ſubject, which, as a beautiful whole, appears almoſt an ideal ſyſtem, and yet ſeems to have great truth in particular parts. See Mœſer's *Oſnabrueckiſche Geſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Oſnabrug,' Vol. I, and his *Patriotiſche Phantaſien*, 'Patriotic Reveries,' in various places.

derive

derive their names from roaming about, wandering*: thus it was by land, thus by ſea: a life ſufficiently in the tatarian mode.

In the moſt ancient hiſtory of the germans, therefore, it is neceſſary to guard ourſelves againſt any partial attachment to a favourite ſpot for our modern conſtitution: with this the ancient germans had no concern; they followed the courſe of a different ſtream of nations. Weſtward they preſſed on the belgians and gael, till they had ſeated themſelves in the midſt of other tribes: they paſſed eaſtward as far as the Baltic; and when this put a ſtop to their progreſs and their plunder, as it's ſandy coaſts were unable to ſupport them, they naturally turned ſouthward, the firſt opportunity, into countries that had been evacuated. Hence many of the nations, that invaded the roman empire, had previouſly dwelt on the ſhores of the Baltic: but theſe were only the more barbarous, whoſe reſidence there was by no means the occaſion of the ſhock, that was given to the power of Rome. This we muſt ſeek at a greater diſtance, in the *aſiatic country of Mungalia*: for there the weſtern huns were preſſed upon by the igurians and other nations; in conſequence they croſſed the Wolga, fell upon the alans on the Don, and the great kingdom of the goths on the Black Sea, and thus many ſouthern german nations, the oſtrogoths and viſigoths, vandals, alans, and ſuevi, were ſet in motion, and the huns followed them. With the ſaxons, franks, and burgundians, the caſe was different; as it was with the heruli, who long ſerved in the roman armies, as heroes that ſold their blood for pay.

We muſt likewiſe take care, not to aſcribe ſimilar manners, or a like degree of civilization, to all theſe people, as appears from the difference of their conduct towards the nations they conquered. The ſavage ſaxons in Britain, the roaming alans and ſuevi in Spain, conducted themſelves not as the oſtrogoths in Italy, or the burgundians in Gaul. The tribes that had long dwelt on the roman frontiers, near their colonies and places of trade, in the weſt or ſouth, were more mild and poliſhed, than thoſe who came from the barren ſeacoaſts, or from the foreſts of the north: hence it would be arrogance, if every horde of germans were to aſcribe to itſelf, for inſtance, the mythology of the ſcandinavian goths. How far did not theſe goths advance? and in how many ways was not this mythology afterwards refined? The brave primitive german, perhaps, can claim nothing but his *Theut* or *Tuiſto*, *Mann*, *Hertha*, and *Wodan*, that is, a father, a hero, the earth, and a general.

Yet we may at leaſt fraternally enjoy that remote treaſure of german mytho-

* *Umherſchweifen, wandeln.*

logy,

logy, which was preſerved, or collected, at the end of the habitable World, in Iceland, and obviouſly enriched by the legends of the normans and learned chriſtians; I mean, the northern Edda. As a collection of records of the language and ſentiments of a german tribe, it highly deſerves our attention. A compariſon of this northern mythology with that of the greeks may be uſeleſs, or inſtructive, according to the manner in which the examination is conducted: but it would be vain, to expect a Homer or an Oſſian among theſe ſcalds *. Does the Earth produce every where the ſame fruits? and are not the nobleſt productions of this kind the conſequences of an extraordinary condition of the people, and of the times, which had long been ripening? In theſe poems and tales, therefore, let us prize what we find, a peculiar ſpirit of rude, bold poetry, ſtrong, pure, and juſt feelings, with too artificial an employment of the rudiments of our language; and thank each preſerving, each communicating hand, that has contributed to the general or better uſe of this national treaſure. Among thoſe, who in ancient or modern times have meritoriouſly contributed to this †, I muſt mention, in our own days, with reſpect and gratitude the name of Suhm, to whom the hiſtory of mankind is much indebted. He has cauſed this beautiful northern light, to ſhine over us from Iceland with new ſplendour: he and others have endeavoured, to introduce it into the ſphere of our knowledge, and point out it's true uſe. It is to be regretted, that we germans have little of the ancient treaſures of our language to diſplay ‡: the poems of our bards are loſt; the venerable oak of our heroic language exhibits few bloſſoms, that are not of very modern date.

When the german nations had embraced chriſtianity, they fought for it, as for their kings and nobility; and this genuine loyalty of the ſword was amply experienced by the alemanns, thuringians, bavarians, and ſaxons, by the poor ſlavians, pruſſians, courlanders, livonians, and eſthonians, as well as by their own tribes. To their fame likewiſe it muſt be ſaid, that they ſtood as a living wall againſt the irruptions of later barbarians, and repelled the mad rage of huns, hungarians, mungals, and turks. By them, too, the greater part of Europe was not only conquered, planted, and modelled, but covered and protected; otherwiſe it could never have produced what has appeared in it. Their rank among

* The eaſt teems, and ſcatters myriads of images; the north concentrates and expands a ſcanty brood. Oſſian and the Edda are nearer to each other than either is to Homer: but the ſkald, who conceived the 'Deſcent of Odin and Thor's conflict with the ſerpent of Midgard' deſerves a coloſſal nich in the temple of poetry. F.

† Sæmund, Snorro, Reſenius, Worm, Torfæus, Stephanius, Bartholin, Keiſler, Ihre, Gæranſon, Thorkelin, Erichſen, the Magneſes, Ancherſen, Eggers, &c.

‡ All our riches, except a very little ſcattered up and down in different places, are collected in Schilter's *Theſaurus*, and they are far from conſiderable.

other nations, their military league, and their native character, have been the foundation of the civilization, freedom, and ſecurity of Europe: whether their political ſituation were not a joint cauſe of the ſlow progreſs of this civilization, hiſtory, an impartial evidence, will prove.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Slavian Nations.*

The figure made by the ſlavian nations in hiſtory is far from proportionate to the extent of country they occupied; one reaſon of which, among others, is, that they dwelt ſo remote from the romans. We firſt diſcern them on the Don, among the goths; afterwards, on the Danube, amid the huns and bulgarians; with whom they frequently diſturbed the roman empire, though chiefly as aſſociates, auxiliaries, or vaſſals. Notwithſtanding their occaſional achievements, they were never enterprizing warriours or adventurers, like the germans: theſe they for the moſt part followed quietly, occupying the places they evacuated, till at length they were in poſſeſſion of the vaſt territory extending from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic. On this ſide the Carpathian mountains their ſettlements extended from Lunenburg over Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Luſatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, Poland, and Ruſſia: beyond them, where at an early period they had ſettled in Wallachia and Moldavia, they were continually ſpreading farther and farther, aſſiſted by various circumſtances, till the emperor Heraclius admitted them into Dalmatia, and the kingdoms of Sclavonia, Boſnia, Servia, and Dalmatia, were founded by them. In Pannonia they were equally numerous; they poſſeſſed all the ſoutheaſtern angle of Germany from Friuli, ſo that their domains terminated with Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola: an immenſe region, the european part of which is even now inhabited chiefly by one nation.

Every where they ſettled on lands, that others had relinquiſhed, cultivating or enjoying them as coloniſts, huſbandmen, or ſhepherds: ſo that their noiſeleſs induſtry was of infinite advantage to countries, from which other nations had migrated, or which they had paſſed over and plundered. They were fond of agriculture, ſtores of corn and cattle, and various domeſtic arts; and every where opened a beneficial trade with the produce of their land and their induſtry. Along the Baltic, from Lubec, they built ſeaport towns, among which Vineta, in the iſland of Rugen, was the Amſterdam of the ſlavians: thus they maintained an intercourſe with the pruſſians, courlanders, and lettonians, as the language of theſe people ſhows. On the Dnieper they built Kiow; on the Wolcoff, Novogorod; which ſoon became flouriſhing commercial towns, uniting the Black Sea with the Baltic, and conveying the productions of Aſia

to

to the north and weſt of Europe. In Germany they followed the working of mines, underſtood the ſmelting and caſting of metals, manufactured ſalt, fabricated linen, brewed mead, planted fruit trees, and led, after their faſhion, a gay and muſical life. They were liberal, hoſpitable to exceſs, lovers of paſtoral freedom, but ſubmiſſive and obedient, enemies to ſpoil and rapine. All this preſerved them not from oppreſſion: nay it contributed to their being oppreſſed. For, as they were never ambitious of ſovereignty, had among them no hereditary princes addicted to war, and thought little of paying tribute, ſo they could but enjoy their lands in peace; many nations, chiefly of german origin, injuriouſly oppreſſed them.

Already under Charlemagne were carried on thoſe oppreſſive wars, the object of which was evidently commercial advantages, though the chriſtian religion was their pretext: as it was unqueſtionably very commodious for the heroic franks, to treat an induſtrious nation, addicted to trade and agriculture, as vaſſals, inſtead of learning and purſuing theſe arts themſelves. What the franks began, the ſaxons completed: in whole provinces the ſlavians were extirpated, or made bondſmen, and their lands divided among biſhops and nobles. Northern germans ruined their commerce on the Baltic; the danes brought their Vineta to a melancholy end; and their remains in Germany were reduced to that ſtate, to which the peruvians were ſubjected by the ſpaniards. Is it to be wondered, that, after this nation had born the yoke for centuries, and cheriſhed the bittereſt animoſity againſt their chriſtian lords and robbers, it's gentle character ſhould have ſunk into the artful, cruel indolence of a ſlave? Yet ſtill, particularly in lands where they enjoy any degree of freedom, their ancient ſtamp is univerſally perceptible. It was unfortunate for theſe people, that their love of quiet and domeſtic induſtry was incompatible with any permanent military eſtabliſhment, though they were not defective in valour in the heat of reſiſtance: unfortunate, that their ſituation brought them ſo near to the germans on the one ſide, and on the other left them expoſed to the attacks of the tatars from the eaſt, from whom, particularly from the mungals, they had much to ſuffer, and much they patiently bore.

The wheel of changing Time, however, revolves without ceaſing; and as theſe nations inhabit for the moſt part the fineſt country of Europe, if it were completely cultivated, and it's trade opened; while it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that legiſlation and politics, inſtead of a military ſpirit, muſt and will more and more promote quiet induſtry, and peaceful commerce between different ſtates; theſe now deeply ſunk, but once induſtrious and happy people, will at length awake from their long and heavy ſlumber, ſhake off the chains of ſlavery, enjoy the poſ-

ſeſſion of their delightful lands from the Adriatic ſea to the Carpathian mountains, from the Don to the Muldaw, and celebrate on them their ancient feſtivals of peaceful trade and induſtry.

As we have elegant and uſeful materials for the hiſtory of theſe people, from different regions *, it is to be wiſhed, that their deficiencies were ſupplied from others; the continually decaying remains of their cuſtoms, ſongs, and traditions, collected; and ſuch a general hiſtory of this race ultimately completed, as the picture of mankind requires.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Foreign Nations in Europe.*

All the nations, that we have hitherto noticed, the hungarians alone excepted, may be conſidered as ancient aborigines of Europe, who have reſided in it from time immemorial. For though they may have dwelt in Aſia, as the affinity of ſeveral languages leads us to conjecture, to inquire into this, and the way they took from Noah's ark, would carry us beyond the limits of our hiſtory.

But beſide theſe we find ſeveral foreign nations, that have formerly appeared on the ſtage of Europe, to it's advantage or detriment, or ſtill appear on it.

Such were the huns, who, under Attila, traverſed, conquered, and ravaged a great extent of country; a people, according to all probability, and the deſcription given by Ammian, of mungal origin. Had the great Attila, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed on by entreaty, to withdraw from Rome, made the metropolis of the World the ſeat of his empire; what a fearful change would it have occaſioned in the whole hiſtory of Europe! But happily his defeated people retired to their mountains, and left behind them no *calmuc holy roman empire.*

After the huns, the bulgarians once acted a tremendous part in the eaſt of Europe, till, like the hungarians, they were ſubdued to the reception of chriſtianity, and at length ſwallowed up in the language of the ſlavians. The new kingdom, likewiſe, which they founded with the wallachians from mount Hæmus, fell to pieces: they were melted down in the great mixed maſs of nations of the daci-illyrico-thracian region; and now only a ſingle province of the turkiſh empire bears their name, without any diſtinguiſhing marks of national character.

We ſhall paſs over many others, chazars, avars, petſhenegrins, &c., who gave much trouble to the eaſtern roman empire, as well as in part to the weſtern, the

* See Friſch, Popowitſch, Mueller, Jordan, Taube, Fortis, Sulzer, Roſſignoli, Dobrowſki, Stritter, Gerken, Mœhſen, Anton, Dobner, Voigt, Pelzel, &c.

goths,

goths, the ſlavians, and other nations; but at length, without any laſting eſtabliſhment of their name, either returned to Aſia, or were loſt by mixing in the general maſs.

Still leſs need we concern ourſelves with thoſe remains of the ancient illyrians, thracians, and macedonians, the albanians, wallachians, and arnauts. Theſe were not ſtrangers, but of an ancient european race: once they were leading nations, now they are a confuſed jumble of the remains of various people and languages.

Thoſe ſecond huns, too, that ravaged Europe under Gengis-khan and his ſucceſſors, are altogether foreign to our purpoſe. The firſt conqueror preſſed forwards as far as the Dnieper without ſtopping; then ſuddenly changed his intentions, and returned. His ſucceſſor advanced even into Germany with fire and ſword, but was driven back. The grandſon of Gengis-khan ſubjugated Ruſſia, which remained tributary to the mungals for a century and half: but at length it threw off the yoke, and maſtered theſe people in it's turn. More than once theſe ravenous wolves of the aſiatic heights, the mungals, have ravaged the World; but they never accompliſhed the transformation of Europe into their deſerts. This indeed they never ſought: plunder was their only object.

We have therefore to ſpeak only of thoſe people, who have reſided in our quarter of the Globe a more or leſs conſiderable ſpace of time, poſſeſſing territories in it, and dwelling among the other nations. Theſe are

1. The *arabs*. As the eaſtern empire received it's firſt grand ſhock in three quarters of the Globe from theſe people; and as they poſſeſſed Spain in part for ſeven hundred and ſeventy years, beſide ruling wholly, or partly, in Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, and Naples, moſt of which were taken from them piecemeal; they every where left traces behind them, in language and ſentiments, diſpoſitions and inſtitutions, which are in part not yet obliterated, in part have conſiderably influenced the genius of their former neighbours, and thoſe among whom they dwelt. In many places they lighted the torch of ſcience for Europe, then barbarous, which reaped no ſmall advantage likewiſe from it's acquaintance with their oriental brethren by means of the croiſades. And beſides, as many of them embraced chriſtianity in the countries where they were ſettled, they thus became denizens of Europe, in Spain, Sicily, and other parts.

2. The *turks*, a people from Turkiſtan, notwithſtanding they have reſided in Europe for more than three centuries, are ſtill ſtrangers in it. They put an end to the eaſtern empire, which had been a burden to itſelf and to the World for above a thouſand years; and thus unintentionally and unconſciouſly drove the arts weſtward into Europe. By their attacks on the european powers they have

kept

kept their valour alert for ſome centuries, and thus preſerved them from falling under any foreign dominion: a ſlight compenſation for the incomparably greater evil of having reduced the fineſt lands of Europe to a deſert, and the once moſt ingenious greeks to faithleſs ſlaves, to diſſolute barbarians. How many works of art have theſe ignorant people deſtroyed! how much have they diſſipated, that can never be reſtored! Their empire is one vaſt priſon for all the europeans that dwell in it; but it will fall, when it's time arrives: for what have foreigners to do in Europe, who, after the lapſe of a thouſand years, are ſtill reſolute to remain aſiatic barbarians?

3. The *jews* we ſhall conſider here only as paraſitical plants, having fixed themſelves on almoſt all the nations of Europe, and ſucked more or leſs of their juices. After the downfal of ancient Rome, there were yet comparatively few of them in Europe; but from the perſecution of the arabs they fled thither in great multitudes, and divided themſelves nationally. That the leproſy was brought into Europe by them is improbable: but it was a ſtill worſe ſcab, that in all barbarous ages they were the baſe implements of uſury, as bankers, brokers, and ſervants of the empire, and thus hardened the proud barbarian ignorance of the europeans in trade againſt their own profit. They were often treated with great cruelty; and what they had acquired by avarice and deceit, or by induſtry, prudence, and order, was tyrannically extorted from them: but being accuſtomed to ſuch treatment, and forced to reckon upon it, they carried their artifice and extortion to greater lengths. Still to many countries they were indiſpenſable at that time, and are even now: it cannot be denied, likewiſe, that by them hebrew literature was preſerved; by them the ſciences acquired from the arabs, phyſic and philoſophy, were propagated in the dark ages; and much other good was performed, for which no one but a jew was adapted. A time will come, when no perſon in Europe will inquire whether a man be a jew or a chriſtian; as the jews will equally live according to european laws, and contribute to the welfare of the ſtate. Nothing but a barbarous conſtitution could have been ſuch an obſtacle as to have prevented this, or rendered their abilities injurious.

4. I paſs over the *armenians*, whom I conſider only as travellers in our quarter of the Globe: but then I perceive a numerous, foreign, heathen, ſubterranean people, the *gipſies*, in almoſt all the countries of Europe. Whence came they? How did the ſeven or eight hundred thouſand perſons, at which they are eſtimated by their lateſt hiſtoriographers *, come hither? A reprobated indian caſt, removed by birth from every thing they eſteem divine, honourable, and be-

* Grellman's *Hiſtor. Verſuch ueber die Zigeuner* 'Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Gipſies,' 87. Ruedi-ger's *Zuwachs zur Sprachenkunde*, 'Addition to Philology,' 82.

coming

coming a citizen, and ſtill remaining true to this degrading deſtination after the lapſe of ages, for what in Europe are they fit, except for military diſcipline, the moſt ſpeedy changer of manners?

## CHAPTER VI.

### *General Reflections and Deductions.*

SUCH appears the picture of the people of Europe; a particoloured compoſition, that would appear ſtill more confuſed, were we only to continue through the times, with which we are acquainted. It was not ſo in Japan, China, or Hindoſtan: it is ſo in no country ſhut up from others by it's ſituation or conſtitution. And yet has Europe no great ſea beyond the Alps, ſo that it might be ſuppoſed nations could here ſtand ſide by ſide as walls? A ſlight view of the ſituation and nature of this quarter of the Globe, with the character and circumſtances of it's nations, will lead us to other concluſions.

1. Eaſtwards, on the right hand, obſerve that *vaſt elevated region, aſiatic Tatary*; and in reading of the troubles that threw Europe into confuſion in the middle ages, exclaim with Triſtram Shandy, 'this was the ſource of all our misfortunes.' I will not venture to inquire, whether all the northern europeans dwelt there, and for how long a time: for once the whole north of Europe was no better than Siberia and Mungalia, the cradle of erratic hordes: in each, indolent migration, and the khan mode of government under tatarian lords, was hereditary, and indigenous to the wandering people. As, beſide this, Europe beyond the Alps is evidently an *inclined plane*, extending from theſe populous tatarian heights weſtward to the ſea, on which, when one barbarian horde was preſſed upon by another, it muſt deſcend toward the weſt, and drive others before it, Europe was long kept in a tatarian ſtate geographically. Such for more than a thouſand years is the unpleaſing aſpect preſented by the hiſtory of Europe, in which kingdoms and nations were never at quiet, either from having acquired the habit of wandering, or from being preſſed upon by others. As it is undeniable, that, in the ancient World, the great mountains of Aſia, with their continuation in Europe, produced a wonderful difference of climate and character between the northern and ſouthern parts of the Globe, let us, who are on the north of the Alps, conſole ourſelves with the reflection, that both in manners and inſtitutions we belong not to the original aſiatic Tatary, but to it's european continuation.

2. Europe,

2. Europe, particularly in compariſon with the north of Aſia, is *a temperate country, abounding with rivers, coaſts, promontories, and bays:* and this alone was ſufficient to render the deſtiny of it's nations advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed from that of their aſiatic neighbours. On the Sea of Aſoph and the Euxine they were near the grecian colonies, and the moſt flouriſhing commerce of thoſe days: all the nations, that founded kingdoms or tarried here, became acquainted with many others, and indeed acquired a certain degree of familiarity with the arts and ſciences. But the Baltic was ſtill more particularly to the north of Europe, what the Mediterranean was to the ſouth. The coaſts of Pruſſia were already known to the greeks and romans by the trade in amber: none of the nations that ſettled on them, whatever their deſcent, remained wholly ſtrangers to commerce; a commerce, which ſoon united itſelf with that of the Euxine, and even extended to the White Sea; in conſequence a ſort of common intercourſe took place between the ſouth of Aſia and the eaſt of Europe, and between the northern parts of Europe and of Aſia, in which even nations that were far from civilized had a ſhare *. The coaſts of Scandinavia and the North Sea ſoon ſwarmed with merchants, pirates, voyagers, and adventurers, who launched out on every ſea, attempted the coaſts and countries of all Europe, and performed aſtoniſhing exploits. The belgæ united Gaul and Britain; and the Mediterranean was not ſafe from the expeditions of northern barbarians: they made pilgrimages to Rome; they traded to Conſtantinople, and ſerved in it's armies.

From all theſe circumſtances, with the long continued migrations by land, at length aroſe in this ſmall portion of the Globe a diſpoſition to a grand *union of nations*, which the romans had already undeſignedly prepared by their conqueſts, and which in any other place could not eaſily have been brought to bear. In no one quarter of the Globe have nations been ſo intermingled as in Europe; in no one have they ſo often and ſo completely changed their abodes, and with them their way of life and manners. In many countries it would now be difficult for the inhabitants in general, leaving individuals out of the queſtion, to ſay of what race, of what nation they are; whether they be deſcended from goths, moors, jews, carthaginians, or romans; whether from gael, cimbri, burgundians, franks, normans, ſaxons, ſlavians, fins, or illyrians; and what intermixture of blood took place among their anceſtors. In the courſe of ages the ancient family ſtamp of many european nations has been ſoftened down and al-

* Some very uſeful information on this ſubject is collected in Fiſcher's *Geſchichte des Deutſchen Handels*, 'Hiſtory of the Commerce of Germany,' Vol. I.

tered by a hundred cauſes, and without this the *general ſpirit* of Europe could not eaſily have been excited.

3. *That we now find the moſt ancient inhabitants of this quarter of the Globe only on the mountains, or driven into it's extreme coaſts and corners,* is a natural occurrence, of which inſtances may be found in every part of the World, even in the aſiatic iſlands. In many of theſe the mountains are inhabited by a peculiar race, commonly leſs civilized, who were probably the ancient inhabitants of the land, obliged to retire before younger and bolder ſtrangers. How could it be otherwiſe in Europe, where nations preſſed upon and drove out one another more than in any place? The ſeries of them, however, may be traced up to a few principal names; and, what is ſingular, we find in very different regions the ſame people, who appear to have followed one another, for the moſt part near together. Thus the cimbri followed the gael; the germans, both; the ſlavians, the germans; and occupied their lands. As the ſtrata of our Earth follow in regular ſucceſſion, ſo do the nations in our quarter of the Globe; often, indeed, turned upſide down, yet ſtill diſtinguiſhable in their primitive ſituation. The inquirers into their languages and manners muſt make the beſt uſe of their time, while they are ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed; for every thing in Europe tends to a gradual extinction of national character. The hiſtorian of mankind, however, muſt take care, that he chooſes no tribe excluſively as his favourite, and exalt it at the expenſe of others, whoſe ſituation and circumſtances denied them fame and fortune. The germans have derived information even from the ſlavians: the cimbri and lettonians might probably have become greeks, had they been differently ſeated with reſpect to ſurrounding nations. We may rejoice, that people of ſuch a ſtrong, handſome, and noble form, chaſte manners, generoſity, and probity, as the germans, poſſeſſed the roman world, inſtead perhaps of huns or bulgarians: but on this account to eſteem them God's choſen people in Europe, to whom the World belongs in right of their innate nobility, and to whom other nations were deſtined to be ſubſervient in conſequence of this preeminence, would be to diſplay the baſe pride of a barbarian. The barbarian lords it over thoſe whom he has vanquiſhed: the poliſhed conqueror civilizes thoſe whom he ſubdues.

4. *No nation of Europe has raiſed itſelf to a poliſhed ſtate:* each has endeavoured rather to retain it's ancient barbarous manners, as long as it poſſibly could; to which it's raw, unprolific climate, and the neceſſity of a rude military conſtitution, greatly contributed. No nation of Europe, for example, has letters of it's own, or invented them for itſelf: from the ſpaniſh to the runic of the north, all are derived from the alphabets of other nations: all the cultivation of the eaſt,

weſt, and north of Europe, is a plant ſprung from roman, greek, and arabic ſeed. It was long ere this plant could thrive on the rugged ſoil, and produce fruit of it's own, at firſt ſufficiently ſour: and for this a ſingular inſtrument was neceſſary, *a foreign religion*; that *a ſpiritual conqueſt* might complete, what the romans were unable to accompliſh by their arms. Thus above all things we have to conſider this new inſtrument of civilization, which had no inferiour aim to that of moulding all nations into one happy people, both in this World, and in the next, and which operated no where ſo powerfully as in Europe.

Behold the glorious ſtandard raiſed on high,
To which for hope and comfort mortals fly;
Myriads of ſouls to it allegiance vow,
Myriads of ſuppliant knees before it bow:
Secure of future life it's votary braves
The fear of death; in victory's plume it waves:
Aweſtruck the ſavage warrior trembling ſtands;
He ſees the *croſs*, and drops his weaponed hands.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XVII.

SEVENTY years before the diſſolution of the jewiſh ſtate, a man was born in it, by whom an unexpected revolution was brought about in the ſentiments of men, as well as in their manners and inſtitutions. This man, who was named *Jeſus*, born in poverty, though deſcended from the ancient royal lineage, dwelling in the rudeſt part of the country, and educated remote from the learning and wiſdom of his nation, now deeply declined, lived unnoticed the greater part of his ſhort life, till, conſecrated by a celeſtial appearance at the Jordan, he took to himſelf twelve men of his own condition as diſciples, travelled with them through a part of Judea, and ſoon after ſent them round to announce the approach of a new kingdom. The kingdom, that he announced, he ſtyled the kingdom of God, a heavenly kingdom, in which only choſen men could participate, and for the obtaining of which he propoſed not external duties and ceremonies, but pure mental and ſpiritual virtues. The *moſt genuine humanity* is contained in the few diſcourſes of his, that are preſerved: humanity he diſplayed in his life, and confirmed by his death: and the favourite name, by which he choſe to diſtinguiſh himſelf, was that of *the ſon of man*. That he ſhould have many followers among his countrymen, particularly of the poor and oppreſſed; and that he ſhould ſoon be removed out of the way by thoſe, who under the cloak of ſanctity oppreſſed the people, ſo that we ſcarcely know with preciſion the time of his appearance; were the natural conſequences of his ſituation.

But what was this *kingdom of Heaven*, the approach of which Jeſus announced, urged others to deſire, and ſtrove himſelf to eſtabliſh? That it was no worldly ſovereignty, is proved by every thing he ſaid and did, to the laſt unequivocal confeſſion he made before his judges. As a ſpiritual deliverer of his race, he ſought to form *children of God*, who, under whatever laws they lived, ſhould promote the welfare of others from the pureſt principles; and, patient under ſufferings, reign in ſpite of them as kings in the realm of truth and goodneſs. It is ſelfevident, that ſuch a purpoſe alone could be conſiſtent with the intention of Providence in regard to mankind; a purpoſe, in the promotion of which all the wiſe

and good upon Earth muſt cooperate, in proportion to the purity of their thoughts and endeavours; for what can man propoſe as the ſtandard of his earthly perfection and happineſs, but this univerſally operating, pure humanity?

With reverence I bend before thy noble form, thou head and founder of a kingdom, ſo great in it's object, ſo durable in it's extent, ſo ſimple and animated in it's principles, ſo efficacious in it's motives, that the ſphere of this terreſtrial life appears too narrow for it. No where in hiſtory find I a revolution ſo quietly effected in ſo ſhort a time, planted in ſuch a ſingular manner by feeble inſtruments, propagated over all the Earth with yet indeterminable effect, and cultivated ſo as to produce good or bad fruit, as that, which has ſpread among nations under the name, not properly of *thy religion*, that is to ſay, of thy vital ſcheme for the welfare of mankind, but moſtly of *thy worſhip*, that is, an unreflecting adoration of thy croſs and perſon. Thy penetrating mind foreſaw this; and it is diſhonouring thy name, to affix it to every turbid ſtream from thy pure fountain. We will avoid it as much as poſſible: thy placid form ſhall ſtand alone before the whole hiſtory, that takes it's riſe from thee.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Origin of Chriſtianity, with the fundamental Principles it included.*

Singular as it appears, that a revolution affecting more than one quarter of the Globe ſhould originate from a country ſo deſpiſed as Judea, hiſtorical grounds for it may be diſcovered on a cloſer inſpection. The revolution, of which we ſpeak, was intellectual; and however contemptible the jews may have been deemed by the greeks and romans, they had this to boaſt, that, before any other nation of Aſia or of Europe, they poſſeſſed writings of ancient date, on which their conſtitution was founded, and which, in conſequence of this conſtitution, muſt promote the cultivation of a particular kind of ſcience and literature. Neither greeks nor romans could lay claim to ſuch a code of religious and political inſtitutions, which, interwoven with ancient ſcriptural family records, was confided to the care of a particular and numerous tribe, and preſerved by it with ſuperſtitious reverence.

In courſe of time a kind of refined ſenſe naturally grew out of this antiquated letter, which was promoted by the repeated diſperſion of the jews among other nations. In the canon of their ſacred writings were intermixed poems, moral maxims,

maxims, and ſublime orations; that, written at various times, and on very different occaſions, grew into a collection, which was ſoon conſidered as one continued ſyſtem, and out of which one leading ſenſe was drawn. The prophets of this nation, who, as the appointed guardians of the law of the land, had exhibited to the people a picture of what they ought to be, and were not, each according to his peculiar way of thinking, at one time teaching and exhorting, at another warning or conſoling, but always with patriotic hope, had left poſterity, in theſe fruits of their heads and hearts, many ſeeds of new ideas, which every man might cultivate after his own manner. From all theſe was gradually formed a ſyſtematic expectation of a king, who ſhould deliver his fallen, obedient people; bring them golden days, ſuch as they had never known under the greateſt of their ancient ſovereigns; and begin a new order of things. Conformably to the language of the prophets, theſe views were theocratic: with the collected characters of a meſſiah they were moulded into a lively image, and conſidered as the certain prerogative of the nation. In Paleſtine the increaſing miſery of the people made them hold faſt this idea: in other countries, in Egypt for example, where many jews had reſided ſince the diſſolution of the monarchy of Alexander, theſe notions acquired more of a grecian form; apocryphal books, which exhibited theſe prophecies in a new ſhape, were circulated; and the time was now arrived, when theſe dreams, having attained their acme, muſt come to a concluſion. From the people a man aroſe, whoſe mind, exalted above all earthly chimeras, united all the hopes, wiſhes, and predictions of the prophets in the deſign of an ideal kingdom, which ſhould be nothing leſs than an iſraelitiſh kingdom of Heaven. In this lofty plan he foreſaw the approaching downfal of his nation; and denounced a ſpeedy and lamentable end to their ſplendid temple, and to their worſhip, now completely converted into ſuperſtition. The kingdom of God was to be extended to all nations; and the people, who deemed it excluſively their own, were conſidered by him as a lifeleſs corſe.

What comprehenſive force of mind muſt have been requiſite, to diſcern and announce any thing of the kind at that time in Judea, is evident from the unfriendly reception given to this doctrine by the chief perſons and learned men among the jews: it was looked upon as a rebellion againſt Moſes, and againſt God; as treaſon to the nation, whoſe common hopes it unpatriotically deſtroyed. Even to the apoſtles the exjudaiſm of chriſtianity was a doctrine above all others difficult to ſwallow: and the moſt learned of them, Paul, found all the ſubtleties of jewiſh logic neceſſary, to render it comprehenſible to the chriſtian

chriſtian jews, even out of Judea. It was well, that Providence itſelf gave the firſt ſtroke, and that with the deſtruction of Jeruſalem the ancient walls were thrown down, which with unyielding ſtubbornneſs ſeparated God's choſen people, as they called themſelves, from all others upon Earth. The time of a peculiar national worſhip, teeming with pride and ſuperſtition, was now over: for neceſſary as ſuch inſtitutions might have been in former days, when every nation, educated in a narrow family circle, ripened as a bunch of grapes on it's own ſtalk, all human exertions in this part of the World had now tended for ſome centuries, to unite nations, by means of war, commerce, arts, ſcience, and familiar intercourſe, and preſs from the fruit of all one common liquor. The prejudices of national religion ſtood chiefly in the way of this union: and as, while the romans exerciſed a general ſpirit of toleration throughout their extenſive empire, and the eclectic philoſophy, that ſingular compound of all ſchools and ſects, was univerſally diffuſed, a *popular* faith now aroſe, which made of all nations one people, and proceeded immediately from the moſt obſtinate, which had hitherto eſteemed itſelf preeminently diſtinguiſhed from all others; this was at any rate a great and perilous ſtep in the hiſtory of mankind, in whatever manner it was undertaken. It made all people brethren, in leading them to the knowledge of one God and ſaviour: but it was capable of rendering them ſlaves, if this religion were impoſed upon them as a yoke. The keys of the kingdom of Heaven, both in this world and the next, might introduce phariſeiſm as dangerous, when in the hands of other nations, as ever they did in the hands of the jews.

The ſpeedy and firm eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity was principally promoted by a belief, which originated from it's founder himſelf: this was the opinion of *his early return, and the revelation of his kingdom upon Earth.* This belief Jeſus avowed before his judge, and frequently repeated in the laſt days of his life: his followers adhered to it, and expected the appearance of his kingdom. The ſpiritually minded chriſtian conceived therein the idea of a ſpiritual kingdom; the carnally minded, of a temporal ſovereignty: and as the overſtretched imaginations of thoſe times and countries were not over-rational in their reveries, jewiſh chriſtian apocalypſes aroſe, teeming with various prophecies, ſigns, and dreams. Antichriſt was firſt to be deſtroyed; and on the delay of Chriſt's return, this man of ſin was firſt to be revealed, then to increaſe, and grow up to the utmoſt height in his abominations, till the ſaviour ſhould come again, and reſuſcitate his people.

It cannot be denied, but that ſuch expectations muſt have occaſioned many perſecutions

perſecutions of the early chriſtians; for Rome, the miſtreſs of the World, could not be indifferent to the propagation of ſuch opinions, announcing it's approaching overthrow, and repreſenting it as an antichriſtian object of horrour or contempt. Thus ſuch prophets were ſoon conſidered as unpatriotic deſpiſers of their country and the World, nay, as men notoriouſly guilty of a general hatred to mankind; and many a one, impatient of his ſaviour's return, ran to meet martyrdom. It is certain, however, that this hope of a kingdom of Chriſt nigh at hand, in Heaven, or on Earth, powerfully united the minds of men, and detached them from the World. This they deſpiſed as ſunk in miſery; while they beheld every where around them, what they believed ſo near. Hence they acquired courage, to riſe above the ſpirit of the times, the power of perſecutors, the mockery of the incredulous; which otherwiſe no one could have ſurmounted: they ſojourned here as paſſengers, whoſe reſidence was where their leader was gone before them, and whence he was ſoon to be revealed.

Beſide the leading points of hiſtory, that have been mentioned, it appears not unneceſſary, to mark ſome of inferiour magnitude, that contributed greatly to the ſtructure of chriſtianity.

1. The *benevolent ſentiments of Chriſt* had made fraternal concord and placability, active aſſiſtance to the poor and needy, in ſhort every duty of man, the common tie of his followers, ſo that, conformably to this, chriſtianity could not be other than *a genuine bond of friendſhip and brotherly love.* There can be no doubt, that this inſtrument of humanity contributed much at all times, and particularly in the beginning, to it's reception and extenſion. The poor and needy, the oppreſſed, the bondſman and the ſlave, the publican and the ſinner, embraced it; and in conſequence the firſt chriſtian communities were termed aſſemblies of beggars by the heathen. Now as the new religion was neither capable nor deſirous of removing the diſtinction of ranks, that then exiſted in the World, nothing was left for it but minds poſſeſſed of chriſtian meekneſs, with all the weeds that would ſpring up at the ſame time on this good ground. Rich widows ſoon attracted a number of beggars by their gifts, who occaſionally diſturbed the peace of whole communities. Alms could not fail to be eſteemed on one ſide as the true treaſures of the kingdom of Heaven, and to be ſought on the other: in both caſes, not only that noble pride, the offſpring of independent merit and uſeful induſtry, but often impartiality and truth, yielded to baſe flattery. The almſcheſts of communities became the common property of martyrs: gifts to the community were exalted to the title of the ſpirit of chriſtianity, while it's morals were corrupted by the exaggerated praiſe beſtowed on

ſuch

ſuch acts. Though the neceſſity of the times may excuſe much of this, it is nevertheleſs certain, that, if human ſociety be conſidered as one large hoſpital, and chriſtianity it's common almſbox, a depraved ſtate of morals and politics muſt neceſſarily enſue.

2. *Chriſtianity was to be a community governed by elders and teachers without any worldly authority.* Theſe were to guide the flock as ſhepherds, decide their differences, correct their faults with zeal and affection, and lead them to Heaven by their counſel, their influence, their precepts, and their example. A noble office, when worthily executed, and not prevented by circumſtances from being fulfilled: for it blunts the fangs of the law, extracts the thorns from claims and conteſts, and unites the divine, the father, and the judge. But how was it, when, in courſe of time, the ſhepherds treated their human flocks as actual ſheep, or led them as beaſts of burden to browze on thiſtles? how, when wolves, legally called, came among the flocks inſtead of ſhepherds? Childiſh obedience then ſoon became a chriſtian virtue: it became a chriſtian virtue, for a man to renounce the uſe of his reaſon, and to follow the authority of another's opinion inſtead of his own conviction, while the biſhop, inſtead of an apoſtle, was meſſenger, witneſs, teacher, expounder, judge, and arbiter. Nothing now was prized ſo highly as faith, as quietly following the leader: the man, who ventured to have an opinion of his own, was an obſtinate heretic, and excluded from the kingdom of God and the church. Biſhops and their ſubalterns, in defiance of the doctrines of Chriſt, interfered in family diſputes and civil affairs; and ſoon they quarrelled among each other, which ſhould rule the reſt. Hence the conteſts for the chief epiſcopal ſees, and the gradual extenſion of their rights: hence the endleſs diſpute, between the ſceptre and the croſier, between the right arm and the left, between the crown and the mitre. Certain as it is, that, in times of tyranny, juſt and pious judges were indiſpenſable aids to men, who had the misfortune to live without political inſtitutions; ſcarcely any thing more ſcandalous can be conceived, than the long diſpute between the ſpiritual arm and the temporal, which kept Europe in perpetual confuſion for more than a thouſand years. In this place the ſalt was inſipid, in that it was too pungent.

3. *Chriſtianity had a certain formulary, of which thoſe who were initiated into it by baptiſm made profeſſion*: and ſimple as this formulary was, more diſturbances, perſecutions, and bitterneſs, aroſe in courſe of time from the harmleſs expreſſions, *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, than from any other three words in human language. The farther men departed from the principles of chriſtianity, conſidered as an

active inſtitution, founded for the good of mankind; the more men ſpeculated beyond the limits of human reaſon. Myſteries were diſcovered; and at length the whole of the chriſtian doctrine was converted into myſtery. After the books of the New Teſtament were introduced into the church as a canon, things were demonſtrated from them, and indeed from books of the jewiſh conſtitution, books which few could read in the original, and of which the primitive ſignification had long been loſt, that from them are not to be proved. Hence ſyſtems and hereſies multiplied, to ſtifle which the worſt of all means were choſen, *eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies and ſynods*. How many of theſe are the diſgrace of chriſtianity, and of common ſenſe! Pride and Intolerance called them together; Diſcord, Party Spirit, Groſſneſs, and Knavery, ſwayed them: and at length Force, Arbitrary Power, Inſolence, Pimping, Deceit, or Accident, decided, under the name of the Holy Spirit, for the whole church, nay for time and eternity. In a ſhort time, none were found ſo competent to determine articles of faith as the chriſtianized emperors, to whom Conſtantine had bequeathed the innate hereditary right, to enjoin creeds and canons concerning Father, Son, and Spirit, concerning ομοουσιος and ομοιουσιος, the ſingle or double nature of Chriſt, Mary the mother of God, and the created or uncreated glory, that appeared at Chriſt's baptiſm. Theſe pretenſions, with the conſequences that enſued from them, will remain an eternal diſgrace to the byzantine throne, and to every throne, by which it was imitated; for with their ignorant power they ſupported and perpetuated perſecutions, ſchiſms, and diſturbances, which improved neither the ſpirit nor the morality of men, but tended to undermine the church, the ſtate, and the thrones themſelves. The hiſtory of the firſt chriſtian empire, that of Conſtantinople, is ſuch a melancholy exhibition of baſe treachery, and horrible cruelty, that, to the moment of it's deplorable end, it ſtands a warning monument to all polemic chriſtian governments.

4. *Chriſtianity had it's ſacred writings, which ſprung in part from occaſional epiſtles, and in part, with few exceptions, from oral communications*; theſe in time were made the ſtandard of faith, ſoon became the banner of every contending party, and were abuſed in every way, that want of ſenſe could dictate. Each party either proved from them what it wiſhed to prove; or men heſitated not to mutilate them, and to forge with unbluſhing effrontery falſe goſpels, epiſtles, and revelations, in the name of the apoſtles. *Pious fraud*, in ſuch things more deteſtable than perjury, as it lies to a whole ſeries of ages and generations without end, was ſoon reckoned no ſin, but a meritorious act for the honour of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls. Hence the many ſpurious writings of the apoſtles and fathers of the church: hence the numerous fictions of miracles, martyrs, dona-

tions, conſtitutions, and decretals, the uncertainty of which ſteals through all the early and middle ages of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, almoſt down to the reformation, like a thief in the night. When once the corrupt principle was admitted, that a man might deal treacherouſly, invent lies, and write fictions, for the good of the church, hiſtorical faith was wounded: the tongue, the pen, the memory and imagination of men, had loſt their rule and compaſs; ſo that *chriſtian veracity* had a more juſt claim to become proverbial, than grecian honeſty, or punic faith. This is the more to be regretted, as the epoch of chriſtianity follows the period of the moſt excellent hiſtorians of Greece and Rome; after whom true hiſtory almoſt diſappears at once with the chriſtian era for many centuries. It quickly ſinks into a chronicle of biſhops, churches, and monks; as the pen was employed, not for what is moſt worthy of man, not for the World and the ſtate, but for the church, or for orders, cloiſters, and ſects; and as men were accuſtomed to homilies, and the people were to believe the biſhop in all things, writers conſidered the whole World as a race of believers, as a chriſtian flock.

5. *Chriſtianity had only two ſacred rites, very ſimple, and well adapted to their purpoſes*; for nothing was farther from the intention of it's founder, than that it ſhould be a ceremonial religion. But deuterochriſtianity ſoon became intermixed with jewiſh and heathen practices, according to the difference of places and times, ſo that the baptiſm of infants was converted into an exorciſm of Satan, and a feaſt in commemoration of a departed friend became the creation of a God, a bloodleſs ſacrifice, a miracle for the remiſſion of ſin, a viaticum to the other World. Unfortunately the period of chriſtianity coincided with that of ignorance, barbariſm, and depraved taſte; whence little truly great and noble could enter into it's ceremonies, the ſtructure of it's churches, the inſtitution of it's feſtivals, ſtatutes, and pageantry, it's hymns, prayers, and rituals. Theſe ceremonies rolled on from land to land, from one quarter of the Globe to another: what originally derived ſome local meaning from ancient cuſtom loſt it in foreign countries, and remote times: thus the ſpirit of chriſtian liturgies became a ſingular jumble of jewiſh, egyptian, greek, roman, barbarian, practices, in which what was ſerious frequently became tireſome, or abſurd. A hiſtory of chriſtian taſte, in feſtivals, temples, rituals, conſecrations, and literary compoſition, contemplated with a philoſophic eye, would exhibit the moſt chequered picture the World ever beheld, of a ſubject that was intended to be free of ceremony. And as this chriſtian taſte in time inſinuated itſelf into juridical and political cuſtoms, domeſtic eſtabliſhments, plays, romances, dances, ſongs, tournaments, coats of arms, battles, triumphs, and other feſtivities; it muſt be confeſſed, that the human mind received from it an incredi-

ble twiſt; and that the croſs erected over nations ſtamped a ſingular impreſſion on their foreheads. The *piſciculi chriſtiani* ſwam for ages in a turbid element.

6. *Chriſt lived unmarried, and his mother was a virgin: ſerene and cheerful as he was, he loved occaſional ſolitude, and prayed in private.* The ſpirit of the orientals, the egyptians in particular, who were previouſly inclined to contemplation, ſecluſion, and religious indolence, carried the notion of the holineſs of celibacy, eſpecially in the prieſthood, and of the pleaſingneſs to God of virginity, ſolitude, and a contemplative life, to ſuch an extravagant pitch, that, as eſſenes, therapeutæ, and other ſolitaries, already abounded, above all in Egypt, the ſpirit of ſecluſion, vows, faſting, penitence, prayer, and a monaſtic life, was ſet in full fermentation by chriſtianity. In different countries, indeed, it aſſumed different forms; and according as it was modified, proved either a benefit, or an injury: upon the whole, however, it is incontrovertible, that the injurioufneſs of this way of life, the moment it becomes an irrevocable law, a ſlaviſh yoke, or a political net, is predominant, for ſociety in general, as well as for it's individual members. From China and Thibet, to Ireland, Mexico, and Peru, cloiſters of bonzes, lamas, and talapoins, and of all chriſtian monks and nuns, in their ſeveral kinds and claſſes, are the dungeons of religion and the ſtate, ſeminaries of barbarity, vice, and oppreſſion, or ſewers of the moſt abominable luſts and knaveries. And though we would deprive no ſpiritual order of it's merits with reſpect to the culture of the earth, the improvement of man, or the promotion of ſcience; we ought never to ſhut our ears againſt the ſecret ſighs and lamentations, that echo through theſe hollow vaults, ſecluded from humankind; or will we turn our heads, to view the empty viſions of ſupramundane contemplation, or the continued cabals of furious monkiſh zeal, in a form certainly adapted to no enlightened age. To chriſtianity they are unqueſtionably foreign; for Chriſt was no monk; Mary, no nun; the moſt ancient of the apoſtles was accompanied by his wife; and neither Chriſt, nor any of the twelve, knew aught of ſupramundane contemplation.

7. Finally, *chriſtianity, in ſeeking to found a heavenly kingdom upon Earth*, and to convince men of the tranſitorineſs of all earthly things, at all times formed thoſe pure and tranquil minds, which ſought not the eyes of the World, and performed their good deeds before God; but, alas! it alſo cheriſhed, by it's groſs abuſe, that falſe enthuſiaſm, which, almoſt from it's commencement, gave birth to frantic martyrs and prophets in abundance. They endeavoured to erect a kingdom of Heaven upon the Earth, without knowing where or how it was to ſtand. They oppoſed the government, and looſed the bands of order, without giving the World a better; while vulgar pride, baſe arrogance, ſcanda-

lous luſt, and mad ſtupidity, concealed themſelves under the overflow of chriſtian zeal. As the deceived jews followed their Pſeudo-Meſſiahs, the chriſtians in one place flocked to the banners of bold impoſtors, in another fawned on the moſt deſpicable and diſſolute tyrants, as if they had eſtabliſhed the kingdom of God upon Earth, when they built for them churches, or conferred on them donations. Thus the weak Conſtantine was flattered; and this myſtic language of prophetic fanaticiſm extended itſelf, according to times and circumſtances, both to men and women. The Paraclete has often appeared; and the Spirit has often ſpoken to a deeply enamoured enthuſiaſt from female lips. Hiſtory ſhows what diſcord and calamity have been introduced into the chriſtian World by chiliaſts and anabaptiſts, donatiſts, montaniſts, priſcillianiſts, circumcellions, and others: how ſome of heated imaginations have deſpiſed and deſtroyed works of ſcience, demoliſhed and extirpated monuments of art, inſtitutions, and men: how a palpable impoſture, or ridiculous accident, occaſionally ſet whole countries in commotion: how, for example, the fancied approach of the World's end drove all Europe into Aſia. Let us not, however, refuſe it's due praiſe to pure chriſtian enthuſiaſm: this, when it took a right courſe, performed more in a ſhort time for many ages, than all the coolneſs and indifference of philoſophy could ever accompliſh. The leaves of deceit fall off; but the fruit ripens. The flames of time conſume the ſtraw and ſtubble; but real gold they can only refine.

Whatever melancholy has croſſed my mind, while my pen has traced many of theſe ſhameful abuſes of the beſt of things, I proceed with cheerfulneſs to the propagation of chriſtianity in different countries and regions: for as medicine may be converted into poiſon, poiſon may be rendered ſalutiferous; and what is pure and good in it's origin muſt ultimately prove triumphant.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Propagation of Chriſtianity in the Eaſt.*

In Judea chriſtianity grew under oppreſſion, and retained the ſtamp of oppreſſion in it's form, as long as the jewiſh ſtate endured. The nazarenes and ebionites, in all probability the remains of the firſt body of chriſtians, were poor and low perſons, and have long been extinct; their names alone remaining in the liſt of heretics, on account of their opinion, that Jeſus was a mere man, the ſon of Joſeph and Mary. It is to be regretted, that their Goſpel is loſt; as in it probably we ſhould have the earlieſt collection, though not altogether pure,

of

of the neareſt local traditions of the life of Chriſt. Thus, too, the ancient books in poſſeſſion of the ſabeans, or Saint John's chriſtians, were probably not unworthy notice: for though a pure illuſtration of the primitive times could by no means be expected from this fabling ſect, a compound of jews and chriſtians, even fables often throw light on things of this kind*.

The influence of the church at Jeruſalem on other communities aroſe chiefly from *the reſpect paid to the apoſtles:* for as James, the brother of Jeſus, a ſenſible and worthy man, preſided over it for a number of years, there can be no doubt, but it's form would be a model to others. A jewiſh model, therefore: and as almoſt every country, and every city, of primitive chriſtendom, would be converted by an apoſtle, every where imitations of the church at Jeruſalem, apoſtolical communities, aroſe. The biſhop, who received the unction of the Spirit from an apoſtle, occupied the apoſtle's place, and with it enjoyed his authority. The power of the Spirit, which he had received, he again imparted, and ſoon became a kind of high-prieſt, a mediator between God and man. As the firſt council at Jeruſalem ſpoke in the name of the Holy Spirit, other councils did the ſame in imitation of it; and we are ſtartled at the ſpiritual power very early acquired by the biſhops, in the aſiatic provinces. Thus the authority of the apoſtles, which viſibly deſcended to the biſhops, rendered the moſt ancient conſtitution of the church ariſtocratic; and in this conſtitution lay the germe of a future hierarchy, and a popedom. What is ſaid of the pure virginity of the church during the firſt three centuries is either fiction, or exaggeration.

It is well known, that *an oriental philoſophy*, as it is called, had ſpread very conſiderably in the firſt ages of chriſtianity. This, however, more cloſely inveſtigated, appears to have been nothing but a ſhoot from the eclectic, or modern platonic philoſophy, ſuch as the country and time were adapted to produce. It wound itſelf round judaiſm and chriſtianity; but neither ſprang from them, nor produced them any fruits. The gnoſtics were branded with the name of heretics, from the commencement of chriſtianity, becauſe the chriſtians would not admit among them any ſubtilizing philoſophaſters; and many of them would have remained unknown to us, had they not been entered in the rolls of ſchiſm. We could wiſh, that their writings alſo had been preſerved, as they would not be unwelcome to us, with regard to the canon of the New Teſtament: at preſent we perceive from a few particular opinions of this numerous ſect, yet remaining, nothing more than a crude attempt,

* The neweſt and moſt authentic account of this ſect is in Norberg's *Comment. de Relig. & Lingua Sabæorum*, 'Eſſay on the Religion and Language of the Sabæans,' 1780. This ſhould be printed with the Eſſays of Walch and others, after the manner of older collections.

to

to intermix the fictions of the oriental platoniſts, reſpecting the nature of God, and the creation of the World, with judaiſm and chriſtianity, and thence form a metaphyſical theology, principally of allegorical names, with a theodicy and moral philoſophy. As the name of heretic is unknown to the hiſtory of mankind, every one of theſe unſucceſsful attempts is valuable to it, and worthy it's notice; though at the ſame time it is well for the hiſtory of chriſtianity, that ſuch reveries ſhould never become the prevailing ſyſtem of the church. After the pains that have been beſtowed on this ſect eccleſiaſtically, a pure philoſophical inquiry, whence their notions were derived, what was their intention, and what effect they produced, would not be unprofitable to the hiſtory of the human underſtanding *.

The doctrines of Manes, whoſe object was nothing leſs, than to be the founder of a complete chriſtianity, made farther progreſs. He periſhed; and his numerous followers were ſo perſecuted in all places, and at all times, that the name of manichean, eſpecially after Auſtin had taken up the pen againſt them, became one of the moſt terrible ſtigmas of a heretic. We now ſhudder at this eccleſiaſtical ſpirit of perſecution, and perceive, that many of theſe hereſiarchs were men of reflecting and enterprizing minds, who boldly attempted, not only to combine religion, metaphyſics, morals, and natural philoſophy, but to unite them for the purpoſe of an actual ſociety, a philoſophico-political religious order. Some of them were lovers of ſcience, and are to be pitied for being denied more ample knowledge by their ſituation: the catholic party, however, would have become a ſtagnant pool, had not theſe wild winds ſet it in motion, and compelled them at leaſt to defend their written tradition. The time of pure reaſon, and a political improvement of morals by it, was not yet arrived; and for the religious community of Manes there was no place, either in Perſia, or Armenia, any more than afterwards among the bulgarians, or albigenſes.

Chriſtian ſects penetrated into India, Thibet, and China, though by ways that remain obſcure to us †: the ſhock, however, that was given to the remoteſt regions of Aſia in the firſt centuries of the chriſtian era, is obſervable in their own hiſtories. The doctrine of Budda, or Fo, which is ſaid to have come from Bactra, acquired freſh animation at this period. It ſpread to Ceylon, Thibet, and China: hindoo books on the ſubject were tranſlated into the chineſe

* After Beauſobre, Moſheim, Brucker, Walch, Jablonſki, Semler, and others, we may now take a more clear and free view of the ſubject.

† It is to be wiſhed, that the eſſays by De Guignes, in the writings of the french Academy of Inſcriptions, were collected and tranſlated as thoſe of Caylus, St. Palaye, and others, have been. This appears to me the eaſieſt mode of drawing things worthy notice out of the wilderneſs of a ſociety, and of rendering the diſcoveries of individuals uſeful, as well as of uniting them together.

language,

language, and the great ſect of the bonzes was brought to perfection. Without aſcribing to chriſtianity all the abominations of the bonzes, or the whole of the monaſtic ſyſtem of the lamas and talapoins, it ſeems to have been the leaven, which ſet all the ancient reveries of the people from Egypt to China in fermentation anew, and modified them more or leſs.* Many fables of Budda, Chriſhnoo, and the reſt, appear to include chriſtian ideas enveloped in an indian garb; and the great lama on the mountains, who probably aroſe firſt in the fifteenth century, is, with his perſonal ſanctity and rigid doctrines, his bells and religious orders, in all appearance a diſtant couſin of the lama on the Tiber: the difference is, there manicheiſm and neſtorianiſm were grafted on aſiatic ideas and manners; here orthodox chriſtianity was inſerted into a roman ſtock. The two couſins, however, would not readily recognize each other, ſo little intercourſe has been kept up between them.

We have a clearer knowledge of the more learned neſtorians, who ſpread themſelves far into Aſia, particularly after the fifth century, and did much good*. Almoſt from the commencement of the chriſtian era the ſchool of Edeſſa flouriſhed as the ſeat of ſyrian learning. King Abgarus, who has been held forth as an epiſtolary correſpondent of Chriſt himſelf, when he removed his reſidence from Niſibis, tranſported to Edeſſa the collections of books, which were in the temples. At this period, every one, who was deſirous of becoming learned, travelled to Edeſſa, from all parts of the World; for beſide chriſtian theology, the fine arts were taught there in the greek and ſyrian languages, ſo that Edeſſa was probably the firſt chriſtian univerſity ever eſtabliſhed. It flouriſhed for four centuries, till the profeſſors were expelled on account of the doctrines of Neſtorius, to which they adhered, and their ſchool was demoliſhed. But in conſequence of this the ſyrian literature ſpread not only into Meſopotamia, Paleſtine, Syria, and Phenicia, but even into Perſia; where it experienced an honourable reception, and where at laſt a neſtorian pope aroſe, who ruled over all the chriſtians in this kingdom, and afterwards over thoſe of Arabia, India, Mungalia, and China.

Whether he were the celebrated preſter-john (*pres-tadſhani*, the prieſt of the World), of whom many fabulous reports were ſpread in the middle ages; and whether, from a ſingular mixture of doctrines, the great lama at laſt aroſe from him; we ſhall leave undecided†. Suffice it, that in Perſia the favoured neſto-

* Pfeifer's *Auſzug aus Aſſemanni Orientaliſcher Bibliothek*, 'Abſtract of Aſſemanni's Oriental Bibliotheca,' Erlang, 1776, is an uſeful work for this almoſt unknown region of hiſtory: a particular, connected hiſtory of eaſtern chriſtendom, and of neſtorianiſm eſpecially, is ſtill a deſideratum.

† Fiſcher, in the introduction to his *Siberiſchen Geſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Siberia,' § 38 and following, has rendered this opinion very probable. Others are for the *ung-khan*, the khan of the keraites. See Koch's *Table des Revolutions*, 'Table of Revolutions,' Vol. I, p. 265.

rians

rians were employed by it's monarchs as phyſicians to the body, ambaſſadors, and miniſters; the chriſtian writings were tranſlated into the perſian; and the ſyriac became the learned language of the country. When the empire of Mohammed gained the ſway, particularly under his ſucceſſors the Ommiades, neſtorians filled the higheſt poſts of honour, and were made viceroys of the conquered provinces; and when the khalifs reſided at Bagdad, as well as after they had removed their reſidence to Samarraja, the patriarch of the neſtorians ſhared their authority. Under Al-Mamon, who encouraged learning among his people, and appointed phyſicians and aſtronomers, philoſophers, naturaliſts, mathematicians, geographers, and annaliſts, to teach in the academy of Bagdad, the ſyrians were aſſociates and inſtructors of the arabs. They rivalled each other in tranſlating into arabic the works of the greeks, many of which had already been tranſlated into that language: and if the light of ſcience afterwards dawned on benighted Europe from the arabic, the ſyriac chriſtians originally contributed to this. Their language, the firſt of the oriental dialects in this region into which vowels were admitted, and which can boaſt the moſt ancient and elegant tranſlation of the New Teſtament, was the bridge of grecian ſcience for Aſia, and through the arabs for Europe. Under ſuch favourable circumſtances, neſtorian miſſions then extended themſelves far and wide; though other chriſtian ſects found means to ſuppreſs them, or chace them away. Under the family of Gengis-khan, too, they were of conſiderable importance: their patriarch frequently accompanied the khan on his expeditions, and thus their doctrines were ſpread among the mungals, igurians, and other tatar nations. Samarcand was the ſeat of a metropolitan; Caſhgar, and other cities, of biſhops: and if the celebrated chriſtian monument in China be genuine, there is to be found on it a complete chronicle of the immigration of the prieſts from Tatſin. If with this be conſidered, that the whole of the mohammedan religion, ſuch as it is, would never have ariſen, had it not been preceded by chriſtianity, we find in this, beyond all diſpute, a leaven, which, more or leſs, ſooner or later, ſet in commotion the way of thinking of all the ſouth and part of the north of Aſia.

From this commotion, however, no new and peculiar bloſſom of the human intellect, as perhaps with the greeks and romans, was to be expected. The neſtorians, by whom ſo much was effected, were not a nation, were not a race growing up of itſelf in a maternal ſoil: they were chriſtians, they were monks. Their language, indeed, they were capable of teaching: but what could they write in it? Liturgies, expoſitions of Scripture, monaſtic books of devotion, ſermons, polemical works, chronicles, and inſipid verſes. Hence in the ſyriac-

chriſtian

chriſtian literature there is not a ſpark of that poetic genius, which burſts from the ſoul, and warms the heart: a miſerable knack at verſifying catalogues of names, homilies, and chronicles, conſtituted the whole of their art of poetry. In none of the ſciences they cultivated did they diſplay the leaſt ſpirit of invention, in none did they purſue any method of their own. A melancholy proof how little was done by the aſcetico-polemic monachal ſpirit, with all it's politic cunning. In this barren form it diſplayed itſelf in every quarter of the Globe, and ſtill lords it on the mountains of Thibet; where not the leaſt trace of free inventive genius is to be diſcovered, throughout the legally eſtabliſhed monkiſh conſtitution. Whatever proceeds from the cloiſter is, for the moſt part, adapted only to the convent.

Hiſtory, then, need not expatiate long on the particular provinces of chriſtian Aſia. Chriſtianity reached Armenia at an early period, and beſtowed on it's ancient memorable language an alphabet, with a double and triple verſion of the Scriptures, and an armenian hiſtory. But neither Miſrob with his alphabet, nor his ſcholar, Moſes of Chorene *, with his hiſtory, could confer on their people literature, or a national conſtitution. Armenia always lay in the way of other nations: as it had been formerly under perſians, greeks, and romans, it now fell under arabs, turks, tatars, and curdes. It's inhabitants ſtill purſue their ancient occupation, trade: a ſcientific or political edifice could never have been eſtabliſhed in this place, with or without chriſtianity.

The ſtate of chriſtian Georgia is ſtill more wretched. There are churches and convents, patriarchs, biſhops, and monks: the women are beautiful; the men, brave: yet the parent will ſell his child; the huſband, his wife; the prince, his ſubjects; the devotee, his prieſt. A ſingular ſort of chriſtianity, among this gay and faithleſs nation of robbers.

The Goſpel was early tranſlated into Arabic, alſo; and many chriſtian ſects have taken great pains about the fine country of Arabia. In it jews and chriſtians often perſecuted each other; but neither party, though each occaſionally produced even kings, effected any thing of importance. Every thing fell before Mohammed; and now, indeed, there is not a chriſtian community in Arabia, though there are whole tribes of jews. Three religions, deſcendants of one another, guard with mutual hatred the ſanctuary of their birth place, the deſerts of Arabia †.

* Whiſton's preface to *Moſis Chorenſis Hiſt. Armen.* 1736: Schroeder's *Theſaur. Ling. Armen. Diſſ.* p. 62.

† Bruce's Travels into Abyſſinia give a remarkable hiſtory of the chriſtianity of theſe regions: whether, on the whole, any new concluſions may be derived from it, time will ſhow.

If we would now take a view of the general reſult of the effects, produced by chriſtianity in it's aſiatic provinces; we muſt firſt agree on the point of view, in which the advantages, that this, or any religion, could confer on one quarter of the Globe, ought to be placed.

1. Chriſtianity may have ſecretly operated to the furthering of *a heavenly kingdom upon Earth*, that is, a more perfect order of things, for the good of nations: but the flower of this operation, a perfect ſtate, it has never produced, either in Aſia, or in Europe. Arabs and ſyrians, perſians and armenians, hindoos and druſes, have remained what they were; and no political conſtitution in that country can boaſt of it's being the offſpring of chriſtianity; even if anchoritiſm and monaſtic devotion, or a hierarchy of any kind, with their reſtleſs endeavours, be taken as the ſtandard of a chriſtian ſtate. Patriarchs and biſhops ſend miſſionaries round to extend their ſects, their dioceſes, their power: they ſeek the favour of princes, to obtain influence in affairs, or convents and communities: one party ſtrives againſt another, and endeavours to obtain the ſuperiority. Thus jews and chriſtians, neſtorians and monophyſites, hunt each other round; and no party thinks of acting ſimply and freely for the good of any place or country. The clergy of the eaſt, who were never without a ſpice of monkery, would ſerve God, and not mankind.

2. There are three methods of acting upon men; by *teaching*, *authority*, and *religious ceremonies*. Teaching is the ſimpleſt, and moſt effectual, if it be of the right kind. Inſtruction of the young and of the old, when it relates to the eſſential concerns and duties of man, cannot fail to introduce, or keep in circulation, much uſeful knowledge: the fame and preeminence of having rendered ſuch more clear even to the lower people pertain excluſively to chriſtianity in many countries. Catechiſms, ſermons, hymns, creeds, and prayers, have diffuſed a knowledge of God, and of morals, among the people: tranſlations and expoſitions of the holy Scriptures have imparted to them writing and literature: and where nations were ſtill in ſuch infancy, that they were incapable of comprehending any thing but fables, there at leaſt a ſacred fable revived. Herein, it is obvious, every thing depended upon this, whether the man, who was to teach, were capable of teaching, and what he taught. In both theſe points, however, the anſwer muſt vary ſo much, according to the perſon, the people, the time, and the country, that at laſt we muſt confine ourſelves to what was to be taught, to what the prevailing church maintained. Fearing the incapacity and boldneſs of many of it's teachers, it preferred brevity, and confined itſelf within a narrow circle. It thus, we muſt allow, incurred the danger of having the ſubſtance of it's doctrines very ſoon exhauſted, and reduced to repetition;

ſo that in a few generations the hereditary religion would loſe all the luſtre of novelty, and the dull teacher would ſlumber over his antiquated creed. Thus, for the moſt part, the firſt ſhock of chriſtian miſſions alone was truly vivid; ſoon one dull wave drove on a duller, till at laſt all gently ſubſided in the ſtill ſurface of an accuſtomed ancient chriſtian ceremony. By ceremonies compenſation was endeavoured to be made for the decay of the ſoul of ceremony, doctrine; and thus the ceremonial ſyſtem was invented, which at length became an inanimate puppet, ſtanding immoveable and unmoved in ancient pomp. The puppet was invented for the convenience both of teacher and hearer; for it afforded them both food for reflection, if they choſe to reflect; and if not, ſtill, it was ſaid, the vehicle of religion would not be loſt. And as from the beginning the church was very tenacious of unanimity, formularies by which the herd would be leaſt diſtracted were abſolutely the beſt for preſerving dull uniformity. The churches of Aſia afford the completeſt demonſtration of all this: they ſtill are, what they were almoſt two thouſand years ago, ſlumbering bodies, deſtitute of mind: even hereſy is extinct in them, for they poſſeſs not ſufficient energy for hereſies.

Poſſibly, however, the authority of the prieſts may ſupply, what is loſt by the torpor of the doctrine, or the ceſſation of impulſe? In ſome meaſure it may, but not altogether. A ſacred perſon full of years is ſurrounded with the mild beams of paternal experience, mature judgement, and tranquillity undiſturbed by the paſſions: hence it is ſo many travellers ſpeak of the reverence, with which they were inſpired in the preſence of the aged patriarchs, prieſts, and biſhops of the eaſt. A noble ſimplicity in their carriage, dreſs, conduct, and way of life, contributes much to this: and many a worthy anchorite, if he keep not his inſtructions, warnings, and conſolations from the World, may have done more good, than a hundred idle preachers amid the buſtle of highways and markets. Inſtruction, however, is the nobleſt ſource of authority, united with example founded on knowledge and experience; if ſhortſightedneſs and prejudice ſtep into the ſeat of truth, the authority of the moſt reſpectable perſon is dangerous and detrimental.

3. As the life of man is altogether calculated for the active purpoſes of general ſociety; it is evident, that, in chriſtianity alſo, every thing muſt ſoon or late die away, that counteracts theſe. Every lifeleſs member is dead; and as ſoon as the living body is ſenſible of it's own life, and the uſeleſs burden of the dead member, this member is removed. As long as the miſſions in Aſia retained their activity, they imparted and received animation: but when the temporal power of the arabs, turks, and tatars, deſtroyed this, they ſpread no farther.

Their convents and epiſcopal ſees ſtand as ruins of ancient times, melancholy and confined: many are tolerated only for the ſake of their preſents, tributes, and abject ſervices.

4. As chriſtianity operates chiefly by means of it's doctrines, much depends on the *language*, in which they are inculcated, and on the degree of mental cultivation already contained in them, to which it orthodoxly adheres. With a cultivated or univerſal language it not only propagates itſelf, but it acquires by means of it improvement and reſpect: but if, as a ſacred dialect of divine origin, it remain behind other living languages, or be reſtricted to the limits of an obſolete, rude paternal dialect, as to a decayed palace; it muſt in time be reduced to drag on a weariſome life in it, as a wretched tyrant, or an ignorant priſoner. As in Aſia the greek language, and afterwards the ſyriac, were overpowered by the victorious arabic, the knowledge they contained was thrown out of circulation: they could only propagate themſelves as liturgies, as creeds, as a monkiſh theology. We are miſtaken, therefore, when we attribute to the ſubſtance of a religion, what properly pertains only to the inſtruments, with which it operates. Look at the St. Thomas's chriſtians in India, the georgians, the armenians, the abyſſinians, the copts: what are they? what has chriſtianity made of them? The copts and abyſſinians poſſeſs libraries of ancient books, unintelligible to themſelves, but which might probably be of uſe in the hands of europeans: they uſe them not; they cannot uſe them. Their chriſtianity has ſunk into the moſt wretched ſuperſtition.

5. Here, then, it is incumbent upon me, to beſtow on the *greek language* that praiſe, which it ſo eminently merits in the hiſtory of mankind; for by it's aid all the light has been kindled, that has illumined or beamed upon Europe. Had not this language been ſo widely extended, and ſo long preſerved, by the conqueſts of Alexander, the kingdoms of his ſucceſſors, and the roman poſſeſſions, chriſtianity would ſcarcely have contributed in the leaſt to enlighten Aſia: for both the orthodox and the heretic kindled their true or falſe lights, mediately or immediately, at the grecian language. From it, too, the armenian, ſyriac, and arabic languages derived their illumining ſpark: and had the firſt chriſtian writings been compoſed not in greek, but in the hebrew dialect of that time; could not the Goſpel have been preached and propagated in greek; the ſtream, that now waters nations, would probably have been choked near it's fountain. The chriſtians would have been, what the ebionites were, and perhaps the St. John's and St. Thomas's chriſtians are, a poor deſpiſed multitude, deſtitute of all effect on the ſpirit of nations. Let us, therefore, quit it's oriental birthplace, for that ſtage on which it acted a greater part.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Progreſs of Chriſtianity in the Grecian Countries.*

We obſerved, that *helleniſm*, or a freer mannner of thinking of the jews intermixed with the ideas of others, prepared the way for the riſe of chriſtianity: accordingly chriſtianity, when it began it's courſe, proceeded far on this way; and in a ſhort time extenſive regions, where any helleniſtic jews reſided, were filled with the new miſſion. The appellation of chriſtians was firſt given in a grecian city: the firſt writings of chriſtianity were moſt extenſively circulated in the grecian language; for this language was more or leſs diffuſed from India to the Atlantic, from Lybia to Thule. It may be conſidered both as fortunate and unfortunate, that Judea was particularly near to a province, which contributed much to the firſt form of chriſtianity, the province of Egypt. If Jeruſalem were it's cradle, Alexandria was it's ſchool.

Since the time of the Ptolemies a number of jews had reſided for the ſake of trade in Egypt, where they endeavoured to create a Judea of their own, built a temple, tranſlated their ſacred writings one after another into greek, and augmented their number. There had been very flouriſhing eſtabliſhments for the promotion of ſcience alſo at Alexandria, ſince the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; ſuch as were to be found nowhere elſe, even Athens not excepted. Fourteen thouſand ſcholars had been lodged and maintained there for a conſiderable time at the public expenſe: here were the celebrated muſeum, the immenſe library, the works that conferred renown on ancient poets and learned men of every kind: thus the great ſchool of nations was here, in the centre of the commerce of the World. From this conflux of nations, and the gradual amalgamation of the ſentiments of all in the greek and roman empire, aroſe the *modern platonic philoſophy*, as it was called, and particularly that ſingular *ſyncretiſm*, which ſought to unite the principles of all parties, and in a ſhort time aſſimilated the ideas of indians, perſians, jews, ethiopians, egyptians, greeks, romans, and barbarians. This ſpirit prevailed wonderfully in the roman empire, as every where philoſophers ſprung up, who added the notions of their own native places to the general maſs: but Alexandria was the ſpot where it moſt eminently flouriſhed. Into this ocean the drop of chriſtianity was caſt, and attracted to itſelf whatever it ſuppoſed itſelf capable of aſſimilating. Platonic notions had already been introduced into chriſtianity in the writings of Paul and John: the moſt ancient fathers of the church, when they entered upon philoſophy, were obliged to employ

employ the generally received modes of expreſſion, and ſome of them found their *Logos*, for example, long before the exiſtence of chriſtianity, in the ſoul of every philoſopher. Probably it would not have been to be regretted, had the ſyſtem of chriſtianity remained, what, according to the repreſentations of a Juſtin martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and others, it was intended to be, a liberal philoſophy, reprobating virtue and the love of truth at no time, and among no people, and yet unacquainted with excluſive verbal formularies, which afterwards obtained the force of laws. It is certain, the earlier fathers of the church, who were formed in Alexandria, were not the worſt: Origen alone did more than ten thouſand biſhops and patriarchs; ſince, but for the learned critical induſtry, which he employed on the records of chriſtianity, this would have almoſt ſunk, with regard to it's origin, among unclaſſic fables. His ſpirit was tranſmitted to ſome of his ſcholars alſo; and many fathers of the alexandrian ſchool thought and argued at leaſt with more addreſs and refinement, than many other ignorant and fanatic heads.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that Egypt, with the philoſophy then in faſhion, was alſo a ſchool of corruption for chriſtianity: for every thing, that, during a period of near two thouſand years, has excited diſputes, quarrels, tumults, perſecutions, and the diſturbance of whole nations, aroſe from theſe foreign platonic notions, on which men refined with grecian ſubtilty, and which gave chriſtianity in general that *ſophiſtical* form, ſo diſcrepant from it's nature. From the ſingle word *logos* aroſe hereſies and acts of violence, at which the *logos* within us, ſound reaſon, yet ſhudders. Many of theſe diſputes were capable of being carried on in the grecian language alone; to which they ſhould have been for ever confined, and never have been introduced as doctrinal formularies into others. They include no truth, no information, that has afforded an addition to human knowledge, new power to the underſtanding, or a noble motive to the will: the whole body of chriſtian polemics, carried on againſt arians, photinians, macedonians, neſtorians, eutychians, monophyſites, tritheites, monothelites, and the reſt, might have been inſtantly cruſhed, without the leaſt detriment to chriſtianity, or human reaſon. Men were obliged to overlook and forget them altogether, with their conſequences, thoſe groſs decrees of ſo many councils of courtiers and robbers, before they could again contemplate the original records of chriſtianity in their primitive purity, and arrive at an open, ſimple expoſition of them: nay, they ſtill obſtruct and afflict many timorous minds, or ſuch as are perſecuted on account of them. The ſpeculative ſpirit of theſe ſects reſembles the lernean hydra, or the polypus, which cut in pieces forms a new animal from every limb. This uſeleſs

tiſſue,

tiſſue, injurious to mankind, runs through many ages of hiſtory: rivers of blood have been ſhed upon it; and innumerable multitudes, often of the worthieſt men, have been deprived of property and honour, of friends, of home, and of reſt, of health and life, by the moſt ignorant villains. Even honeſt barbarians, burgundians, goths, lombards, franks, and ſaxons, in pious orthodoxy have taken part in theſe maſſacres, with ardent ſectarian zeal, for or againſt arians, bogomilians, catharians, albigenſes, waldenſes, &c.; and, a true church militant, have drawn their ſwords as warriors, not idly, for the genuine baptiſmal form. There is not, perhaps, a more barren field within the domains of literature, than the hiſtory of this chriſtian exerciſe of the word and the ſword; which ſo deprived the human mind of it's proper faculty of thinking, the records of chriſtianity of their evident purpoſe, and civil ſociety of it's fundamental principles and rules; that at laſt we are reduced, to thank other barbarians and ſaracens, for having deſtroyed by their wild irruptions the diſgrace of the human intellect. Thanks to all thoſe men*, who have exhibited to us in their true forms the movers of ſuch diſputes, an Athanaſius, a Cyril, a Theophilus, a Conſtantine, and an Irenæus: for as long as the names of the fathers of the church and their councils are quoted with ſlaviſh reſpect, we are maſters neither of Scripture, nor of our own underſtanding.

Chriſtian morality, likewiſe, found not a more favourable ſoil in Egypt, or other parts of the greek empire: there wretched abuſe created that vaſt army of cenobites and monks, who, not ſatisfied with mental extaſies in the deſerts of the Thebaid, frequently traverſed countries as mercenary ſoldiers, interfered in elections of biſhops, diſturbed councils, and compelled their holy ſpirit to pronounce, whatever the unholy ſpirit of theſe miſcreants thought proper. I honour Solitude, the meditating ſiſter of Society, and often her legiſlator, who converts the experience of active life into principles, and it's paſſions into nutritious juices. Compaſſion is due likewiſe to that conſoling ſolitude, which, weary of the yoke of other men, and tired of their perſecutions, finds a balm in the heaven within. Many of the firſt chriſtians unqueſtionably were ſolitaries of the latter kind, whom the tyranny of a great military empire, or the abominations of towns, drove into the deſert, where, having few wants, a temperate climate gave them a friendly reception. The more, however, let us

* After the labours of the reformers, with thoſe of a Calixtus, Dallæus, Du Pin, Le Clerc, Moſheim, and others, the name of Semler will ever remain highly reſpected for a liberal view of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He has been followed by Spittler, with penetrating eye, and luminous ſtyle: others will ſucceed; and every period of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory will be exhibited in it's true light.

deſpiſe

deſpiſe that proud, ſelfiſh retirement, which, contemning active life, places merit in contemplation and penance, nouriſhes itſelf with phantoms, and, inſtead of annihilating the paſſions, cheriſhes within the wildeſt of all, ſelfiſh, immoderate pride.

Unfortunately, for this chriſtianity became a dazzling pretext, when ſuch of it's precepts, as were intended for a particular few, were converted into general laws, or indeed conditions for obtaining the kingdom of Heaven, and Chriſt was ſought in the deſert. There Heaven was to be found by men, who diſdained being citizens of the Earth, and relinquiſhed the moſt eſtimable gifts of humankind, reaſon, morality, talents, friendſhip, and parental, nuptial, and filial affection. Accurſed be the praiſe, that men, from miſconception of Scripture, have often ſo abundantly and imprudently beſtowed on an idle, contemplative life of celibacy: accurſed the falſe impreſſions, that have been ſtamped on youth with enthuſiaſtic eloquence, thus crippling and diſtorting the human intellect for ages. Whence is it, that we find in the writings of the fathers ſo little pure morality: and often good and bad, gold and droſs, jumbled together *? Whence is it, that we cannot mention a ſingle book of thoſe times, even of the moſt excellent men, who had ſtill ſo many greek authors at their command, which, putting ſtyle and compoſition entirely out of the queſtion, but merely in reſpect to morality and it's general ſpirit, deſerves to be placed by the ſide of a ſingle work of the ſocratic ſchool? Whence is it, that even the ſelect maxims of the fathers have ſo much of extravagance and monkery in them, when compared with the morals of the greeks? Men's minds were deranged by the new philoſophy, which taught them to wander in the aerial regions, inſtead of living upon Earth: and as there can be no diſeaſe of greater magnitude than this, it is a misfortune much to be deplored, that it was propagated by doctrines, authority, and inſtitutions, and rendered the fountains of pure morality turbid for ages.

When at length chriſtianity was exalted, and the imperial ſtandard gave it that name, with which, as the paramount religion of the roman empire, it ſtill flies above all other names upon Earth; the impurity at once became evident, which ſo ſingularly mixed the affairs of the church and the ſtate, that ſcarcely any thing could be viewed in it's proper ſhape. While preaching toleration, they, who had long ſuffered, became themſelves intolerant: and as duties toward the ſtate were confounded with the pure relations of man to God, while a ſemi-jewiſh

* Barbeyrac, Le Clerc, Thomaſius, Semler, and others, have ſhown this; Rœſler's *Bibliothek der Kirchenvæter*, 'Bibliotheca of the Fathers of the Church,' exhibits it in a very popular manner.

monkiſh

monkiſh religion was unconſciouſly made the baſe of a chriſtian byzantine empire; how could it be otherwiſe, than that the true affinity between crimes and puniſhments, rights and duties, and indeed between the members of the conſtitution itſelf, muſt have been baſely deſtroyed? The ſacerdotal order was introduced into the ſtate; not, as among the romans, to cooperate immediately with it's other members; but as a monaſtic and mendicant order, for the benefit of which a hundred ordinances were made, burdenſome to the reſt, inconſiſtent with themſelves, and obliged to be repeatedly altered, in order that the form of a ſtate might remain. To the great yet weak Conſtantine we are indebted, without his knowing it, for that two headed monſter, which, under the name of the ſpiritual and temporal power, cajoled or tyranniſed over itſelf and others, and after twice ten centuries has ſcarcely come to a peaceable agreement on the purpoſes, which religion and government have to fulfil among mankind. To him we are indebted for that pious imperial arbitrarineſs in the laws, and with it that chriſtian-princelike unkingly pliability, from which the moſt fearful deſpotiſm could not fail in a ſhort time to ariſe*. Hence the vices and barbarities in the horrible byzantine hiſtory: hence the venal incenſe offered to the vileſt chriſtian emperors: hence the miſerable perplexity, in which ſpiritual and temporal affairs, heretics and orthodox believers, romans and barbarians, eunuchs and generals, women and prieſts, emperors and patriarchs, are embroiled. The empire was thrown from it's centre: the foundering, diſmaſted ſhip loſt it's ſteerſman; whoever could ſeize the helm managed it, till another drove him away. Ye ancient romans, Sextus, Cato, Cicero, Brutus, Titus, Antonine, what would ye have ſaid of this new Rome, the imperial court at Conſtantinople, from it's commencement to it's downfal?

The eloquence, too, which this imperial chriſtian Rome was capable of producing, could nowiſe be compared with that of the ancient greeks and romans. Divine men, indeed, here exerciſed their elocution; patriarchs, biſhops, and prieſts: but to whom did they addreſs themſelves? on what did they diſcourſe? and what fruits could their higheſt eloquence produce? They had to explain to a ſtupid, depraved, ungovernable multitude, the kingdom of God, the refined maxims of a moraliſt, who ſtood alone in his day, and who certainly had nothing congenial with this mob. Far more attractive for it was it to hear the ſpiritual orator declaim on the depravity of the court, or the groſs luxury of the

* The Hiſtory of Changes in the Government, Laws, and Minds of Men, during the period from the converſion of Conſtantine to the downfal of the weſtern empire, by an anonymous french writer, is executed with great induſtry and acuteneſs. A german tranſlation appeared at Leipſic in 1794.

theatres, public games, amuſements, and female dreſs, or take part in the cabals of heretics, biſhops, prieſts, and monks. Goldentongued Chryſoſtom, how do I lament, that thy exuberant eloquence fell not on better times! That ſolitude, the companion of thy better days, was left for a ſplendid metropolis, which embittered thy life. Thy paſtoral zeal had wandered out of it's limits: the ſtorms of courtly and prieſtly cabals overwhelmed thee: expelled, and again reſtored, thou waſt reduced at laſt, to end thy days in poverty. Such was the fate of many worthy men in this voluptuous court: and, what was worſe, their zeal itſelf was not without faults. As he, who, ſurrounded by infectious diſeaſes, inhales the contaminated air, if he eſcape the peſtilence, will at leaſt diſplay it's effects in his pallid countenance and languid limbs: ſo here too many dangers and ſeductions aroſe on every ſide, for common prudence to avoid. The greater fame, however, is due to the ſmall number of thoſe, who, in the character of generals and emperors, or biſhops, patriarchs, and courtiers, ſhine like ſcattered ſtars in this obſcure ſulphureous ſky: but even their forms are hidden from us by the clouds.

Laſtly, if we contemplate the taſte in arts, ſcience, and manners, that ſpread from this firſt and greateſt chriſtian empire, we can call it nothing elſe than wretched, and barbarouſly pompous. After that Jupiter and Chriſt contended in the ſenate, in the time of Theodoſius, before the face of the goddeſs of Victory, for the poſſeſſion of the roman empire, and Jupiter loſt the day; the great monuments of ancient taſte, the temples and images of the gods, were ruined gradually or forcibly throughout the World: and the more chriſtian a country was, the more zealous was it in deſtroying all remains of the worſhip of the ancient demons. The origin and object of chriſtian churches forbad the erection of ſuch edifices as the former temples of idols: accordingly courts of juſtice, and places for holding aſſemblies, baſilicæ, were their models; and though a noble ſimplicity may be obſerved in the moſt ancient of them, of the time of Conſtantine, as they were in part compoſed of heathen fragments, and partly conſtructed amid the greateſt monuments of art, yet even this ſimplicity is chriſtian. The ſtolen columns were jumbled together without taſte; and the wonder of chriſtian art in Conſtantinople, the magnificent church of St. Sophia, was loaded with barbarian ornament. Abundant as were the treaſures of antiquity heaped together in this Babel, it was impoſſible for grecian art, or grecian poetry, to flouriſh in it. We are aſtoniſhed at the train, which, even in the tenth century, was obliged to attend the emperor, in war

and

and peace, at home and at public worſhip, as deſcribed by a purpleborn ſlave of it himſelf *; and wonder, that ſuch a kingdom ſtood ſo long.

This cannot be charged to the abuſe of chriſtianity; for Byzantium was formed from the beginning for a ſplendid, diſſolute, beggarly ſtate. From it could ſpring no Rome, which, riſing amid oppreſſions, conteſts, and dangers, rendered itſelf the metropolis of the World: the new city was erected at the expenſe of Rome and the provinces, and immediately burdened with a mob, who lived in idleneſs and hypocriſy, by right of title or of flattery, on the beneficence and favour of the emperor; in other words, on the marrow of the empire. The new city lay in the lap of pleaſure, in a delightful climate, in the centre of three quarters of the Globe. From Aſia, Perſia, India, and Egypt, ſhe drew all the commodities of that diſſolute pomp, which ſhe cheriſhed in herſelf, and diffuſed over the northweſtern world. Her harbour was filled with ſhips of all nations; and even in later times, when the arabs had deprived the grecian empire of Egypt and Aſia, the commerce of the World took the road of the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, to ſupply the wants of ancient voluptuaries. Alexandria, Smyrna, Antioch; the ſhores of Greece abounding in harbours, with it's eſtabliſhments, cities, and arts; the Mediterranean with it's numerous iſlands; and ſtill more the volatile character of the greek nation; all contributed, to render the ſeat of the chriſtian emperor a receptacle of vices and follies: and what formerly promoted the welfare of Greece, now operated to it's detriment.

We will not on this account, however, detract from the ſmalleſt benefit, which this empire, ſo ſituate, and ſo conſtituted, has conferred on the World. It was long a mound, though a weak one, againſt the barbarians; many of whom loſt their rudeneſs from it's neighbourhood, it's trade, or in it's ſervice, and acquired a taſte for the arts, and refinement of manners. The beſt king of the goths, Theodoric, was educated in Conſtantinople: and we may thank the eaſtern empire, for all the good he did to Italy. From Conſtantinople more than one barbarian people received the ſeeds of civilization, letters, and chriſtianity: thus biſhop Ulphilas modified the greek alphabet for his goths on the Black ſea, and tranſlated the New Teſtament into their language: the ruſſians, bulgarians, and other ſlaviſh nations, acquired letters, chriſtianity, and morals, from Conſtantinople, in a far milder way, than their weſtern brethren obtained them from the franks and ſaxons. The collection of roman laws, made by order of Juſtinian, defective and mangled as it is, remains an immortal record of the genuine ancient roman ſpirit, a logic of the active intellect, and a teſt for

* Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, Book II, *de Ceremoniis Aulæ Byzantinæ*, 'Of the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court,' Leipſic, 1751.

every better code. It was a benefit to the whole civilized World, that the grecian language and literature were preſerved in this empire, however defective the uſe that was made of them, till weſtern Europe was capable of receiving them from the hands of byzantine refugees. That the pilgrims and croiſaders of the middle ages found on their road to the holy ſepulchre a Conſtantinople, whence they returned to their caves, their caſtles, and their cloiſters, with many new ideas of ſplendour, civilization, and manners, in compenſation for much treacherous conduct, at leaſt remotely prepared other times for the weſt of Europe. The venetians and genoeſe learned their extenſive commerce in Alexandria and Conſtantinople, as they acquired their wealth chiefly from the ruins of this empire, and thence imported much that was uſeful into Europe. The ſilk manufacture came to us from Perſia through Conſtantinople: and for how much is the holy ſee, for how much Europe, as a counterpoiſe to that ſee, indebted to the eaſtern empire!

At length this proud, this wealthy, this magnificent Babylon fell: with all it's treaſures, and all it's ſplendour, it fell by ſtorm into the hands of it's ſavage conquerors. It had long been unable to protect it's provinces: all Greece had been a prey to Alaric ſo early as the fifth century. Eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth, the barbarians preſſed on it, from time to time, cloſer and cloſer; and bands of ſtill greater barbarians often raged in the city. Temples were ſtormed; ſtatues and libraries were given to the flames: the empire was every where ſold and betrayed, as it had no better rewards for it's moſt faithful ſervants, than to put out their eyes, cut off their noſes and ears, or indeed bury them alive: for barbarity and voluptuouſneſs, flattery and the moſt inſolent arrogance, revolt and perfidy, reigned on this throne, all decorated with chriſtian orthodoxy. It's hiſtory, filled with lingering death, is a terrible monitory example for every government of eunuchs, prieſts, and women, in ſpite of all it's imperial pride and wealth, in ſpite of all it's pomp in arts and ſcience. There lie it's ruins: the moſt ingenious people upon Earth, the greeks, are become the moſt deſpicable, perfidious, ignorant, ſuperſtitious, wretched ſlaves of prieſts and monks, ſcarcely again ſuſceptible of the ancient grecian ſpirit. Thus ended the firſt and moſt magnificent *ſtate-chriſtianity*: may never ſuch appear again *!

* With heartfelt pleaſure we can here cite the third claſſical britiſh hiſtorian, the rival of Hume, and of Robertſon, whom ſometimes perhaps he excels, Gibbon; whoſe Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is a finiſhed maſterpiece; though it ſeems to want, probably from the fault of the ſubject, that powerful charm of intereſt, with which Hume's hiſtorical works hurry us along. The cry that has been raiſed in England, however, againſt this learned and truly philoſophical work, as if the author were an enemy to the chriſtian religion, ſeems to me unjuſt: for Gibbon has ſpoken of chriſtianity, as of other matters in his hiſtory, with great mildneſs.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Progreſs of Chriſtianity in the Latin Provinces.*

ROME was the metropolis of the World: from Rome iſſued the command, to tolerate, or to ſuppreſs the chriſtians: of neceſſity, therefore, it muſt very early have been one of the principal endeavours of the general body of chriſtians, to influence this centre of grandeur and of power.

The tolerance of the romans towards all the religions of the people they conquered is beyond diſpute: but for this, and the general ſtate of the roman government at that period, chriſtianity would not have ſpread ſo quickly, and ſo widely. It aroſe in a remote quarter, among a people deſpiſed, and become proverbial for ſuperſtition: wicked, fooliſh, and weak emperors ſat on the roman throne, ſo that the control of one allſeeing eye was wanting to the ſtate. The chriſtians were long comprehended under the name of jews, of whom there was a great number at Rome, as well as in all the roman provinces. Probably, therefore, it was the hatred of the jews themſelves, that firſt made the rejected chriſtians known to the romans; who, conſidering them as ſeceders from the religion of their forefathers, were led to think them either atheiſts, or, from their ſecret aſſemblies, egyptians, debaſing themſelves, like other myſtagogues, by ſuperſtition and barbarity. They were looked upon as a reprobate mob, on whom Nero firſt laid the blame of his incendiary madneſs: the compaſſion, that was felt for them on account of this extreme injuſtice, ſeems to have been nothing more than the pity beſtowed on a ſlave tortured without cauſe. No farther notice was taken of their doctrines; and they were permitted to propagate them, as all others might be propagated in the roman empire.

As the principles of their faith and worſhip came more to light, it was particularly diſpleaſing to the romans, who were accuſtomed only to a political religion, that theſe wretches ſhould inſult the gods of the ſtate as demons of Hell, and dare to call the worſhip paid to the protectors of the empire a ſchool of the Devil. They were diſpleaſed, too, that the chriſtians refuſed to the images of the emperor that veneration, which they ſhould have thought an honour to themſelves to pay, and at the ſame time refrained from all the duties and worſhip of the country. In conſequence they were deemed it's enemies, and deſerving of the hatred and abhorrence of other men. According to the diſpoſitions of the emperors, and as they were ſoftened or irritated by freſh reports, injunctions were iſſued for or againſt the chriſtians: and theſe injunctions

tions were executed more or leſs ſtrictly in each province, ſuitably to the ſentiments of the governor, or their own conduct. Such perſecutions, however, as were carried on in later times, for inſtance, againſt the ſaxons, albigenſes, vaudois, huguenots, pruſſians, and livonians, they never experienced: religious wars of ſuch a kind were not conſiſtent with the roman way of thinking. Thus the firſt three centuries of chriſtianity, during the perſecutions enumerated in them, were the triumphal times of the martyrs of the chriſtian faith.

Nothing can be more noble, than for a man, remaining true to the ſentiments he has embraced from conviction, to hold them faſt with innocence of manners and integrity of conduct to his laſt breath. Accordingly the chriſtians, where as intelligent and good men they diſplayed ſuch innocence and firmneſs, gained thereby more followers, than by tales of miraculous gifts and miraculous events. Many of their perſecutors were aſtoniſhed at their courage, even when they could not comprehend, why they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the danger of perſecution. Beſides, a man attains only what he heartily wills: and what a number of men ſtedfaſtly maintain in life and death, cannot eaſily be ſuppreſſed. Their zeal inflames: their example warms, even if it do not enlighten. Thus the church is unqueſtionably indebted to the ſtedfaſtneſs of it's adherents, for that deep foundation of an edifice, capable of enduring with vaſt enlargement for thouſands of years: feeble manners and yielding principles would have ſuffered the whole ſoon to evaporate, as an uncovered liquid is diſſipated in the air.

In particular caſes, however, much depends on that, for which a man ſtruggles and dies. If it be for an internal conviction, for a pledge of faith and truth, the reward of which extends beyond the grave; if it be for a teſtimony of an event of indiſpenſable importance, which a man himſelf has ſeen, and the belief of which, confided to him, would otherwiſe periſh; the martyr dies like a hero, his conſcience ſtrengthens him in pain and torment, and Heaven opens before his eyes. Thus every eyewitneſs of the firſt events of chriſtianity could die, when he found it neceſſary for him, to ſeal their truth with his blood. To deny them, would have been to contradict facts, which he himſelf had ſeen; and every man of probity would rather ſacrifice his life, in a caſe of neceſſity, than do this. But ſuch witneſſes, and ſuch martyrs, the commencement only of chriſtianity could have had; of theſe there could not be many; and of their exit out of the World, as well as of their lives, we know little or nothing.

The caſe was different with the witneſſes, who bore teſtimony centuries later, or hundreds of miles diſtant, to whom the hiſtory of chriſtianity came only as a report, as tradition, or as a written account. Theſe could not be admitted as authentic

authentic witneſſes, ſince it was the teſtimony of others, or rather their faith in it, which they ſealed with their blood. Now as this was the caſe with all the chriſtian converts out of Judea; we cannot avoid wondering, that ſo very much was built, even in the remoteſt, the latin provinces, on the teſtimony of the blood of theſe witneſſes, conſequently on a tradition, which they received from far, and could not eaſily prove. Even after the writings compoſed in the eaſt had reached theſe remote regions at the end of the firſt century, many did not underſtand them in the original, and were of courſe obliged to be ſatisfied with the teſtimony of their teacher, and the citing of a tranſlation. And how ſeldom did the weſtern teachers in general refer to the Scripture, while the orientals, even in their councils, determined more from the collective opinions of preceding fathers of the church, than from the Scriptures themſelves! Thus tradition and faith, for which men died, were ſoon the moſt eminent and victorious argument of chriſtianity: the more ignorant, poor, and diſtant, the community was, the more muſt ſuch a tradition, as delivered by their teacher and biſhop, and the teſtimony of martyrs, as witneſſes of the church, be received as it were on their word.

And yet, if we conſider the origin of chriſtianity, it could not eaſily be propagated otherwiſe; for, being founded on a fact, like all other facts it demanded narration, tradition, faith. The fact goes from mouth to mouth, till recorded by writing it becomes a confirmed, fixed tradition, ſubject to general examination, and compariſon with other traditions. The ocular witneſſes are dead, happy therefore if the tradition tell us, that they ſealed their teſtimony with their blood; human faith demands no more.

And thus the firſt chriſtian altars were confidently erected upon graves. In cemeteries the chriſtians aſſembled: in the catacombs themſelves were placed the altars, on which they celebrated the lord's ſupper, rehearſed their creed, and vowed to be as faithful to it, as thoſe who were gone before them. The firſt churches were either built over ſepulchres, or the bodies of martyrs were brought and placed under their altars, till at length a ſingle bone was forced to ſuffice for it's conſecration. By degrees, what once aroſe from the circumſtances of the caſe, what had been the origin and ſeal of a ſociety of chriſtian converts, degenerated into mere form and ceremony. Baptiſm alſo, on occaſion of which a confeſſion of faith was made, was celebrated over the graves of believers; till at length baptiſteries were erected over them, or believers, as a ſign that they died in the faith, into which they had been baptiſed, were interred under baptiſteries. One aroſe from the other, and almoſt the whole form of eccleſiaſtical

ceremonies

ceremonies in the weſt ſprung from this *profeſſion of faith and ſepulchral worſhip* *.

At any rate there was ſomething very affecting in this covenant of truth and obedience entered into at the grave. When, as Pliny ſays, the chriſtians aſſembled before day, to ſing hymns to their Chriſt as to a god, and to bind themſelves with the ſacrament, as with an oath, to purity of manners, and the exerciſe of moral duties; the ſtill graves of their brethren muſt have been to them an impreſſive ſymbol of conſtancy unto death, and a confirmation of their belief in that reſurrection, which their lord and teacher, a martyr alſo, had firſt attained. To them this terreſtrial life muſt have appeared tranſitory; death, as an imitation of his, honourable and pleaſant; a future life, almoſt more certain than the preſent: and ſuch perſuaſions form the ſpirit of the moſt ancient chriſtian writings. Still ſuch inſtitutions muſt inevitably have excited an intemperate love of martyrdom; and men, weary of this tranſient earthly life, contended for the baptiſm of blood and fire, as the chriſtian crown of glory, with uſeleſs zeal. It was equally inevitable, that in time almoſt divine honours ſhould be paid to the bones of the dead, and that they ſhould be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed to produce ecſtaſies, heal the ſick, and work other miracles. Leaſt of all was it to be avoided, that this army of chriſtian heroes ſhould in a ſhort time take poſſeſſion of the whole Heaven of the church; and as their bodies were brought into the nave of the church with adoration, their ſouls ſhould diſpoſſeſs all the other benefactors of mankind of their ſeats: ſo that a *new chriſtian mythology* commenced: the mythology, that we behold over altars; the mythology, of which we read in legends.

2. As in chriſtianity every thing reſted on profeſſion, this profeſſion on a creed, and this creed on tradition; either miraculous gifts, or a ſtrict *eccleſiaſtical diſcipline*, were neceſſary to maintain order and government. With this inſtitution aroſe the authority of the biſhops; and to preſerve unity of faith, in other words, a connexion between many communities, councils and ſynods were requiſite. If theſe were not unanimous, or found oppoſition in other countries, appeals were made to the moſt reſpected biſhops, as *arbitrators*; whence it could not ultimately fail, that one *chief ariſtocrat* ſhould gradually ariſe out of this apoſtolical ariſtocracy. Who muſt become this chief? The biſhop of Jeruſalem was too remote, and too poor: his dioceſe was too much

* See the works of Ciampini, Aringhii, Bingham, and others, on this ſubject. A hiſtory of theſe things, taken from a view of the moſt ancient churches and monuments themſelves, and connected throughout with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, would exhibit the whole in the cleareſt light.

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ſtraitened by other apoſtolical biſhops: he ſat on his Golgotha, in a manner out of the circle of the ſovereignty of the World. The biſhops of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and laſtly of Conſtantinople alſo, ſtepped forward; and owing to the poſture of affairs, the biſhop of Rome carried it from them all, even from his moſt eager rival at Conſtantinople. The byzantine patriarch was too near the throne of the emperor, who could exalt or depreſs him at will, ſo that he could become nothing more than the ſtate prelate of the court. On the other hand, after the emperor had left Rome, and ſeated himſelf on the frontier of Europe, a thouſand circumſtances combined, to give the primacy of the church to this ancient metropolis of the World. Nations had been accuſtomed for ages, to venerate the name of Rome; and in Rome it was imagined, that the ſpirit of univerſal dominion hovered over it's ſeven hills. Here, according to the chronicles of the church, many martyrs had born their teſtimony, and the greateſt of the apoſtles, Peter and Paul, received their crowns. At an early period, too, was propagated the tale of Peter's epiſcopal rule over this ancient apoſtolical church; and the uninterrupted atteſtation of his ſucceſſors was quickly demonſtrated. Now as the keys of the kingdom of Heaven were delivered expreſsly to this apoſtle, and the indeſtructible edifice of the church was founded on the rock of his profeſſion; how natural was it, that Rome ſhould take the place of Antioch or Jeruſalem, and prepare to be conſidered as the mother church of ſovereign chriſtendom! The biſhop of Rome early enjoyed honour and precedence, even in councils, before others more learned and powerful: in diſputes he was employed as a friendly arbitrator; and what had long been a poſt of free choice in a council became in time a claim of right; his inſtructive voice was conſidered as deciſive. The ſituation of Rome in the centre of the roman World conferred on it's biſhops a wide field, weſt, ſouth, and northwards, for counſels and regulations; particularly as the imperial greek throne was too remote, and ſoon became too feeble, to control them with much effect. The fine provinces of the roman empire, Italy with it's iſlands, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and part of Germany, into which chriſtianity had been early introduced, lay round it as a garden requiring aid and advice: farther to the north were barbarians, whoſe rude countries were ſoon to be converted into fertile lands of chriſtendom. Here being no powerful competition, much more was to be done, and to be gained, than in the eaſtern provinces, thickly ſet with biſhops, which were ſoon ravaged and exhauſted by ſpeculations, oppoſitions, and conteſts, by the diſſolute tyranny of the emperors, and by the irruption of the mohammedan arabs, and other nations ſtill more ſavage. The barbarian frankneſs of the europeans was much more favourable to it, than

the inſincerity of the poliſhed greeks, or the fanaticiſm of the aſiatics. Chriſtianity, there in a ſtate of ebullition, and occaſionally appearing as a febrile delirium of the underſtanding, was cooled by it's regulations and preſcriptions in the more temperate climate of the weſt; without which it would probably have ſunk into that ſtate of debility, which we obſerve in the eaſt ſucceeding the mad ſtretch of it's powers.

The biſhop of Rome unqueſtionably did much for chriſtendom: mindful of the roman name, he not only conquered a World by converſion, but eſtabliſhed in it, by means of laws, manners, and cuſtoms, a more durable, powerful, and intimate ſway, than that of ancient Rome. The romiſh ſee never contended for the palm of learning: this it relinquiſhed to others, to the alexandrian, the milaneſe, the hipponian even, or any other that coveted it: but to ſubject the moſt learned ſees, and to rule the World, not by philoſophy, but by policy, tradition, eccleſiaſtical law, and ceremonies, were it's aims: and could not fail to be ſo, as itſelf reſted ſolely on ceremonies and tradition. Thus from Rome proceeded the numerous rites of the weſtern church, relating to the celebration of feſtivals, the claſſing of prieſts, the inſtitution of ſacraments, prayers, and oblations for the dead; altars, chalices, tapers, faſts, praying to the mother of God, the celibacy of prieſts and monks, the invocation of ſaints, the worſhiping of images; proceſſions, maſſes for the ſoul, bells, canonization, tranſubſtantiation, the adoration of the hoſt, &c.; rites, that aroſe partly from ancient circumſtances, in which the enthuſiaſtic conceptions of the orientals had often great ſhare, partly from accommodation to local uſages of the weſt, and chiefly of Rome, incorporated by degrees in the great eccleſiaſtical ritual*. Such weapons now conquered the World: they were the maſter-keys of Heaven and Earth. Before them bowed nations, that would not have ſhrunk from the ſword: roman ceremonies had more weight with them, than the ſpeculations of the Eaſt. Theſe eccleſiaſtical laws, it muſt be confeſſed, exhibit a fearful contraſt to the ancient roman policy: ſtill they ultimately ſerved, to convert the maſſy ſceptre into a leſs weighty paſtoral ſtaff, and the barbarous cuſtom of heathen nations by degrees into a milder chriſtian law. The chief ſhepherd at Rome, after having laborioufly attained the ſupremacy, muſt have interfered more in the affairs of the weſt, even againſt his will, than any of his colleagues in the eaſt or weſt could do; and if the propagation of chriſtianity

* I doubt whether a true hiſtory of theſe rites and inſtitutions, carrying conviction on the face of it, can be written without an accurate knowledge of Rome, with it's local circumſtances, and the character of the people. What in Rome is evident to the view, is often looked for under the Earth.

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be in itſelf a merit, this is his in an eminent degree. England and the greater part of Germany, the northern kingdoms, Poland, and Hungary, became chriſtian through the means of his meaſures, and his nuncios: nay, that Europe probably was not for ever to be diſturbed by huns, ſaracens, tatars, turks, and mungals, is partly alſo his work. If all the chriſtian races of emperors, kings, princes, counts, and knights, ſhould vaunt the merits, by which they formerly acquired ſovereignty over nations, the triple-crowned great lama at Rome, born on the ſhoulders of unarmed prieſts, may bleſs them all with his ſacred croſier, and ſay, 'but for me you would never have become what you are.' The preſervation of antiquity, likewiſe, is his work; and Rome deſerves to be the peaceful temple of it's preſerved treaſures.

3. *Thus the church formed itſelf with as much locality in the weſt, as in the eaſt.* Here, alſo, was a latin Egypt, the chriſtian part of Africa, where, as in the other, many african doctrines aroſe. The ſtrong expreſſions uſed by Tertullian reſpecting ſatisfaction, by Cyprian reſpecting the penance of ſinners, by Auſtin reſpecting grace and freewill, inſinuated themſelves into the ſyſtem of the church: and though the biſhop of Rome commonly purſued the middle track, he ſometimes wanted learning, at others authority, to ſteer the veſſel of the church on the wide ocean of doctrines. The learned and pious Pelagius, for inſtance, was much too ſeverely treated by Auſtin and Jerome: Auſtin contended againſt the manicheans only with a more refined ſpecies of manicheiſm; and what in this extraordinary man frequently proceeded alone from the fire of his imagination, and the heat of diſpute, paſſed into the ſyſtem of the church in too violent a flame. Yet peace be to thine aſhes, thou great contender for what thou calledſt the unity of the faith. Thy laborious taſk is ended; and probably it's effect extended too far, and too powerfully, through the ſucceeding ages of chriſtianity.

Still I muſt not paſs over the firſt order introduced into the weſt, that of the benedictines. Every attempt to naturalize in the weſt the monaſtic life of the eaſt, happily for Europe, was oppoſed by the climate, till this moderate order eſtabliſhed itſelf, under the favour of Rome, on mount Caſſino. It adopted better clothing and diet, than the hot and abſtemious eaſt required: it's rule, originally formed by a layman for the laity, alſo enjoined labour; and thus it was of particular utility in various wild and barren diſtricts of Europe. How many fine lands in all countries have been poſſeſſed by benedictines, who had partly reduced them into a ſtate of cultivation! In every department of literature, too, they did all, that monaſtic induſtry could accompliſh:

individuals have written whole libraries; and congregations have made it their buſineſs, to cultivate and enlighten the deſerts of the literary World, by editing and illuſtrating numberleſs works, particularly of the middle ages. But for the order of St. Benedict, probably the greater part of the writings of antiquity would have been loſt to us; and when we come to ſainted abbots, biſhops, cardinals, and popes, the number of them taken from this order, and their labours, are ſufficient of themſelves to compoſe a library. Gregory the great, alone, a benedictine, did more than ten ſpiritual or temporal ſovereigns: and to this order we are indebted alſo for the preſervation of the ancient church-muſic, which has had ſo much effect on men's minds.

Farther we ſhall not proceed. Before we ſpeak of the effect produced on the barbarians by chriſtianity, we muſt take a view of the barbarians themſelves, how they entered in great bodies, one after another, into the roman empire, founded kingdoms, moſtly confirmed by Rome itſelf, and whatever may be farther deduced from this for the hiſtory of man.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XVIII.

AS when mountain torrents, ſwelled to a flood in ſome lofty valley, at length burſt down it's feeble dam and inundate the plains below, wave breaks on wave, ſtream follows ſtream, till all becomes one wide ſea, which, ſlowly ſubſiding, leaves every where traces of devaſtation, obliterated in time by flouriſhing paſtures animated with fertility; ſo followed the celebrated irruptions of the northern nations into the provinces of the roman empire, and ſuch were their effects. Long were theſe nations reſiſted, checked, occaſionally admitted as allies or ſubſidiaries, frequently betrayed and abuſed; till at length they did themſelves juſtice, demanded or conquered lands, and in ſome degree crowded upon one another. Our object muſt be, therefore, not ſo much to examine into the juſtice of the pretenſions made by each of theſe nations to the country yielded to it, or conquered by it*, as to obſerve the uſe made of the country, and the new form thus given to Europe. Every where new nations were grafted on the old ſtock; what buds, what fruits did they produce for mankind?

### CHAPTER I.

*Kingdoms of the Viſigoths, Sueves, Alans, and Vandals.*

THE viſigoths were called in by two treacherous miniſters of the eaſtern and weſtern empires, Ruffinus and Stilicho; in the former of which they ravaged Thrace and Greece; in the latter, Italy. Alaric beſieged Rome; and as Honorius did not keep his word with him, he twice took the city, and 395. 400.

* Gatterer's *Abriſs der Univerſalhiſtorie*, 'Sketch of Univerſal Hiſtory,' Gottingen, 1773, p. 449, and following, gives an accurate, though conciſe account of theſe migrations and irruptions, and of the frequent change of boundary that took place. Maſcon's *Geſchichte der Deutſchen*, 'Hiſtory of the Germans,' Leipſic, 1727, 1737, Krauſe's *Geſchichte der wichtigſten Begebenheiten des heutigen Europa*, 'Hiſtory of the moſt important Events of modern Europe,' and others, have entered into them more at large.

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at laſt gave it up to plunder. Laden with booty, the king of the viſigoths advanced to the ſtrait of Sicily, and was contemplating the conqueſt of Africa, the granary of Italy, when death ſtopped the progreſs of his victories. The valiant robber was interred in a river with many things of great value.

412. His ſucceſſor Adolphus, or Ataulf, the emperor contrived to ſend into Spain and Gaul, againſt the vandals, alans, and ſueves, who had broken into thoſe provinces, and thus freed Italy from his preſence. Here, after having been

414. again impoſed upon, and at length married to Placidia, the daughter of the emperor Theodoſius, he founded the firſt viſigothic kingdom. The fine towns of Narbonne, Toulouſe, and Bourdeaux, belonged to him, and ſome of his ſucceſſors extended their poſſeſſions in Gaul ſtill farther. But as here the franks were too near them, and the catholic biſhops of the country were treacherous and illdiſpoſed to the arian goths, they turned their arms with more ſucceſs toward the Pyrenees; and after long wars with the alans,

585. ſueves, and vandals, and the complete expulſion of the romans from this country, they at length gained poſſeſſion of the fine peninſula of Spain and Portugal, with part of ſouthern Gaul and of the african coaſt.

407 to 585. Of the kingdom of the ſueves in Spain, during the 178 years it continued, we have nothing to ſay: after a ſeries of loſſes and misfortunes, it loſt even it's name, and was abſorbed in the ſpaniſh gothic kingdom.

The viſigoths rendered themſelves more memorable, when they entered this country. Already in Gaul, while Toulouſe was the ſeat of their kings, Eric cauſed a book of laws to be written *; and his ſucceſſor Alaric compoſed a

506. code from the laws and writings of roman juriſts, which preceded that of Juſtinian †. It was of force among ſeveral german nations, burgundians, angles, franks, and lombards, as an abſtract of the roman law; and alſo preſerved to us a part of the theodoſian code, though the goths themſelves were more inclined to adhere to their own laws and cuſtoms. On the other ſide of the Pyrenees they entered a country, which had been under the romans a flouriſhing province, full of towns, civil inſtitutions, and trade. When Rome was ſinking in luxury, Spain had given to the metropolis of the World a ſeries of celebrated men, whoſe writings even at that time diſplayed ſome marks of the ſpaniſh character ‡. Chriſtianity, too, reached Spain at an early period;

* Pithou's *Codex Legum Wiſigothorum*, 'Viſigothic Code of Laws,' Paris, 1579.

† Schulting's *Juriſprud. Ante-juſtinian.*, 'Juriſprudence prior to Juſtinian,' p. 683: Gothofred's *Proleg. Cod. Theodoſ.*, 'Preface to the Theodoſian Code,' c. 6, 7.

‡ Lucan, Mela, Columella, the two Senecas, Quintilian, Martial, Florus, and others, were ſpaniards.

period; and as the ſpirit of the people, from a ſingular mixture of various nations in a ſecluded region, was prone to the romantic and extraordinary, miraculous ſtories and penances, abſtinence and retirement from the World, orthodoxy, martyrdom, and eccleſiaſtical magnificence diſplayed over the graves of ſaints were ſo much to their taſte, that Spain, partly from it's ſituation likewiſe, ſoon become a true chriſtian palace. From Spain it was eaſy to apply for council, or to give advice, to the biſhop of Rome, of Hippo, of Alexandria, or of Jeruſalem; as it was to perſecute heretics, in or out of the country, and even purſue them as far as Paleſtine. Accordingly the ſpaniards were declared enemies to heretics from the beginning; and the priſcillianiſts, manicheans, arians, jews, pelagians, neſtorians, and others, experienced to their coſt the warmth of their orthodoxy. The early hierarchy of the biſhops of this apoſtolical peninſula, with their frequent and rigid councils, afforded a pattern to the romiſh ſee itſelf; and if France afterwards aided this chief ſhepherd with the temporal arm, Spain had previouſly aſſiſted him with the ſpiritual.

Into ſuch a kingdom, of ancient civilization and a firmly eſtabliſhed eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, came the frank arian goths, who found it by no means eaſy to withſtand the yoke of the catholic biſhops. Long, indeed, they carried their heads erect; they had recourſe both to mildneſs, and to perſecution; and endeavoured to unite the two churches. But in vain: the prevailing roman catholic church never gave way, and at length the arians were condemned in ſeveral councils at Toledo with as much rigour, as if never one of this ſect had been king of Spain. After king Leovigild, the laſt of gothic ſpirit, was dead, and Reccard, his ſon, had reconciled himſelf to the catholic church, the laws of the kingdom, alſo, framed in an aſſembly of biſhops, received the 586. impreſſion of the epiſcopal and monaſtic character. Corporal puniſhment, which the germans held in abhorrence, began to prevail in them; and the ſpirit of a tribunal for heretics became perceptible in them, long before the name of an inquiſition was known *.

Thus the eſtabliſhment of the goths was imperfect and fettered in this fine country, where, ſurrounded by ſeas and mountains, they might have formed a noble and laſting kingdom, had they poſſeſſed ſufficient ſpirit and underſtanding, and bowed neither before the church nor the climate. But the force

ſpaniards. See the Hiſtory of Spaniſh Poetry by Velaſquez, a german tranſlation of which was publiſhed at Gottingen in 1769.

* The reſolutions of the eccleſiaſtical councils may be found in Ferrara's hiſtory of Spain, as well as in the great collection entitled *Eſpana Sagrada*, &c. The viſigothic laws are to be ſeen in Pithou, in Lindenbrog's *Cod. Leg. Ant.* 'Codes of ancient Law,' and other works.

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of that torrent, which under Alaric once foamed through Greece and Italy, had long abated: the ſpirit of Adolphus, who had ſworn to demoliſh Rome, and erect a new gothic city, to be the head of the World, on it's ruins, was curbed from the moment he ſuffered himſelf to be led into a corner of the empire, and aſcend the nuptial bed with a Placidia. The conqueſt proceeded ſlowly, as germans were to purchaſe the provinces from germans with their blood: and when, after a tedious conteſt againſt the church, the biſhops, and the nobles of the realm, two ſuch diſcordant extremes at length coaleſced, the time for eſtabliſhing a firm gothic empire in Spain was gone by. Hitherto the kings of theſe people had been choſen by the nation; but now the biſhops rendered their office hereditary, and their perſons ſacred. The diets were converted into eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies, and the epiſcopal order was made the firſt in the kingdom. The loyalty of the nobles of the court was diſſipated in pomp and luxury; the courage of the once valiant warriors, among whom the land was divided, became nerveleſs in their fertile domains; and the morals and virtue of the monarchs were abſorbed by a prerogative eſtabliſhed on the baſe of religion. Thus the kingdom lay expoſed to the enemy on every ſide: and when the aſſailants arrived from the african ſhores, ſuch terrour ſtalked before them, that one ſucceſsful battle was ſufficient to give the ſwarming arabs the larger and finer part of Spain within the courſe of two years. Many of the biſhops proved traitors: the diſſolute nobles ſubmitted, fled, or fell. The kingdom, which, deſtitute of an internal conſtitution, ſhould have repoſed on the perſonal valour and martial ſpirit of it's goths, was defenceleſs, when this valour and this ſpirit were no more. Much may be learned with regard to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and rites from the Spaniſh councils: Toledo was, and long remained, the grave of the civil government of Spain *.

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As the valiant remains of theſe betrayed and defeated goths again iſſued from their mountains, and in ſeven or eight hundred years ſcarcely recovered by three thouſand ſeven hundred battles, what two years and one victory had taken from them; could the ſingular compound of chriſtian and gothic ſpirit appear otherwiſe than as a ſhadow from the grave? Ancient chriſtians reconquered their land long deſecrated by the infidel ſaracens: every church they were able to conſecrate anew was to them a valuable prize of victory. Thus biſhoprics and convents without number were revived, founded, and extolled as the triumphal honours of the croſs and the ſword; and for this the ſlow progreſs of the conqueſt afforded

* I have never ſeen the original inquiry of a ſwede concerning the Cauſes of the ſpeedy Decline of this kingdom. Iſerhielm *de Regno Weſtro-Gothorum in Hiſpania*, 'On the kingdom of the Viſigoths in Spain,' Upſal, 1705, contains only academical declamations.

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ample time. It happened too, principally, in the moſt flouriſhing periods of chivalry and the popedom. Some kingdoms, that had been taken from the moors, the king offered to the pope as fiefs, that he might reign in them as a genuine ſon of the ancient church. Every where the biſhops were his partners in authority; and the chriſtian knights, who with him had conquered the kingdoms, were *grandes e ricos hombres*, a ſuperiour order of nobility, who divided the new chriſtian realm with the king.

As jews and arians had been expelled by the orthodox of former times, ſo now were jews and mohammedans by thoſe of modern days: thus a fine country, once flouriſhing under various people, was gradually converted into a pleaſant deſert. The pillars of this ancient and modern gothic chriſtian conſtitution of the ſtate are ſtill ſtanding over all Spain; and Time has placed many between them, without being able to change the outline or foundation of the building. It is true, the throne of the catholic king no longer ſtands by the ſide of that of the biſhop in Toledo; and the holy inquiſition, ſince it's eſtabliſhment, has become rather the tool of deſpotiſm, than of blind devotion: yet in this ſecluded romantic land of fanaticiſm ſo many ſtrong fortreſſes of knights have been erected, that the bones of St. James appear to reſt even more ſecurely in Compoſtella, than thoſe of St. Peter in Rome. More than fifty biſhops and archbiſhops, and upwards of three thouſand convents, moſt of them wealthy, enjoy the ſacrifice of a kingdom, which has propagated it's orthodoxy with fire and ſword, with treachery and with bloodhounds, in two other quarters of the Globe: in ſpaniſh America alone almoſt as many of the epiſcopal order are enthroned in all the pomp of the church. In the department of letters, the ſpaniards cloſely followed the romans in ſacred poetry, polemics, and canon law; and theſe were ſucceeded by expoſitions of Scripture and legends in ſuch number, that even their comedies and farces, their dances and bull-fights, could not diſpenſe with a mixture of religion. The epiſcopal gothic juriſprudence intimately involved itſelf with the romiſh canon law, and on this all the acuteneſs of the nation was ſo whetted into ſubtilties, that here too we have a deſert producing thorns inſtead of fruit *. Laſtly, though in ſome degree the ſhadow only remains of thoſe ſuperiour poſts about the court and crown, which were at firſt perſonal offices merely among the goths, as among other germans, but afterwards as dignities of the realm ſucked the marrow of the land for half a chiliad; the kingly power having had the addreſs

* The ſpaniſh commentators, both on the roman law, and on the *ſiette partidas*, the *leges de toro*, the *auros y acuerdos del concejo real*, form a numerous body, in which all the acumen of the nation is exhauſted.

on the one hand to ally itſelf with the pope, on the other to abate the pride of the nobles, and curtail their authority: ſtill, as incongruous principles of this kind enter into the groundwork of the ſtate, and are interwoven with the character of the nation itſelf, this fine country will long remain in all probability a more temperate european Africa, a gothico-mooriſh chriſtian ſtate.

The vandals, preſſed upon by the viſigoths and ſpaniards, paſſed into Africa with the remains of the alans, and there formed the firſt neſt of chriſtian pirates, more wealthy and powerful than any of their mohammedan ſucceſſors afterwards became. Genſeric, their king, one of the moſt valiant barbarians the Earth ever beheld, in a few years made himſelf maſter of the whole of the fer-
429 tile coaſt of Africa, from the lybian deſerts to the ſtrait of Gibraltar, with
to an army by no means numerous; and created a naval force, with which
439. this numidian lion plundered all the coaſts of the Mediterranean, from Greece and Illyria to the pillars of Hercules, and beyond them as far as Gallicia; ſeized on the balearic iſlands, Sardinia, and part of Sicily; and
455. ſacked Rome, the metropolis of the World. Ten days he ſpent in deliberately and completely ſtripping this city, and then retired with the golden covering of the capitol, the ancient ſpoils of the temple of Jeruſalem, immenſe treaſures in works of art and precious things, and a multitude of captives, of whom he ſcarcely knew how to diſpoſe, and among whom were an empreſs and her two daughters. All this booty he ſucceſsfully conveyed to his new Carthage, except a part of the treaſure, which was ſwallowed up by the ſea. The elder of the emperor's daughters, Eudoxia, he married to his ſon; the younger he ſent back, with her mother: and in the whole of his conduct he proved himſelf ſuch a brave and able monſter, as to be worthy of the friendſhip and alliance of the great Attila, who affrighted, conquered, and rendered tributary the World, from the borders of the Lena in Aſia to the banks of the Rhine. Juſt toward his ſubjects, ſtrict in his manners, continent, temperate, cruel only when moved by anger or ſuſpicion, and always active, always vigilant, Genſeric ſpent a long and proſperous life, and left
477. to his two ſons a flouriſhing kingdom, in which the treaſures of the weſt had been collected.

His laſt will determined the fate of his realm. Conformably to this, the oldeſt member of his whole family was always to ſucceed to the throne, as he muſt have enjoyed the moſt time for experience; and this very circumſtance threw the apple of diſcord among his deſcendants. Thenceforward the oldeſt of the family was never ſecure of his life, as every younger member was eager to be the oldeſt: thus brothers and couſins murdered one another; each feared,

or envied, the reſt; and as the ſpirit of the founder was inherited by none of his ſucceſſors, his vandals ſunk into all the indolence and licentiouſneſs of the african climes. Their permanent encampment, which ſhould have foſtered their ancient courage, became the ſeat of play and luxury; and after a period of time ſcarcely equal to that during which Genſeric himſelf had reigned, the whole kingdom was overturned in a ſingle campaign. The eighth king, Gelimer, was carried to Conſtantinople, with his plundered treaſures, in all the pomp of barbarian triumph, and died as a peaſant: his captived vandals were tranſported to fortreſſes on the confines of Perſia, and the remains of the nation were loſt. Thus vaniſhed, as an enchanted palace with all it's treaſury, this wonderful kingdom, coins of which are ſtill caſually found in the ſoil of Afric. The veſſels of Solomon's temple, which Genſeric had taken from Rome, were carried a third time in triumph at Conſtantinople; thence they reviſited Jeruſalem, as preſents to a chriſtian church; and ſince they have probably been diſperſed over all the World as coins, impreſſed with ſome arabic ſentence. 534.

Thus wander ſacred things; thus vaniſh kingdoms; thus nations and times revolve. It would have been a matter of no ſmall importance, had this vandal kingdom been capable of maintaining it's ground in Africa: a great part of european, aſiatic, and african hiſtory, nay the whole courſe of european civilization, would have been changed by it. At preſent the memory of this people is ſcarcely to be traced in the name of a ſingle ſpaniſh province *.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Kingdoms of the Oſtrogoths and Lombards.*

BEFORE we enter upon the conſideration of the lombards and oſtrogoths, we muſt caſt our eyes for a moment on that meteor in the horizon of Europe, that ſcourge in the hand of God, the terrour of the World, *Attila, king of the huns*. We have already obſerved, that the eruption of the huns from Tatary was the real occaſion of that laſt great movement of all the german nations, which put an end to the roman empire. The power of the huns in Europe aroſe to it's moſt tremendous height under Attila: to him the emperors of the eaſt were tributary: he deſpiſed them as the ſlaves 376. 433.

* Mannert's *Geſchichte der Vandalen*, 'Hiſtory of the Vandals,' Leipſic, 1785, is a juvenile eſſay, not unworthy of the man, who has erected a laſting memorial to his fame in his *Geographie der Griechen und Rœmer*, 'Geography of the Greeks and Romans.'

of their own ſervants, received from them annually 2100 pounds
447. weight of gold, himſelf clad in plain linen. Goths, gepides, alans, herules, acazires, thuringians, and ſlavians, were his ſervants: he dwelt in a wooden houſe, in a village, in the midſt of a deſert, in the northern part of Pannonia*. While his gueſts and companions were ſerved in veſſels of gold, he drank out of a wooden cup, and wore not ſo much as a ſingle golden ornament, or precious ſtone, even on his ſword, or on the bridle of his horſe. Juſt and equitable, extremely kind to his ſubjects, but miſtruſtful of his enemies, and haughty toward the haughty romans; he ſuddenly burſt forth, excited probably by Genſeric, king of the vandals, with an army of five or ſix hundred thouſand men of all nations, directed his courſe weſtward,
450. traverſed Germany, paſſed the Rhine, and extended his ravages into the midſt of Gaul. Every thing trembled before him, till at length an army of all the weſtern nations collected, and advanced againſt him. With the prudence of a conſummate general, Attila retreated through the plain of Chalons, where his paſſage was free: romans, goths, latins, armoricans, breons, burgundians, ſaxons, alans, and franks, drew together to oppoſe him: he himſelf gave orders for battle: the fight was bloody, numbers fell on the field, and ſome trifling circumſtances decided the fate of the day. Attila repaſſed the Rhine
452. unpurſued; and the following year returned, croſſed the Alps, traverſed Italy, deſtroyed Aquileia, plundered Milan, burned Pavia, and fell upon Rome, that he might at once make a complete end of the roman empire. Leo, the biſhop of Rome, came to meet him, and with tears intreated him to ſpare the city: he likewiſe viſited him in his camp at Mantua, and prevailed upon him to leave Italy.

The king of the huns returned over the Alps, and was meditating revenge for the battle he had loſt in Gaul, when death ſtopped his career. His
454. huns interred him with loud lamentations; and with him ſunk their fearful power. His ſon Ellak died ſoon after him; his empire fell to pieces; and the remains of his people returned to Aſia, or were deſtroyed. This Attila is the king *Etzel* celebrated in german ſong; the hero, before whoſe table the poets of many countries ſang the deeds of their forefathers: he

* The perſonal traits of Attila are taken chiefly from the embaſſy of Priſcus to him, from which we cannot with confidence draw a picture of him through the whole of his life. Many illuſtrations on this head, and of the manners of the people, are collected from F. C. J. Fiſcher; who publiſhed an old poem, diſcovered by him, 'On the firſt Expedition of Attila,' *De prima Expeditione Attilæ*, Leipſic, 1780, with remarks; and a work 'On the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Europeans, in the fifth and ſixth Centuries,' *Sitten und Gebræuche der Europæer im 5 und 6 Jahrhundert*, Frankfort, 1784.

too

too is the monſter repreſented on coins and in pictures with horns, nay whoſe whole nation has been made a brood of elves and goblins. Happily Leo accompliſhed, what no army could have performed, and preſerved Europe from a ſtate of calmuc ſervitude; for that the ſoldiers of Attila were mungals, their government, manners, and way of life, evince.

The kingdom of the *herules*, likewiſe, muſt not be paſſed over unnoticed, for by it the whole weſtern empire was brought to an end. Theſe, with other german nations, had long ſerved as mercenaries in the armies of the romans; and when, from the increaſing neceſſities of the empire, their pay was diſcontinued, they took care to remunerate themſelves. A third part of the lands of Italy was given them to cultivate; and a fortunate adventurer, Odoacer, the leader of the ſcirri, rugi, and herules, became the firſt king of that country. Romulus, the laſt of the emperors, fell into his hands; and as the youth 476. and beauty of this prince excited his compaſſion, he allowed him an annual income, with one of the villas of Lucullus in Campania. Seventeen years Odoacer governed Italy, as low down as Sicily, with great merit, though the country was diſtreſſed by the greateſt public calamities, till the plunder of ſuch noble poſſeſſions tempted Theodoric, king of the oſtrogoths. This young hero obtained the gift of the kingdom of Italy from the byzantine court, and overcame Odoacer, who, refuſing to keep an ignominious treaty, was murdered.

Thus began the ſovereignty of the oſtrogoths. The founder of this kingdom, Theodoric, known in popular ſtory by the name of Dietrich 493. of Bern, was poliſhed and humane. He had been educated as a hoſtage at Conſtantinople, and performed conſiderable ſervices to the eaſtern empire. There the dignities of a patriarch and conſul had already been conferred upon him; and he had been honoured with a ſtatue before the imperial palace. But Italy was the field of his juſter fame; an equitable and peaceful reign. Since the time of Marcus Antoninus this part of the roman world had not been ruled with more wiſdom and goodneſs, than he governed Italy and Illyricum, part of Germany and Gaul, and Spain alſo as regent. For a long time, likewiſe, he held the ſcales between the viſigoths and franks. Notwithſtanding his triumph at Rome, he arrogated not to himſelf the imperial title, and was contented with the name of *Flavius:* but he exerciſed all the authority of an emperor, fed the roman people, reſtored to the city it's ancient games, and, being an arian, ſent the biſhop of Rome as his ambaſſador to Conſtantinople even in behalf of arianiſm. As long as he held the ſceptre, peace reigned among the barbarians; for the viſigothic, frank, vandal, and thuringian kingdoms, were allied to him by treaty, or by blood. Under him Italy revived; as he encouraged

couraged agriculture and the arts, and left to every people it's laws and cuſtoms. He upheld and honoured the monuments of antiquity; erected ſplendid edifices, though not altogether in the roman taſte, from which probably the appellation of gothic architecture is derived; and his court was reſpected by all the barbarians. Some feeble glimmering of ſcience even appeared under him: the names of his principal officers of ſtate, a Caſſiodorus, a Boethius, and a Symmachus, are ſtill highly eſteemed. Both Symmachus and Boethius, it muſt be confeſſed, met an untimely fate, in conſequence of a ſuſpicion, that they aimed to reſtore the liberty of Rome: yet perhaps the old king may be forgiven for this ſuſpicion, as he could look only to an infant grandſon for a ſucceſſor, and was well aware, how much was wanting to the permanent ſtability of his kingdom. Much is it to be wiſhed, that this kingdom of the goths had ſtood; and that a Theodoric had determined the ſpiritual and temporal conſtitution of Europe, inſtead of a Charlemagne.

526. This great king died, however, after a wiſe and active reign of thirty-four years; and immediately the evils, that lay in the political conſtitution of all the german nations, broke out. Amalaſvinda, the worthy guardian of the young Adelrich, was thwarted in his education by the nobles of the realm; and as on his deceaſe ſhe took the deteſtable Deodatus for an aſſiſtant in the taſk of government, who rewarded her with death, the ſtandard of revolt was raiſed among the goths. Many of the nobles aſpired after the ſovereignty: the avaricious Juſtinian interfered in their diſputes, and his general 536. Beliſarius croſſed the ſea, under the pretence of delivering Italy. The diſunited goths were hemmed in, and betrayed; Ravenna, the reſidence of 540. their ſovereigns, was taken by fraud; and Beliſarius returned with the treaſures of Theodoric, and a captive king. Soon, however, the war was renewed. Totilas, the valiant king of the goths, twice took Rome, but ſpared 546. the city, only throwing down it's walls, and leaving it open. This Totilas 549. was a ſecond Theodoric, and found ſufficient employment for the treacherous greeks during the eleven years of his reign. After he had been ſlain in 552. battle, and his hat and bloody garments were laid at the feet of the frivo- 554. lous Juſtinian, the kingdom of the goths came to an end; though they held out bravely, till reduced to the laſt 7000 men.

The mind revolts at the contemplation of this war, in which juſtice and valour contended, on the one ſide, againſt grecian treachery, avarice, and italian baſeneſs, on the other; till at length Narſes, an eunuch, ſucceeded in extirpating that monarchy, which Theodoric had founded for the happineſs of Italy; and introduced, to the laſting affliction of the country, the weak and

ſubtile

ſubtile exarchate, from which ſo many evils and diſorders ſprung. Here, too, as in Spain, the religion and conſtitution of the gothic ſtate were unfortunately the grounds of it's decay. The romiſh ſee could not bear the arian goths ſo near it, nay as it's maſters: accordingly it left no means unattempted for their deſtruction, not even the interference of Conſtantinople, though thus itſelf was endangered. Beſides, the character of the goths had not aſſimilated with that of the italians: they were looked upon as ſtrangers and conquerors, and the treacherous greeks were preferred to them; though from theſe the italians ſuffered unſpeakably, even in the war they carried on for their deliverance; and they would have ſuffered ſtill more, had not the lombards come to their aſſiſtance againſt their will. The goths were diſperſed, and their laſt remains croſſed the Alps.

The lombards deſerve, that the upper part of Italy ſhould bear their name, as it was denied that of the more eſtimable goths. Againſt the goths Juſtinian called them forth from Pannonia; and they at length ſettled themſelves in poſſeſſion of their booty. Alboin, a prince whoſe name is celebrated by many german nations, croſſed the Alps with an army compoſed of various tribes, attended by their wives, children, cattle, and domeſtic utenſils, to inhabit, not to ravage, the land taken from the goths. He acquired the country 568. afterwards called Lombardy, and in Milan, elevated on a ſhield, was proclaimed king of Italy by his lombards: but his death ſoon followed. His murder was planned by his wife Roſamund; who eſpouſed his aſſaſſin, but 574. was forced to flee from the country. The king elected by the lombards was haughty and cruel: the nobles, therefore, unanimouſly reſolved to chooſe no other, and to divide the kingdom among them.

Hence aroſe ſix and thirty dukes, and the firſt lombard-german conſtitution in Italy was eſtabliſhed. For when the nation, compelled by neceſſity, again elected a king, every powerful feudatory for the moſt part acted as he pleaſed. Often the king was even deprived of the choice of theſe; and at laſt his power of ruling and employing his vaſſals depended ſolely on his precarious perſonal authority. Thus aroſe the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento; who were ſoon followed by others: for the country abounded with cities, in which here a duke, there a count, could eſtabliſh himſelf. Thus, however, the kingdom of Lombardy was enfeebled, and could have been much more eaſily extirpated than that of the goths, had Conſtantinople poſſeſſed a Juſtinian, a Beliſarius, and a Narſes. Yet even in this feeble ſtate it was capable of deſtroying the remains of the exarchate; though it's own fall was prepared by it. The biſhop of Rome, who wiſhed only for a weak and divided government in Italy, beheld the

the lombards too powerful, and too near. Having no longer any aſſiſtance to expect from Conſtantinople, Stephen croſſed the mountains; flattered Pepin, the uſurper of the crown of the Franks, with the honour of being a protector of the church; anointed him legitimate king of France; and accepted as a reward the five cities, even previous to the commencement of the campaign, in which they were to be conquered, and the exarchate, yet to be taken from the lombards.

Charlemagne, the ſon of Pepin, completed his father's work; and ſubdued, with his over whelming power, the lombard kingdom. In recompenſe,
774. he was created by the holy father patrician of Rome, and protector of
800. the church, and proclaimed and crowned emperor of the romans, as if by the inſpiration of the ſpirit. The effect of this proclamation on Europe in general will hereafter appear: to Italy the conſequence of this maſterly caſt of the fiſherman's net was the irreparable loſs of the lombard kingdom. During the two centuries of it's continuance, it had promoted the population of the ravaged and exhauſted country; it had diffuſed ſecurity and happineſs through the land, by means of germanic order and equity; while every ſtate was permitted either to adopt the lombard laws, or to retain it's own. The juriſprudence of the lombards was conciſe, methodical, and effective: their laws remained in force long after their kingdom was deſtroyed. Even Charlemagne, by whom it was overturned, ſtill allowed them to be valid, only with additions of his own. In ſeveral parts of Italy they continued to be the common law, in conjunction with the roman; and found admirers and expoſitors, even when the juſtinian code became paramount at the command of the emperor.

Notwithſtanding all this, however, it cannot be denied, that the feudal conſtitution of the lombards, which was imitated by ſeveral nations of Europe, entailed diſaſtrous conſequences on this quarter of the Globe. It could not be otherwiſe than pleaſing to the biſhops of Rome, that the power of the ſtate ſhould be divided among vaſſals, abſolute in their own territories, and connected with their ſupreme lord by feeble bands; for, according to the old maxim, 'divide, and govern,' they were thus enabled to profit by every diſorder. Dukes, counts, and barons, might be inſtigated to revolt againſt their feudal chief; and the church could eaſily reap conſiderable gains from rude feudatories and ſoldiers, in reward of it's abſolutions. The feudal conſtitution was the ancient pillar of the nobility; and at the ſame time it was the ladder, by which men in office aſcended to hereditary poſſeſſions, and even to the ſovereignty itſelf. This might be leſs injurious to Italy: for, in this long civilized country, enjoy-

ing a near intercourſe with the greeks, africans, and aſiatics, cities, arts, manufactures, and trade, could never be wholly annihilated, or the yet unobliterated roman character completely effaced: though even in Italy the feudal diviſion of lands contained the germes of innumerable diſturbances, and was one of the principal cauſes, why this fine country could never attain a ſtate of permanent conſiſtence after the time of the romans. In other countries we ſhall find the application of the feudal law of Lombardy, the ſeeds of which were contained in the conſtitution of every other germanic nation, far more injurious. Since the time of Charlemagne, who added Lombardy to his poſſeſſions, and tranſmitted it as an hereditary portion to his children; ſince the roman imperial title, too, unfortunately came into Germany, and this poor land, throughout which uniformity of ſentiment could never prevail, had to draw with Italy in the dangerous harneſs of numerous and various feudal bands; and before an emperor had recommended the written law of Lombardy, and added it to the juſtinian code; the conſtitution, that formed it's baſe, was certainly not calculated for the advantage of many diſtricts, bare of towns, and poor in arts. Owing to the ignorance and prejudices of the times, the law of the lombards at length paſſed for the general feudal law of the empire: and thus theſe people ſtill ſurvive in their cuſtoms, which, properly ſpeaking, were raked out of their aſhes to be condenſed into laws *.

The ſtate of the church, likewiſe, was much affected by this conſtitution. At firſt the lombards, as well as the goths, were arians: but when Gregory the great ſucceeded in bringing over queen Theodolinda, the muſe of her nation, to the orthodox faith, the zeal of the new converts ſoon diſplayed itſelf in good works. Kings, dukes, counts, and barons, emulated each other, in building convents, and endowing the church with ample additions to it's patrimony. The church of Rome enjoyed poſſeſſions of this kind from Sicily to Mount Cenis. For as the fiefs of temporal lords were hereditary, why ſhould not thoſe of the ſpiritual be the ſame, who had to provide for an eternity of ſucceſſors? Every church acquired with it's patrimony ſome ſaint for a protector; and men had continually to gain the favour of this patron, as an interceſſor with God. His image and his relics, his feſtival and his prayers, worked miracles; theſe miracles produced freſh preſents; ſo that what with the continual gratitude of the ſaint, on the one hand, and that of the feudatories, their

* Excluſive of thoſe who have treated of the hiſtory of laws in general, or in particular, Giannone's Hiſtory of Naples, a work excellent in it's kind, is very valuable with reſpect to the laws of the nations that have ruled in Italy.

wives, and children, on the other, there was no ſuch thing as ſtriking a balance of the account. The feudal conſtitution itſelf paſſed in ſome meaſure into the church. For as the duke took precedence of the count, the biſhop who ſat by the duke's ſide would maintain precedence of a count's biſhop: thus the temporal dukedom became the dioceſe of an archbiſhop; the biſhops of ſubordinate cities were converted into ſuffragans of a ſpiritual duke. The wealthy abbots, as ſpiritual barons, endeavoured to withdraw themſelves from the juriſdiction of their biſhops, and render themſelves independent. The biſhop of Rome, who thus became a ſpiritual emperor, or king, willingly allowed this independance, and prepared the principles, which the falſe Iſidorus afterwards publicly eſtabliſhed for the whole catholic church. The numerous feſtivals, acts of devotion, maſſes, and offices, demanded a multitude of clerical functionaries: the treaſures of the church, and ſacerdotal garments, which were ſuited to the barbarian taſte, required their ſacriſtan; the patrimonial poſſeſſions, their rectors; all ultimately terminating in a ſpiritual and temporal patron, a pope and emperor; ſo that church and ſtate rivalled each other in one feudal conſtitution. The fall of the lombard kingdom was the birth of a pope, and with him of a new emperor, whence the whole conſtitution of Europe aſſumed a new form. For the face of the World is not changed by conqueſt alone; but ſtill more by new views of things, by new diſpoſitions, laws, and rights.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Kingdoms of the Allemans, Burgundians, and Franks.*

THE allemans were one of the rudeſt of the german nations. At firſt plunderers of the roman borders, and ravagers of their towns and fortreſſes; as the roman power declined, they ſeized on the eaſtern part of Gaul; and with it, and their ancient poſſeſſions, became maſters of a fine country, to which they might have given as excellent a conſtitution. But this the allemans
496 never did; for they were overpowered by the franks; their king fell in battle; and the people ſubmitted to the yoke, or were diſperſed. At length, under the ſovereignty of the franks, they obtained a duke; in a ſhort time
536 after, chriſtianity; and laſtly, written laws. Theſe are ſtill extant, and diſplay the ſimple, rude character of the people. Under the laſt of the merovingian line of kings, their duke was taken from them, and they were confounded

founded in the maſs of the francic nations. If the german ſwiſs be the deſcendants of theſe allemans, they have the merit of having a ſecond time cleared the foreſts of the Alps, and gradually adorned them with huts, villages, towns, towers, churches, convents, and cities. At the ſame time we muſt not forget thoſe, by whom they were converted, St. Columbanus and his companions, the name of one of whom, St. Gall, is to be recorded as a benefactor of all Europe, by the foundation of his monaſtery. We owe the preſervation of many claſſic authors to the inſtitution of theſe iriſh monks, whoſe hermitage amid barbarous nations was a ſource of moral improvement, if not a ſeat of learning, and ſhines like a ſtar amid theſe gloomy regions *. 610

The burgundians became a gentler people, after their alliance with the romans. They ſuffered themſelves to be fixed by them in towns, and were not averſe to agriculture, arts, and trade. The romans having beſtowed on them a province in Gaul, they lived peaceably, cultivated corn and the vine, cleared the woods, and would probably have eſtabliſhed a flouriſhing kingdom in their delightful country, which ultimately extended to the borders of Provence and the Leman lake, if the haughty and plundering franks would have allowed them room for it. Unfortunately, however, that Clotilda, who induced the franks to embrace the chriſtian faith, was a burgundian princeſs, who, to expiate ſome family crimes, ruined both it and her paternal kingdom. This ſtate exiſted ſcarcely a century, the laws of the burgundians during 534 which, with ſome determinations of their eccleſiaſtical councils, are ſtill extant; but it has more particularly perpetuated it's name by the cultivation of the land about the Leman lake, and in the gallic provinces. This country it rendered a Paradiſe, while others were yet no more than wilderneſſes. It's legiſlator, Gundebald, rebuilt Geneva; and his walls for more than a thouſand years have protected a city, the influence of which on Europe has been greater than that of many extenſive regions. In the land it cultivated the human mind has been more than once fired, and imagination ſoared with lofty wing. Even under the franks the burgundians retained their ancient conſtitution: accordingly, on the fall of the carlovingian race, they were the firſt who choſe themſelves a king. This new ſtate continued above two hundred years; and formed no bad example for other nations, to eſtabliſh their own independance.

* Every thing reſpecting the kingdoms and nations here mentioned, in which Switzerland is any way concerned, will be found to receive illuſtration, or judicious remark, in John Mueller's *Geſchichte der Schweiz*, 'Hiſtory of Switzerland,' Leipſic, 1786, &c.; ſo that I may call this book a library of hiſtorical information. A hiſtory of the origin of the nations of Europe, from the pen of this writer, would probably be the firſt in it's kind.

It is now time to ſpeak of that kingdom, which put an end to ſo many others, the kingdom of the franks. After repeated attempts, theſe at length ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing in Gaul that ſtate, which, from a ſlight beginning, firſt conquered the allemans, then gradually drove the viſigoths into Spain, ſubjugated the britons in Armorica, reduced the kingdom of the burgundians under ſubjection, and barbarouſly deſtroyed the ſtate of Thuringia. When the declining royal houſes of Merovæus and Clovis had valiant mayors of their palaces, Charles Martel repelled the arabs, and ſubdued the friſons: and when the mayors of the palace had aſcended the throne, Charlemagne ſoon aroſe, by whom the kingdom of the lombards was deſtroyed; Spain, as far as the Ebro, with Majorca and Minorca, conquered; the ſouth of Germany, to Pannonia, and the north, to the Elbe and the Eyder, ſubjugated; the imperial title transferred from Rome to his own country; and the nations bordering on his empire, the huns and ſlavians, kept in fear and ſubmiſſion. A mighty empire! more powerful than any one ſince the time of the romans had been; and equally memorable to all Europe in it's riſe, and in it's fall. How did the kingdom of the franks acquire this pre-eminence over all it's contemporaries?

1. *The ſituation of the country of the franks was more ſecure, than that of the poſſeſſions of any of their wandering brethren.* When they entered Gaul, the roman empire was already overturned; and the moſt valiant of their brethren, who had gone before them, were either provided for, or diſperſed. They found an eaſy victory over the enfeebled gauls; who, diſheartened by repeated misfortune, readily ſubmitted to their yoke; and the laſt remains of the romans, ſcared at their approach, fled before them like ſhadows. When Clovis with tyrannic hand cleared the country for his new poſſeſſions, and made free with the life of every neighbour, from whom he had any thing to dread; he ſoon had the coaſt clear both before and behind him, and his France remained as an iſland, ſurrounded by mountains, rivers, ſeas, and countries that he had depopulated. After the allemans and thuringians were conquered, no people inclined to migration appeared in his rear. From the ſaxons and friſons he contrived to remove all deſire of migrating, in a ferocious manner. His kingdom lay fortunately remote both from Conſtantinople, and from Rome: for if the franks had had any thing to do with Italy, it is probable, that, from the vile morals of their kings, the treachery of their nobles, and the negligent government of the kingdom, previous to the elevation of the mayors of the palace, they would have experienced no better fate, than thoſe worthier nations, the goths and lombards.

2. *Clovis was the firſt orthodox king among the barbarians.* This was of more advantage

advantage to him, than all the virtues. Into what circle of ſaints did this introduce the firſtborn ſon of the church! Into a congregation, the influence of which extended over all the weſt of european chriſtendom. Gaul and roman Germany were full of biſhops. They ſat in ſeemly order along the courſe of the Rhine, and on the banks of the Danube. Mentz, Triers, Cologne, Beſancon, Worms, Spires, Straſburg, Conſtance, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Tongres, Lorca, Trent, Brixen, Baſil, and other ancient ſeats of chriſtianity, employed the orthodox king as a bulwark againſt heretics and heathens. At the firſt council held by Clovis in Gaul were preſent thirty-two biſhops, among whom were five metropolitans: a compact ſpiritual body politic, and very efficient for his purpoſes. By them the arian kingdom of the burgundians was given to the franks: the mayors of the palace courted their favour; Boniface, biſhop of Mentz, crowned the uſurper king of the franks; and as early as Charles Martel's time, the patriciate of Rome, with the guardianſhip of the church, was a matter in agitation. At the ſame time theſe guardians of the church cannot be reproached with neglect of their ward. They repaired the epiſcopal cities that had been ravaged, ſupported their dioceſes, ſummoned the biſhops to their diets, and in Germany the church is greatly indebted to the kings of the franks at the expenſe of the nation. The archbiſhops and biſhops of Salzburg, Wurtzburg, Eichſtadt, Augſburg, Freiſingen, Ratiſbon, Paſſau, Oſnabruck, Bremen, Hamburg, Halberſtadt, Minden, Verden, Paderborn, Hilderſheim, and Munſter, the abbots of Fulda, Hirſchfeld, Kempten, Korvey, Elwangen, St. Emeran, and others, eſtabliſhed themſelves through their means: and to them theſe ſpiritual lords are indebted for their ſeats in the diets, with their lands and vaſſals. The king of France is the firſtborn ſon of the church: the emperor of Germany, his younger ſtep-brother, only inherited the guardianſhip of the church from him.

3. *Under ſuch circumſtances, the firſt imperial conſtitution of a germannic people could be more conſpicuouſly diſplayed in Gaul, than in Italy, Spain, or Germany itſelf.* The firſt ſtep to a monarchy governing all around it was made by Clovis; and his example was ſilently adopted as the rule of the ſtate. In ſpite of the repeated diviſion of the kingdom; in ſpite of it's internal ſhocks from the crimes of the royal houſe, and the unbridled conduct of the great; it was never deſtroyed: for the church was intereſted in upholding the monarchy. Valiant and able officers of the crown wielded the ſceptre of the feeble kings; conqueſt went forward; and it was deemed much better to permit the extinction of the race of Clovis, than to ſuffer the fall of a ſtate, which was indiſpenſable to all romiſh chriſtendom. For as the conſtitution of germannic nations in fact every where depended

depended on the king and officers of the crown perſonally; and ſtill more particularly in this kingdom, placed between arabs and heathens; all united to maintain, in this frontier empire, that mound againſt them, which the houſe of Pepin de Heriſtal had happily formed. We have to thank him and his brave poſterity, that a ſtop was put to the conqueſts of the moors, as well as to the progreſs of the northern and eaſtern nations; that a glimmering of ſcience at leaſt was preſerved on this ſide of the Alps; and laſtly, that a political ſyſtem of the german kind was eſtabliſhed in Europe, to which other nations were ultimately obliged to accede, either voluntarily or by compulſion. As Charlemagne was the head of this branch, to which Europe is ſo much indebted, his picture may ſerve us for thoſe of all the reſt *.

Charlemagne deſcended from officers of ſtate. His father became, what he was not born, a king. Of courſe his ideas were ſuch as he derived from the houſe of his father, and the conſtitution of his kingdom. This conſtitution he ſought to carry to perfection, as he was educated in it, and deemed it of all the beſt; for every tree grows in it's own ſoil. Charles clothed himſelf as a frank, and was a frank in his heart: aſſuredly, therefore, we cannot better learn to appreciate the conſtitution of his people, than from the manner in which he viewed and treated it. He ſummoned diets, and did with them whatever he pleaſed: he iſſued ſalutary laws for the ſtate, and capitularies, but with the aſſent of the empire. He reſpected the different orders in it after his manner; and permitted conquered nations to retain their own laws, as long as it could be done. He was deſirous of uniting them all in one body, and had ſpirit enough, to impart to it animation. Dukes, from whom danger was to be apprehended, he ſuffered to become extinct; and filled their places with counts, holding offices from the court. He appointed commiſſioners *(miſſos)* to viſit both theſe and the biſhops; and took every method of checking the deſpotiſm of rapacious ſatraps, inſolent nobles, and idle monks. On the deſmeſnes of his crown he was not an emperor, but a father of a family; and he would willingly have been the ſame throughout his whole empire, to animate every indolent member of it with the ſpirit of induſtry and order: but here the barbariſm of the age, and the eccleſiaſtical and military ſpirit of the franks, too frequently oppoſed his endeavours. Scarcely ever mortal ſo ſtrictly obeyed the laws of equity; except where the intereſt of the church or the ſtate prompted him to

* In the late *Geſchichte des Regierung Karls des Groſſen*, 'Hiſtory of the Reign of Charlemagne,' by Hegewiſch, Hamburgh, 1791, I think I diſcover the ſame view of his intentions, as I have here given. The whole of that acute work is a commentary on the brief ſketch here attempted.

acts

acts of violence and injuſtice. He loved fidelity and activity in his ſervice; and would have looked indignant, had he returned, on the attempt of making his maſk give a ſanction to a lethargic titulary conſtitution. But the wheel of Fate is in continual revolution. The race of his progenitors ſprung from ſervants of the crown; and after his death other ſervants of inferiour talents unworthily wielded his ſceptre, ruined his kingdom, deſtroyed the labours of his life, and fruſtrated the ſchemes of his intelligent mind. Poſterity inherited from him, what he did his utmoſt to ſuppreſs or improve, vaſſals, orders of nobility, and a barbarous pomp of francic court parade. He converted dignities into offices; after him theſe offices ſoon became again empty dignities.

From his forefathers Charles likewiſe inherited a thirſt of conqueſt: for, as they had been decidedly ſucceſsful againſt the friſons, allemans, arabs, and lombards, and it was almoſt an eſtabliſhed maxim of ſtate with Clovis, to ſecure the countries he conquered by the depreſſion of their neighbours; he proceeded with giant ſteps on the ſame courſe. Perſonal quarrels gave birth to wars, of which one followed another, ſo as to occupy the greater part of his reign, that continued near half a century. The lombards, arabs, bavarians, hungarians, and ſlavians, felt this military ſpirit of the franks; and ſtill more the ſaxons, againſt whom, toward the end of a three and thirty years war, Charles ſcrupled not to employ very violent means. He thus ſo far obtained his object, that with his empire he eſtabliſhed the firſt ſolid monarchy throughout Europe: for whatever troubles the normans, ſlavians, and hungarians, afterwards gave his ſucceſſors; and however the great empire might be enfeebled, diſturbed, and broken, by partitions and internal diſſenſions; a ſtop was put to all future tatarian immigrations, from Pannonia to the Elbe. The empire of the franks eſtabliſhed by him, againſt which the huns and arabs had already foundered, proved to them an immovable corner ſtone.

In his religion and love of ſcience, likewiſe, Charles was a frank. Political cauſes had rendered the catholic profeſſion hereditary in the crown from the time of Clovis: and when the power came into the hands of Charlemagne's family, they were the more confirmed in it, as the church alone aided them to aſcend the throne, and they were formally anointed by the biſhop of Rome himſelf. Charles, when a boy of twelve years old, had ſeen the holy pontif in his father's houſe, and had then received from his hands the inunction to his future empire: the converſion of Germany had long been carried on under the protection of francic ſovereigns, and often with their voluntary aſſiſtance; as to the weſt chriſtianity was the ſtrongeſt bulwark againſt the pagan barbarians:

how,

how, then, could Charles avoid proceeding in the ſame towards the north, and at laſt converting the ſaxons with the ſword? As an orthodox frank, he had no idea of the conſtitution he thus deſtroyed among them: he carried on the pious work of the church for the ſecurity of his empire, and perſevered in the gallant and meritorious ſervices of his fathers toward the pope and biſhops. His ſucceſſors, particularly when the chief empire of the World had fixed itſelf in Germany, followed his ſteps; and thus ſlavians, wendes, poles, pruſſians, livonians, and eſthonians, were converted in ſuch a manner, that none of theſe baptized nations ventured to make any farther incurſions into the holy german empire. If, however, the holy and bleſſed Charles, as the golden bull has ſtyled him, ſaw what has ſprung from the eſtabliſhments he formed for the promotion of religion and ſcience, from his wealthy biſhoprics, canonries, and monaſtic ſchools, he would wave his francic ſword and ſceptre over many of them with no friendly hand.

4. *Laſtly, it is undeniable, that the biſhop of Rome ſet his ſeal upon all this, and conferred the crown as it were on the empire of the franks.* He had been a friend to the franks from the time of Clovis: he had taken refuge with Pepin, and received from him as a gift the whole booty of the conquered lands of the lombards. After this he had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of Charlemagne; and being victoriouſly eſtabliſhed by him in Rome, he gave him in return, on the famous chriſtmaſs night, a new preſent, the roman imperial crown. Charles appeared ſtaggered and abaſhed; but the joyful acclamations of the people reconciled him to this new honour: and, indeed, as it was accounted by all european nations the higheſt dignity in the World, who could be more worthy of it than this frank; the greateſt monarch of the weſt; king of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain; the effectual protector of the ſee of Rome; reſpected by every king in Europe, and even by the khalif of Bagdad? Accordingly he ſoon entered into a treaty with the emperor of Conſtantinople; and took the title of roman emperor, though he reſided at Aix-la-Chapelle, or travelled about his extenſive dominions.

Charlemagne deſerved the crown: O that it had been buried with him, at leaſt for Germany! For, when he was no more, of what advantage was it on the head of the good and weak Lewis? and when Lewis was compelled prematurely to divide his empire, how oppreſſive was it on the heads of each of his ſucceſſors! The empire was torn to pieces: it's irritated neighbours, normans, ſlavians, and huns, roſe up, and ravaged the land; the law of the ſtronger prevailed; the diets of the empire fell into decay. Brother baſely warred againſt brother; father, againſt ſon; and the eccleſiaſtics, with the

biſhop of Rome, were their unworthy umpires. Biſhops grew up into princes: the incurſions of the barbarians drove every thing into the power of thoſe who reſided in fortreſſes. In Germany, France, and Italy, governors and officers of ſtate erected themſelves into petty ſovereigns: anarchy, treachery, cruelty, and diſcord, every where prevailed. Eighty-eight years after Charles had aſſumed the imperial crown, his legitimate race was extinguiſhed in the deepeſt miſery; and before he had tenanted the grave a century, his laſt ſpurious imperial ſhoot was cut off. No one, but a man like him, could rule an empire of ſuch vaſt extent, of ſuch an artificial conſtitution, compoſed of ſuch diſcordant parts, and endowed with ſuch pretenſions. The moment the ſoul had quitted this giant frame, it's parts began to diſſolve, and it remained for centuries a putrefying carcaſe.

Reſt in peace, great king! too great for a long train of thy ſucceſſors. A thouſand years are elapſed, and the Rhine and the Danube are not yet united, though thy hand had already begun the work for a trifling object. By thee inſtitutions were founded for education and ſcience in thy days of barbariſm: by aftertimes they have been abuſed, and are abuſed ſtill. Thy capitularies, compared with many of ſubſequent ages, are divine laws. By thee the bards of ancient times were collected: by thy ſon Lewis they were deſpiſed and ſold, and their memory in conſequence for ever annihilated. By thee the German language was cheriſhed, and improved to the utmoſt of thy power: men of learning were aſſembled round thee from the remoteſt lands: Alcuin, thy philoſopher, Angilbert, the Homer of the academy of thy court, and the excellent Eginhart, thy ſecretary, were beloved by thee: thy chief opponents were ignorance, inveterate barbariſm, and indolent pride. Perhaps thou wilt again appear at the end of the eighteenth century, and alter that machine, which began at the end of the eighth. Till then we will honour thy relics, abuſe thy eſtabliſhments according to law, and deſpiſe thy old francic induſtry. Great Charles, thy empire, which fell immediately after thee, is thy monument: France, Germany, and Lombardy are it's ruins.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Kingdoms of the Saxons, Normans, and Danes.*

THE hiſtory of the german nations in the heart of the continent poſſeſſes a certain degree of ſameneſs: the maritime nations, on the contrary, to which we now come, were more rapid in their attacks, more barbarous in their ravages, and more unſettled in their poſſeſſions; but then we diſcern among them, as amid

the tempeſts of the ocean, men of the higheſt courage, enterprizes of the moſt ſucceſsful kind, and kingdoms the genius of which ſtill breathes the freſh air of the ſea.

449. Already in the middle of the fifth century, the anglo-ſaxons, who had long carried on the trade of war and plunder by ſea, repaired to the aid of the britons, from the northern ſhores of Germany. Hengiſt and Horſa (ſtallion and mare) were their leaders: and as they eaſily overcame the enemies of the britons, the picts and caledonians, and were pleaſed with the country, they invited over more of their brethren; reſting not, till, after a hundred and fifty years of the moſt ſavage war and horrible deſolation, all Britain, Wales and Cornwall excepted, became their own.

The cimbri, who were confined to theſe parts, were never ſo fortunate as to iſſue from their mountains, and reconquer their ancient country, as was done by the viſigoths in Spain; the ſavage ſaxons being ſoon ſecured and confirmed in their poſſeſſion as catholic chriſtians. For it was not long after the eſtabliſhment of the firſt ſaxon kingdom of Kent, that the daughter of an orthodox king of Paris prepared her heathen ſpouſe Ethelbert to embrace chriſtianity, 597. which Auſtin the monk, armed with a ſilver croſs, introduced into England with great ſolemnity. Gregory the great, then holding the ſee of Rome, who burned with ardour to introduce chriſtianity into every nation, particularly by the marriage of orthodox princeſſes with heathen kings, ſent him thither; determined his caſes of conſcience; and made him the firſt archbiſhop 725. of this fortunate iſland, which, from the time of Ina, was liberal of it's tributary pence to St. Peter. Scarcely any other country in Europe has been ſo abundantly provided with convents and eccleſiaſtical foundations as England, yet literature reaped leſs advantage from them than might have been expected. In this country chriſtianity ſprouted not from the roots of an ancient apoſtolical church, as in Spain, France, Italy, and even in Ireland: the Goſpel was brought to the rude ſaxons in a new form by modern romiſh ſtrangers. The engliſh monks had afterwards ſo much the more merit, however, in foreign converſions; and would have been of conſiderable ſervice to the hiſtory of their country, at leaſt in monaſtic records, if theſe had eſcaped the ravages of the danes.

Seven kingdoms of ſaxon barbarians, unequal in extent, on a peninſula of moderate ſize, entangled by chriſtian and heathen warfare, exhibit no pleaſing picture. And yet this chaotic ſtate endured for more than three hundred years, during which we perceive only the occaſional glimmering of ſome eccleſiaſtical foundations and ordinances, or the commencement of a written law,

law, as thoſe of Ethelbert and Ina. At length the ſeven kingdoms were united under Egbert; and more than one of the ſubſequent monarchs poſ- 828.
ſeſſed ſufficient ſpirit and power, to have rendered their government flouriſhing, had not the incurſions of the normans and danes, who roamed the ſea with freſh deſire of plunder, prevented any permanent good either on the coaſt of France or England. The injury they did is beyond expreſſion; the barbarities they exerciſed are unutterable: and if Charles treated the ſaxons, if the angles treated the britons and cimbri, with cruelty, their acts of injuſtice toward theſe people were avenged on their poſterity, till the whole fury of the warlike north was exhauſted. But as the greateſt minds diſplay themſelves in the moſt turbulent ſtorms, on the call of neceſſity; ſo England has to boaſt among others her Alfred, a pattern for kings in a time of extremity, a bright ſtar in the hiſtory of mankind.

Having received the royal unction, while yet a child, from the hands of pope Leo IV, he remained unſchooled, till the deſire of reading ſaxon heroic poems ſo excited his induſtry, that he proceeded from them to latin authors: and with theſe he calmly converſed till his 22d year, when the death of his brother called him to a throne, and to every danger, with which a throne could be ſurrounded. The danes were in poſſeſſion of the country; and as they obſerved the courage and good fortune of the young king, they ſo united their forces in repeated attacks, that Alfred, who had fought eight battles with them in one year, who had repeatedly obliged them to ſwear on holy relics to pre- 875.
ſerve peace, and who was not leſs mild and juſt as a conqueror than brave and wary in fight, at length found himſelf reduced to ſeek ſecurity in a peaſant's garb, and become the unknown ſervant of a herdſman's wife. 878.

Still, however, his courage deſerted him not. With a few followers he conſtructed himſelf a habitation in the midſt of a moraſs, which he called the iſle of Ethelingey, or of Nobles, and which conſtituted the whole of his dominions. Here he remained above a year, neither idle, nor debilitated. He made incurſions upon the enemy, as from an inviſible caſtle; and ſupported himſelf and his followers by the booty he made: till at length one of his adherents took from the danes their magic ſtandard, the raven, which he conſidered as the omen of ſucceſs. Clad as a harper he now entered the camp of the danes, and enchanted them with his melodious ſongs. He was conducted to the tent of the prince, and every where beheld their profound ſecurity, and lawleſs diſſipation. On this he returned; diſpatched ſecret meſſengers to his friends, to acquaint them, that he was ſtill alive; and requeſted them to meet him in the corner of a wood. A ſmall army aſſembled, and received him with

joy. With this he inſtantly fell on the careleſs and affrighted danes; defeated them; ſurrounded them; and made of theſe his priſoners of war allies and coloniſts, with whom he peopled the countries of Northumbria, and Eaſt Anglia, which had been laid waſte; their king was baptized, and Alfred was his ſponſor at the font. Alfred employed the firſt moments of tranquillity, in repelling other enemies, who diſtreſſed the land in ſwarms. He reduced the diſtracted ſtate to order with incredible ſpeed; rebuilt the cities, that had been deſtroyed; formed himſelf an army; and ſoon created a naval force, ſo that in a ſhort time the coaſts were protected by a hundred and twenty ſhips. On the firſt report of an attack, he was ready with aſſiſtance: and at a moment of need the whole country reſembled a camp, where each knew his poſt.

Thus he fruſtrated every attempt of his predatory enemies as long as he lived; and gave the ſtate naval and military forces, arts and ſciences, cities, laws, and order. He wrote books; and was the inſtructor of the nation he protected. Equally great in private and in public life, he apportioned his hours, his occupations, and his revenue; and gained time for recreation, as well as for royal beneficence. Living a century after Charlemagne, he was perhaps a greater man, in a circle happily more limited: and though under his ſucceſſors many diſorders were occaſioned by the incurſions of the danes, and not leſs by the reſtleſſneſs of the clergy, as on the whole no ſecond Alfred ever aroſe among them; ſtill, from the good principles of it's conſtitution, even in early times, England has not been wanting in excellent kings; and even the attacks of it's maritime enemies kept it alert and prepared. Among theſe may be reckoned Athelſtan, Edgar, and Edmund Ironſide: and if England were tributary to the danes under the laſt, it muſt be aſcribed only to the treachery of the nobles. Canute the great, indeed, was acknowledged as king; but this northern victor had only two ſucceſſors. England reſumed it's liberty; and it was probably to it's misfortune, that the danes permitted the peaceable Edward to remain in tranquillity. He collected laws, and left others to govern: the manners of the normans came over to England from the coaſt of France; and William the conqueror eſpied his time. One ſingle battle placed him on the throne, and gave the land a new conſtitution. Of the normans it is incumbent on us to take a nearer view; ſince to their manners not England alone, but a great part of Europe alſo is indebted, for the ſplendour of it's ſpirit of chivalry.

Some of the northern germannic tribes, ſaxons, friſons, and franks, frequented the ſea in the earlieſt times; and danes, norwegians, and ſcandinavians, under various names, were ſtill more bold in their maritime expeditions. The anglo-

ſaxons and jutes paſſed over into Britain; and as the kings of the franks, particularly Charlemagne, extended their conqueſts northwards, ſtill bolder bands continued to engage in naval enterpriſes, till at length the terrour of the norman name by ſea became almoſt greater than that of the allied warriours, the marcomans, franks, allemans, &c., had ever been by land.

Were I to enumerate the naval heroes, whoſe exploits are celebrated in the ſongs and tales of the north, hundreds of renowned adventurers would ſwell the catalogue. The names of ſuch, however, as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by diſcovering countries, or laying the foundation of kingdoms, muſt not be paſſed over; and the extenſive ſpace over which theſe have ſpread themſelves is aſtoniſhing. To the eaſt we find Rorick, or Roderic, with his brothers, who founded a kingdom in Novogorod, and thus laid the baſis of the ruſſian empire; Oſkold and Diar, who eſtabliſhed a government in Kiow, which was afterwards united with that of Novogorod; and Ragnwald, who ſettled at Polockzki on the Dwina, the progenitor of the grand-dukes of Lithuania. To the north, Naddod was driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Iceland, and thus diſcovered an iſland, which ſoon became the aſylum of the nobleſt families of Norway, certainly the pureſt nobility in Europe, where the ſongs and tales of the north were preſerved, and augmented by freſh additions, and which for more than three centuries was the ſeat of lovely and not unpoliſhed freedom. To the weſt, the Faroe iſlands, Orkneys, Shetland, and Hebrides, were frequently viſited by the normans, in part peopled, and many of them were long governed by northern earls, ſo that the remoteſt nooks were inſufficient to protect the retreating gael from the germannic nations. In the time of Charlemagne they eſtabliſhed themſelves in Ireland; where Dublin fell to the ſhare of Olave; Waterford, to Stirik; and Limmeric, to Ywar. To England they were terrible under the name of danes; and not only poſſeſſed Northumberland, intermixed with ſaxon earls, for more than two hundred years, partly independent, partly in fief; but governed the whole country under Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute. The coaſts of France they had infeſted ever ſince the ſixth century; and the apprehenſions of Charlemagne, who foreboded much danger to his country from them, were abundantly juſtified ſoon after his death. The ravages they committed, both in France and Germany, not only on the coaſts, but wherever the rivers enabled them to penetrate, are inexpreſſible; ſo that moſt of the cities and eſtabliſhments formed by the romans, or by Charlemagne, were brought by them to a miſerable end; till at length Rolf, on his baptiſm

862.
865.
882.
990.
861.
875.
862.
795.
827 to 1066.
514 to 1052.
840.

911. tiſm chriſtened Robert, became the firſt duke of Normandy, and the progenitor of more than one royal family. From him deſcended William the conqueror, who gave England a new conſtitution; and in conſequence of whoſe 1029. plans England and France were involved in war for four centuries, which ſerved wonderfully to exerciſe the powers of both nations. Thoſe normans, who, with almoſt incredible courage and ſucceſs, wreſted from the arabs Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and for a time even Jeruſalem and Antioch, were adventurers from the duchy founded by Rolf; and the ſucceſſors of Tancred, who afterwards wore the crowns of Sicily and Apulia, deſcended from him.

Were all the bold deeds of the normans to be enumerated, performed 1130. by them as pilgrims or adventurers, in the ſervice of Conſtantinople, or in their travels, in almoſt every land, and in almoſt every ſea, from Greenland to Africa; and from America to the Levant, the narrative would have the air of romance. For our purpoſe it will be ſufficient, to trace the principal conſequences of theſe from the *character of the people*.

Rude as the inhabitants of the northern ſhores muſt have long remained, in conſequence of their ſoil and climate, their inſtitutions and way of life; ſtill they concealed a germe, particularly in their maritime occupations, which would ſoon have ſhot forth highly flouriſhing branches in a leſs ſevere climate. Strength and courage; activity and expertneſs in all the exerciſes, to which the epithet of knightly was ſubſequently annexed; a ſtrong ſenſe of honour and nobleneſs of birth; with the wellknown northern eſteem for the female ſex, as the prize of valour, handſomeneſs, and worth in man; were qualities, that could not fail to endear theſe northern pirates to the inhabitants of the ſouth. In the interiour parts of the land the laws graſp every thing: each rude effuſion of the will muſt either become a law among the reſt, or ſink by it's own weight. On the wild element of the ocean, to which the ſway of the monarch of the land does not extend, the mind receives animation: it roams in queſt of war, and of booty, which the youth is eager to bring home to his intended bride, the huſband to his wife and children, as marks of their proweſs; while a third ſeeks more ſolid acquiſitions in diſtant lands. To be good for nothing, was in the north the grand vice, puniſhed here with contempt, hereafter with the pains of Hell: while valour and honour, friendſhip to death, and a chivalrous reſpect towards women, were the virtues, which, from the concurrence of various occaſional circumſtances, contributed much to the gallantry, as it was called, of the middle ages.

The normans ſettled in a french province, and Rolf, their leader, married a daughter of the king: many of his comrades followed his example, and formed alliances

alliances with the nobleſt families of the land: the court of Normandy ſoon became the moſt brilliant in all the weſt. As chriſtians they could no longer purſue their piratical expeditions againſt chriſtian ſtates; but they received and civilized ſuch of their brethren as followed them, ſo that this coaſt, happily ſituate, was the central and ennobling point of the ſeafaring normans. As the angloſaxon monarchs, oppreſſed by the danes, had recourſe to them for aſſiſtance; and Edward the Confeſſor, who was educated among the normans, gave them hopes even of ſucceeding to the engliſh throne: as William the Conqueror won the kingdom by a ſingle battle, and immediately filled the chief poſts of it, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, with normans: the norman language and manners ſoon became the polite manners and language of the engliſh court. What theſe rude conquerors had learned in France, and aſſimilated with their own nature, paſſed over to Britain, even to a rigid feudal conſtitution and foreſt law. And though many laws of the Conqueror were afterwards aboliſhed, and the more mild angloſaxon of former times revived; the ſpirit inſtilled into the manners and language of the nation by the norman families could not be again obliterated: hence an inoculated ſhoot of the latin language ſtill flouriſhes in the engliſh. The britiſh nation would ſcarcely have become what it was before others, had it remained at reſt on it's ancient lees: but the danes agitated it a long while, and the normans drew it over the ſea into long wars with France. Here it's talents were exerciſed; the conquered became conquerors; and at length, after various revolutions, a political ſtructure appeared, which probably would never have ariſen from the angloſaxon monaſtic economy. An Edmund, or an Edgar, would by no means have withſtood pope Hildebrand, as he was withſtood by William; and the engliſh knights would not have rivalled the french in the croiſades, had not the normans ſet in motion the internal ſprings of the nation, and various circumſtances improved it by force. The engrafting of nations at proper ſeaſons appears to be as indiſpenſable to the progreſs of mankind, as tranſplanting to the productions of the earth, or inoculation to the wild fruit tree. The beſt, confined to the ſame ſpot, will at length decay and die.

The normans were not equally fortunate in their leſs permanent poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily, the acquiſition of which is a real romance of perſonal valour, and the ſpirit of adventure. On their pilgrimages to Jeruſalem they became acquainted with theſe fine countries; and eighty or a hundred knights, by ſuccouring the oppreſſed with their arms, laid the baſis of their ſubſequent dominion. Rainulph was the firſt count of Averſa; and three of the valiant ſons of Tancred, who alſo fortunately came over, were rewarded for their various

ſervices

ſervices againſt the arabs, by being firſt created counts, and afterward dukes, of Apulia and Calabria. More of Tancred's ſons, William the Ironarmed, Drogo, and Humphrey, followed. Robert and Roger Guiſcard conquered Sicily from the arabs; and Robert beſtowed on his brother the crown of this fine kingdom. Robert's ſon Boemund purſued his fortune in the eaſt; and being followed thither by his father, Roger became the firſt king of the two Sicilies, inveſted with both the ſpiritual and temporal power. Under him and his ſucceſſors ſcience put forth a few young buds in this corner of Europe: the ſchool of Salernum aroſe in the midſt, as it were, of the arabs and the monks of Caſſino: here juriſprudence, phyſic, and philoſophy, again ſhowed leaves and ſhoots, after a long winter. The norman princes maintained themſelves valiantly, in this dangerous neighbourhood of the papal ſee: they made peace with two of the holy fathers, when they were in their power; thus acting with more prudence and vigilance than moſt of the german emperors. Pity it was, that they formed matrimonial alliances with theſe, and thus gave them a claim to the ſucceſſion: and ſtill more pity, that the purpoſes of Frederic, the laſt of the ſuabian emperours, with regard to theſe countries, were ſo barbarouſly fruſtrated. From this period both kingdoms remained objects of contention to other nations; the prey of foreign conquerors and viceroys, and above all of a nobility, who have proved, even to the preſent day, an obſtacle to any amendment in the ſtate of this once flouriſhing land.

## CHAPTER V.

### *The Northern Kingdoms, and Germany.*

THE hiſtory of the northern kingdoms, obſcure as it is till the eighth century, has at leaſt this advantage over the hiſtory of moſt european countries, that a mythology with tales and ſongs lies at the bottom of it, which may ſerve as it's philoſophy. For in this we diſcern the ſpirit of the people, their ideas of men and gods, and the direction of their inclinations and paſſions, in love and hatred, in their hopes on this ſide the grave, and in their expectations beyond it: and ſuch a philoſophy of hiſtory is preſerved to us no where but in the Edda, if the grecian mythology be excepted. Beſides, the hiſtory of the northern kingdoms muſt be eminently ſimple and natural; as they were expoſed to the hoſtile incurſions of no foreign nation, after the finniſh tribes had been expelled, or ſubjected: for what nation would have ſought theſe regions, ſubſequently

quently to the great expeditions to more ſouthern countries? Where neceſſity iſſues her injunctions, men live for a long period in obedience to them: and accordingly the germanic nations of the north remained in a ſtate of freedom and independence, much longer than others of their brethren. Mountains and deſerts ſeparated the tribes from each other: lakes and rivers, foreſts, paſtures, and cultivated lands, with the ſea abounding in fiſh, afforded them nutriment: and ſuch as the land was unable to ſupport, betook themſelves to the ocean, to ſeek elſewhere food and plunder. In theſe regions, as in a northern Switzerland, the ſimplicity of primitive german manners has been long retained, and will ſtill endure, when in Germany itſelf it is become no more than an old wife's tale.

When here, as every where elſe, in time the free inhabitants became ſubject to nobles; many of the nobles became kings of the fields and deſerts; and at length from many little kings one great monarch aroſe: the courts of Denmark, Norway, and Scandinavia, were ſtill happy in this, that whoever was unwilling to remain in ſervitude might ſeek another land; and thus, as we have ſeen, all the adjacent ſeas were long the reſort of roving adventurers, to whom plunder ſeems to have been an allowed, local occupation, like the herring or whalefiſhery. At length the kings ſtepped in for a ſhare in this national trade: they conquered the lands of one another, or of their neighbours; but the majority of their foreign conqueſts were quickly loſt. The coaſts of the Baltic ſuffered by this moſt ſeverely. The danes reſted not, after innumerable depredations, till they had ruined the commerce of the ſlavians, and their wealthy ports, Vinetha and Julin: when they proceeded to exerciſe their right of conqueſt, and laying under contribution, againſt the pruſſians, courlanders, livonians, and eſthonians, long before the ſaxon hordes. 1043. 1170.

Nothing tended ſo much to ſuppreſs this mode of life of the northern nations as chriſtianity, by which the heroic religion of Odin was totally ſubverted. Charlemagne had endeavoured to baptiſe the danes, as well as the ſaxons: but his ſon Lewis firſt ſucceeded in the experiment at Mentz on a petty king of Jutland. Yet it was far from being well received by the countrymen of this king, who ſtill continued for a long time, to plunder and lay waſte the chriſtian ſhores: for the example of the ſaxons, whom chriſtianity had rendered the ſlaves of the franks, was too glaring before their eyes. The antipathy of theſe people to the chriſtian religion was deeply rooted; and Kettil, the pagan, choſe rather to retire living to his tomb, three years before his death, than ſubmit to be baptiſed: What diſpoſition could theſe inhabitants of the iſlands and mountains of the north entertain for the articles of faith and canonical precepts

of a hierarchical ſyſtem, which overturned all the tales of their forefathers, ſubverted the manners of their country, and, poor as their land was, rendered them the tributary ſlaves of an eccleſiaſtical court in diſtant Italy? The religion of Odin was ſo interwoven with their language and way of thinking, that chriſtianity could not introduce itſelf among them, as long as a trace of his memory remained: the religion of the monks being an inveterate enemy to the tales, ſongs, cuſtoms, temples, aud monuments of paganiſm; while the minds of the people were devoted to theſe, and deſpiſed the practices and legends of the monks. The prohibition of labour on ſundays, and of marriage within certain degrees, faſting and penance, the monaſtic vows, and the whole order of prieſts whom they deſpiſed, theſe northern people could never reconcile to themſelves; ſo that the holy men who ſought to convert them, and even their newly converted kings themſelves, had much to ſuffer, if they were not hunted out or martyred, before the pious work was accompliſhed. But as Rome knew how to catch every nation in the net that was adapted to it, theſe barbarians were entranced by the inceſſant endeavours of their anglo-ſaxon and frank converters, aided by the pomp of the new worſhip, church-muſic, incenſe, tapers, temples, high altars, bells, and proceſſions: and as they firmly believed in ghoſts and incantations, they, with houſes, churches, church-yards, and domeſtic utenſils of every kind, were ſo diſenchanted from paganiſm, and bewitched to chriſtianity, by the power of the croſs, that the demon of a double ſuperſtition returned into them. Some of thoſe, by whom they were converted, however, St. Anſgarius in particular, were actually deſerving men, and heroes after their manner for the welfare of mankind.

We come laſtly to the native country, as it is called, of the germanic nations, the depoſitory of their melancholy remains, Germany. After ſo many tribes had emigrated from it, not only was half of it occupied by a foreign race, the ſlavians, but the remaining german moiety, after various ravages, had become a province, ſubjected by conqueſt to the great empire of the franks. Friſons, allemans, thuringians, and laſt of all ſaxons, were reduced to ſubmiſſion and chriſtianity: inſomuch that the ſaxons, for example, when they became *kerſtener* (chriſtians), and forſwore the great idol Woden, were forced to yield up all their rights and poſſeſſions to the will of the ſanctipotent Charles, beg their lives and liberty at his feet, and promiſe fidelity to the triune god, and to the ſanctipotent king. The ſubjection of theſe free and independent people to the francic throne muſt neceſſarily cramp the ſpirit of their original inſtitutions: many of them were treated with ſeverity or miſtruſt; the inhabitants of whole diſtricts were removed to diſtant parts; none of the nations that remained had

room,

room, or time, to form themſelves. Immediately on the death of the giant, who alone embraced with his arms this forcibly compounded empire, our Germany, with varying limits, was now the portion of this feeble carlovingian, now of that: and as it was compelled to take a part in the inceſſant quarrels and wars of this unfortunate race, what could it, or what could it's internal conſtitution, become? Unluckily it formed the northern and eaſtern boundary of the francic empire, and with this of roman catholic chriſtendom; and on it's whole frontier dwelt irritated ſavage nations, glowing with implacable animoſity, who made this land the firſt ſacrifice to their vengeance. While, on the one hand, the normans advanced as far as Treves, and wrung from the nation a diſgraceful peace; on the other, Arnulph, the ſavage hungarian, broke into the country, to deſtroy the moravian kingdom of the ſlavians, and thus laid it open to long continued and terrible devaſtation. Laſt of all the ſlavians were conſidered as the hereditary enemies of the germans, and for centuries exerciſed their valour and ſkill in arms.

The means adopted under the franks to exalt and ſecure the empire were ſtill more burdenſome to diſmembered Germany. It inherited all thoſe biſhoprics and archbiſhoprics, abbeys and chapters, which were formerly founded on the frontiers for the converſion of the heathen; thoſe court places and chancelleries, in diſtricts that no longer made part of the empire; thoſe dukes and margraves, who had been appointed as officers of the empire for the defence of it's boundaries, and whoſe number had long been augmented againſt the danes, wendes, poles, ſlavians, and hungarians. The moſt brilliant and indiſpenſable jewel of all was the roman imperial crown; which alone has done more injury to Germany, probably, than all the expeditions of tatars, hungarians, and turks. Lewis, the firſt of the carlovingian race to whoſe lot Germany fell, was no roman emperor: and during the diviſion of the empire of the franks, the popes bandied about this title in ſuch a manner, that it was born by various princes in Italy, and even beſtowed on a count of Provence, who died after being deprived of ſight. Arnulph, an illegitimate deſcendant of Charlemagne, coveted this title, which his ſon, however, did not obtain; and which the firſt two kings of german blood, Conrad and Henry, did not deſire. Otto, who was inaugurated at Aix-la-Chapelle with the diadem of Charlemagne, unfortunately took this great frank for his model: and, as an adventure conferred on him the kingdom of Italy, in conſequence of delivering the beautiful widow Adelaid from a tower in which ſhe was confined, and thus opened to him the way to Rome; claim followed claim, war ſucceeded war, from Lombardy to Sicily and Calabria; where for the honour of it's emperor the blood of Ger-

many was profuſely ſpilt, the germans were betrayed by the italians, german emperors and empreſſes were maltreated in Rome, Italy was ſoiled by german tyranny, Germany was attracted out of it's orbit by Italy, it's ſpirit and power drawn over the Alps, it's conſtitution brought into dependance on Rome, and the nation, ſet at variance with itſelf, was made detrimental to itſelf and others, without deriving the leaſt advantage from this dazzling honour. *Sic vos non vobis* was always it's proper motto.

The more is it to the honour of the german nation, that, placed by the concatenation of affairs in ſuch hazardous circumſtances, it ſtood as the bulwark and defence of the liberty and ſecurity of all chriſtian Europe. Henry the Fowler had formed it to this, which Otto the great had talents to employ: but then the faithful and willing nation followed it's leader, even when, in the univerſal chaos of it's conſtitution, he himſelf knew not which way he led it. As the emperor himſelf was unable to protect his people from the ſpoliation of the privileged orders, part of them ſhut themſelves up in towns, and purchaſed from their plunderers the protection of a trade, without which the land would long have remained a Tatary. Thus a peaceable uſeful ſtate, connected by trade, compacts, and confraternities, was formed in the diſcordant empire by the intrinſic energies of the nation: thus manufactures aroſe under the oppreſſive yoke of vaſſalage; and were in part improved by german induſtry and integrity into arts, which were tranſmitted to other nations. What theſe have brought to perfection, the germans, for the moſt part, had firſt attempted; though, oppreſſed by poverty and want, they had ſeldom the ſatisfaction of ſeeing them employed and flouriſhing in their native country. They repaired in numbers to foreign lands, and were the inſtructors of other nations, eaſt, weſt, and north, in various mechanic inventions. It would have been the ſame with the ſciences, had not the government of the country rendered all inſtitutions of this kind, which were in the hands of the clergy, political wheels of the confuſed machine, and thus in a great meaſure robbed them of ſcience. The convents of Corvey, Fulda, and others, have done more for the advancement of ſcience, than extenſive diſtricts in other countries; and amid all the diſorders of theſe ages, the inextinguiſhable fidelity and probity of the german character remain evident.

The women of Germany were nowiſe inferiour to the men: domeſtic activity, chaſtity, fidelity, and honour, are the diſtinguiſhing features of the female ſex in all the germanic tribes and nations. The moſt ancient arts of theſe people were exerciſed by the women: they ſpun and wove; they ſuperintended the labouring people; and they had the management of the family, even in the

the higheſt claſs. In the court itſelf the wife of the emperor had her grand houſehold, to which a conſiderable part of his revenue was frequently appropriated: and this regulation was long retained in many a princely houſe, certainly not to the detriment of the land. Even the romiſh religion, which greatly diminiſhed the eſtimation of the wife, operated not ſo powerfully in this reſpect here, as in warmer countries. The nunneries of Germany were never the graves of chaſtity to ſuch a degree, as thoſe on the other ſide of the Rhine, or beyond the Alps and Pyrenees: in many points, indeed, they were rather magazines of german induſtry. The gallant manners of chivalry were never poliſhed to that refined ſenſuality in Germany, which they attained in warmer and more voluptuous countries: for the very climate enjoined more ſtrict confinement to the houſe, while other nations could purſue their occupations and amuſements in the open air.

Laſtly, as ſoon as Germany became a ſeparate empire, it could boaſt greater monarchs; at leaſt monarchs more benevolent and induſtrious; among whom Henry, Otto, and the two Frederics, are preeminent. What would not theſe men have accompliſhed, in a more ſolid and determinate ſphere!

After this individual examination, let us take a general view of the inſtitutions of the germanic nations, in all the countries and kingdoms they acquired. What were their principles? and what have theſe principles produced?

## CHAP. VI.

### *General View of the Inſtitutions of the German Kingdoms in Europe.*

IF ſocial inſtitutions be the moſt exquiſite productions of the human mind, and human induſtry; as they embrace the whole ſtate of things, according to time, place, and circumſtances, and conſequently muſt be the reſult of much experience, and aſſiduous attention: it is eaſy to conjecture, that a germanic inſtitution formed on the ſhores of the Black Sea, or amid the foreſts of the north, muſt have had very different conſequences, when it fell among nations of improved manners, or depraved by luxury and a ſuperſtitious religion. To conquer theſe was far more eaſy for the germans, than to govern them well, or themſelves amid them. Hence the german kingdoms, that were founded, ſoon diſappeared, or decayed in ſuch a degree, that their ſubſequent hiſtory exhibited only the ſhreds of an abortive inſtitution.

1. *Every conqueſt of the germans proceeded on the principle of a common property.* The nation was as one man: to it every acquiſition belonged by the barbarous right

right of war, and was ſo to be divided among it's members, that all ſhould ſtill remain a common poſſeſſion. But how was this practicable? A nation of ſhepherds on their downs, hunters in their foreſts, an army with their booty, fiſhermen with their common draughts of fiſh, may divide what they have among themſelves, and yet remain a whole: to a conquering nation, ſettling in a diſtant country, this is far more difficult. Every ſoldier becomes a landholder on his newly acquired poſſeſſions: he remains pledged to the ſtate for warlike expeditions, and other duties: but in a ſhort time his public ſpirit declines; he no longer frequents the aſſemblies of the nation; and he ſeeks to compound for his military ſervice, now become burdenſome to him, by the performance of duties of a different kind. Thus it was among the franks, for example: the Field of Mars was ſoon forſaken by the free commons; of courſe it's reſolutions were left to the king and his ſervants; and even the *arriere-ban* * required the moſt vigilant exertions, to maintain it effective. Thus in time the free commons neceſſarily declined much in power, as they transferred their military ſervices to the ever ready knights, and made them ample compenſation; ſo that the ſtock of the nation was loſt, like a divided and expanded ſtream, in ſluggiſh impotence. Now if a kingdom thus modified were attacked in this period of it's firſt relaxation, what wonder that it fell? And if free from external enemies, what wonder, that this indolence ſuffered the beſt rights and properties of the people, to paſs into vicarious hands? The conſtitution of the whole was framed for war, or for a way of life, in which all ſhould remain in activity; but not for a people living diſperſed in peaceful induſtry.

2. *With every victorious king a band of nobles came into the country, who, as his comrades and friends, his houſehold and ſervants, were to be portioned out of the lands he conquered.* At firſt this was only for life: but in time the eſtates allotted them for their maintenance became hereditary; the demeſne lord gave, till he had nothing left to beſtow, and himſelf was impoveriſhed. In moſt conſtitutions of this kind the vaſſals ſo drained their lord, the ſervants their maſter, that, if the government were of long duration, the king had nothing left of all his profitable claims, and was at length the pooreſt individual in the country. Now ſince, as we have ſeen, according to the courſe of things in long periods of hoſtility, the nobles muſt neceſſarily by degrees depreſs the ſtock of the nation, the free commonalty, ſuch of them excepted as raiſed themſelves to the rank of nobles; it is obvious, how the honourable trade of chivalry, at that time indiſpenſable, attained ſuch eminence. The kingdom was conquered by warlike

* A ſummons for the vaſſals of the king to attend his armies with their vaſſals. T.

hordes;

hordes: he, who perſevered longeſt in the exerciſe of arms, continued to add to his acquiſitions, while any thing was to be gained by the ſword. Thus ultimately the ſovereign had nothing, becauſe he had given every thing away: and the free commons had nothing, becauſe they were either become nobles, or impoveriſhed; and the reſt of the people were ſerfs.

3. *As in the ſtate of common property of the people it was fit, that the king ſhould viſit every part, or rather be every where preſent; which was impracticable; viceroys, dukes, and counts, were indiſpenſably neceſſary.* And as, according to the german conſtitution, the legiſlative, judicial, and executive powers were not yet divided; it was almoſt inevitable, that, under feeble kings, the viceroys of great cities, or remote provinces, ſhould in time become themſelves ſovereigns, or ſatraps. Their diſtricts, like a piece of gothic architecture, contained every thing in miniature, which the kingdom poſſeſſed at large; and as ſoon as they and their nobility could agree, according to the ſtate of affairs, the little kingdom was formed, though ſtill dependent on the ſtate. Thus Lombardy, and the kingdom of the franks, fell to pieces, and were ſcarely held together by the ſilken thread of a regal name: and ſo would it have been with the kingdoms of the goths, and of the vandals, had they been of longer duration. To reunite theſe fragments, where each part ſought to become a whole, has employed the endeavours of every kingdom in Europe of the germanic conſtitution for five centuries; and ſome of them have not yet ſucceeded in recovering their own members. The ſeeds of this diviſion lay in the conſtitution itſelf: it is a polypus, in each diſſevered part of which lives a whole.

4. *As every thing turned on perſonality in this collective body, it's head, the king, though he was as far as poſſible from being abſolute, repreſented the nation, in his perſon, as well as in his domeſtic economy. Moreover, his collective dignity, properly a mere fiction of ſtate, was imparted to his ſatellites, officers, and ſervants.* Perſonal ſervices to the king were conſidered as the firſt offices of the ſtate; as they who were about his perſon, chaplains, equerries, and ſewers, muſt frequently ſerve and aſſiſt him at councils, in courts of juſtice, and on other occaſions. Natural as this was in the rude ſimplicity of thoſe times, it was altogether abſurd, that theſe chaplains and ſewers ſhould be actually repreſentative members of the empire, enjoy the firſt rank in the ſtate, or indeed hold their dignities as hereditary to all eternity: and yet ſuch a parade of barbarian pomp, adapted to the dining tent of a khan of tatars, but not to the palace of a father, director, and judge of a nation, forms the fundamental conſtitution of every germanic kingdom in Europe. The old fiction of ſtate was converted into a naked truth: the whole empire was metamorphoſed into the hall, the kitchen,

and

and the ſtable of the king. Singular metamorphoſis! They who were ſervants and vaſſals might indeed be repreſented by theſe ſervants of higher order, and more ſplendid appearance; but not the body of the nation, no one free member of which had been a ſervant of the king, but his comrade and companion in the field and the cabinet, and could not allow himſelf to be repreſented by any of the king's domeſtics. This tatarian conſtitution flouriſhed no where with ſuch magnificence as on gallic ground; whence it was tranſplanted into England and Sicily by the normans, into Germany with the imperial diadem, thence into the northern kingdoms, and laſt of all from Burgundy with great pomp into Spain; every where producing new bloſſoms, according to the time and place. Neither greeks nor romans, neither Alexander nor Auguſtus, knew any thing of ſuch a fiction of ſtate, which made the houſehold of the regent the ſum and ſubſtance of the kingdom: but on the banks of the Yeniſey and the Yaik it is indigenous; and therefore the ſables and ermines of it's arms and devices are not inſignificant.

5. This conſtitution would not eaſily have found and retained ſuch firm footing in Europe, had it not been preceded by another barbariſm, with which it amicably coaleſced, the *barbariſm of the papacy*. For as all the remains of ſcience, with which even the barbarians could not diſpenſe in theſe countries, were in the hands of the clergy; there was but one mode left for them, undeſirous of acquiring ſcience themſelves, to add it as it were to their conqueſts, by admitting the biſhops among them. This they did. And as theſe became ſervants of the court with the nobles; as theſe too allowed themſelves to be endowed with benefices, lands, and privileges, and in many reſpects gained the preeminence over the laity, from various cauſes; this conſtitution was dear to the papacy above all others. Now as on the one hand it is undeniable, that the ſpiritual order contributed much to the ſoftening of manners, and eſtabliſhment of order; on the other it muſt be confeſſed, that the introduction of two diſtinct codes of law, of an independent ſtate within the ſtate at large, muſt have looſened the foundations of the political edifice. No two things could be more directly oppoſite to each other in themſelves, than the roman papacy, and the ſpirit of german manners: this ſpirit the papacy was inceſſantly undermining, while on the other hand it appropriated much of it to itſelf, and at length compounded from the two a german romiſh chaos. That, at which all german nations had long ſhuddered, became at length moſt dear to them: they ſuffered their own principles to be employed againſt themſelves. The domains of the church, wreſted from the ſtate, became one common domain, which the biſhop of Rome governed and protected with more energy, than any ſecular potentate his dominions. A conſtitution full of incongruity, and fatal diſcord.

6. *Neither ſoldiers nor monks feed a country;* and as ſo little care was taken of the labouring claſs in this conſtitution, which tended rather to render the whole community ſerfs of the biſhops and nobles; it is obvious, that the ſtate was long deprived of it's moſt invigorating ſprings, *induſtry, and the active ſpirit of uncontrolled invention.* The ſoldier deemed himſelf too great to till the ground, and ſunk into obſcurity: the nobles and convents would have their predial ſlaves, and predial ſlavery was never advantageous to mankind. As long as lands and goods were conſidered as an indiviſible dead poſſeſſion, belonging to the crown, or the church, or the head of a noble race, in the quality of an immoveable eſtate, to which ſerfs appertained; and not as an uſeful body, organized in all it's parts and products: the right uſe of this land, and the true eſtimation of human powers, were prevented in an unſpeakable degree. The greater part of the land was an unproductive common; and men were attached to the glebe like beaſts, with this ſevere law, that they could never looſen themſelves from it. Arts and trades followed the ſame courſe. Exerciſed by women and ſlaves, they long remained, in the groſs, ſlaviſh occupations: and when convents, having acquired from the roman world a knowledge of their utility, drew them within their walls; when emperors conferred on them the privileges of city corporations; the courſe of things did not change. How can arts raiſe themſelves, where agriculture is depreſſed? where the primitive ſource of wealth, independent, gainful induſtry, with all the ſtreams of traffic and free trade, is dried up? where none but ſoldiers and monks are leading men, and wealthy proprietaries? Conformably to the ſpirit of the times, the arts could only be introduced as common bodies, *univerſitates*, in the form of corporations: a rude ſhell, which, though then neceſſary to ſecurity, was ſtill a fetter, reſtraining the activity of the human mind from exerting itſelf out of the corporate pale. We have to thank ſuch conſtitutions, that barren commons are ſtill to be found in countries cultivated for centuries; that firmly eſtabliſhed corporations, orders, and fraternities, ſtill cheriſh all the ancient prejudices and errours, which they have faithfully preſerved. The human mind has modelled itſelf mechanically by the ſquare and compaſs, and crouched in the privileged cheſt of a corporation.

7. From all this it is evident, that the idea of the germanic popular conſtitution, natural and noble as it was in itſelf, when applied to great, conquered, long civilized, or indeed romiſh chriſtian kingdoms, could be no other than a *bold experiment*, liable to various abuſes: it required to be long exerciſed, and proved and poliſhed in various ways, by many intelligent nations, before it could attain any degree of ſtability. In little municipalities, in judicial pro-

ceſſes, and wherever the general preſence is ſomething more than a dead letter, it is unqueſtionably the beſt. The old german principles, that every one ſhall be tried by his peers, that the judge has no authority but what he derives from thoſe to whom the right of judging belongs, that ſatisfaction for every crime is to be made only as it is an offence againſt the community, and that an offence is to be judged not by the letter of the law, but from actual conſideration of the fact: theſe, with a number of cuſtoms, reſpecting the adminiſtration of juſtice, confraternities, and other matters, teſtify the clear underſtanding, and equitable ſpirit of the germans. With regard to the ſtate, likewiſe, the principles of the community of property, defence, and liberty, to the whole nation, were grand and noble: but as theſe principles required men, qualified to keep all the members of the community together, to maintain the balance between them, and to animate the whole with a glance; and as ſuch men were not to be produced according to the law of primogeniture; it followed, as it has every where more or leſs, that the members of the nation gave a looſe to the exerciſe of lawleſs power, oppreſſed the unarmed, and ſupplied the want of underſtanding and induſtry by long tatarian diſorder. Yet, in the hiſtory of the World, the popular conſtitution of the german nations has proved the ſolid bulwark, that has protected the remains of civilization from the ſtorms of time, developed the public ſpirit of Europe, and ſlowly and ſilently operated on all the regions of the Earth. Firſt appeared the lofty phantoms of a ſpiritual and a temporal monarchy; but they promoted objects far different from thoſe, for which thoy were deſigned.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XIX.

NEVER was a nominal alluſion attended with conſequences more important, than that made to St. Peter, that an indeſtructible church ſhould be built on the rock of his faith, and that to him the keys of the kingdom of Heaven ſhould be entruſted. The biſhop, who was ſuppoſed to ſit in St. Peter's chair, and near his grave, had the art, to interpret this as alluding to himſelf: and as various circumſtances concurred, to render him the primate of the greateſt chriſtian church, and at the ſame time to confer on him the power of iſſuing ſpiritual ordinances and injunctions, calling councils and deciding upon them, eſtabliſhing and defining articles of faith, abſolving irremiſſible ſins, and imparting indulgences, that no other could beſtow; ſo that, in ſhort, he enjoyed the authority of God upon Earth; he ſoon paſſed from this ſpiritual monarchy, to it's natural conſequence, temporal. As he had formerly limited the power of biſhops, he now reſtrained that of monarchs. He conferred a weſtern imperial diadem, the authority of which he himſelf did not acknowledge. His dreaded hand, wielding anathemas and interdictions, erected and gave away kingdoms, chaſtiſed and pardoned kings, deprived countries of the exerciſe of religious worſhip, abſolved ſubjects and vaſſals from their duties, deprived the whole body of his clergy of wives and children, and founded a ſyſtem, which a ſeries of ages have ſhaken indeed, but not yet deſtroyed. Such a phenomenon demands attention: and as no regent in the world had ſuch obſtacles to ſurmount for the eſtabliſhment of his power, as the biſhop of Rome, it deſerves at leaſt to be examined without rancour and animoſity, as well as any other political conſtitution *.

* Though particular parts of the papal hiſtory have been handled with conſiderable ability ſince Sarpi, Puffendorf, &c.; yet I think a philoſophical hiſtory of the papacy, treated throughout with perfect impartiality, is ſtill wanting. The author of the *Reformationsgeſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of the Reformation,' after he has completed his deſign, might thus give his work a ſingular degree of perfection.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Romiſh Hierarchy.*

When a man deſigns to erect an edifice, he uſually makes a ſketch of the ſtructure, before he lays it's foundations: but this is ſeldom the caſe with the work of the political architect, which is left to time to complete. It may be doubted, whether the moſt unremitting attention could ever have been ſufficient, to raiſe the ſpiritual greatneſs of Rome. The biſhops, that wore the roman mitre, differed as much as any other potentates; and there were unpropitious times for the ableſt operators. But it was the policy of this ſee, to turn to account even theſe unpropitious periods, and the faults both of it's enemies, and of it's preceding occupiers: and by this policy it attained it's grandeur and ſtability. Out of numerous circumſtances of hiſtory, let us conſider a few, with the principles on which the greatneſs of Rome was erected.

The very name of Rome itſelf ſays a great deal: the ancient queen of the World, the head and the crown of nations, inſpired her biſhops with the deſire of being alſo the head of nations after their manner. No tales of the epiſcopacy and martyrdom of Peter would have had ſuch political effects at Antioch, or Jeruſalem, as in the flouriſhing church of ancient, immortal Rome: for how much did the biſhop of this revered city find, that could not fail to exalt him almoſt againſt his will! The ineradicable pride of the roman people, to which ſo many emperors were obliged to yield, lifted him on their ſhoulders; and inſpired him, the paſtor of the firſt people upon Earth, with the thought of ſtudying ſcience and politics, in this their high ſchool, to which even in chriſtian times men journeyed for inſtruction in the roman juriſprudence; that, like the ancient romans he might rule the World by his laws and ordinances. The pomp of pagan worſhip glared in his eyes; and as this was connected with the ſovereign power in the roman conſtitution, the people expected in it's chriſtian biſhop, likewiſe, the ancient *pontifex maximus*, *aruſpex*, *& augur*. Accuſtomed to triumphs, feſtivals, and ceremonials of ſtate, they gladly ſaw chriſtianity emerging from graves and catacombs into temples worthy of the roman greatneſs; and thus Rome became a ſecond time the head of nations, by means of it's feſtivals, rites, and inſtitutions.

Rome early diſplayed it's legiſlative policy, by inculcating the *unity of the church*, *purity of doctrine*, *orthodoxy*, *and catholiciſm*, on which it was neceſſary the church ſhould be built. Even ſo early as the ſecond century, Victor had

the boldneſs to refuſe acknowledging the chriſtians of Aſia as his brethren, becauſe they would not celebrate Eaſter at the ſame time with him: nay the firſt diviſion between jewiſh and heathen chriſtians was probably terminated by Rome, where Paul and Peter lay peaceably interred *. This ſpirit of an univerſal doctrine maintained itſelf in the romiſh ſee: and though ſome of the popes themſelves are ſcarcely free from the imputation of hereſy, their ſucceſſors always contrived to take a turn, and reenter the pale of the orthodox church. Rome never bowed to hereſy, though often threatened by it: the eaſtern emperors, the oſtrogoths and viſigoths, the burgundians and the lombards, were arians: ſome of theſe governed Rome; yet Rome remained catholic. At length it ſeparated itſelf without ceremony from the greek church, though this was almoſt half a world. This foundation of an immoveable purity and univerſality of doctrine, profeſſing to reſt on Scripture and tradition, muſt neceſſarily acquire and ſupport the ſuperſtructure, under favourable circumſtances, of the throne of a ſpiritual judge.

Such favourable circumſtances occurred. After the emperors had left Italy; when the empire was divided, and overrun by barbarians; and Rome had been repeatedly taken and plundered; it's biſhop had more than once opportunities of being it's deliverer. He was the father of the abandoned metropolis; and the barbarians, who venerated the majeſty of Rome, reſpected it's chief prieſt. Attila retired; Genſeric ſubmitted; enraged lombard kings fell at his feet, even before he was lord of Rome. Long did he hold the balance between greeks and barbarians: he had the art to divide, that he might afterwards govern. And when this policy of diviſion would no longer ſucceed, he had already prepared his catholic France to aſſiſt him: he croſſed the mountains, and obtained from his deliverer more than he had aſked, his epiſcopal city, with all the cities of the exarchate. At length Charlemagne became emperor of Rome; and now the word was, one Rome, one emperor, one pope! three inſeparable names, thenceforward to work the weal and woe of nations. Unheard of liberties were taken by the roman biſhop even with the ſon of his benefactor; and his later ſucceſſors expected ſtill more. He interfered between the emperors, iſſued his commands to them, depoſed them, and tore from their brows the crown, which he conceived he had given to them. The openhearted germans, who for three hundred and fifty years viſited Rome for the ſake of this jewel, and readily ſacrificed to it the blood of the nation, were

* Of this elſewhere.

they

they who raised the arrogance of the pope to it's most tremendous height. Without a german emperor, and the wretched constitution of his empire, a Hildebrand would never have arisen: and even now the constitution of Germany renders it the pillow of the roman tiara.

As heathen Rome was happily situate for it's conquests, so was christian Rome. From the North Sea and the Baltic, from the Euxine and the Wolga, came numerous nations, whom the bishop of Rome must finally sign with his orthodox cross, if they would live in peace in this orthodox region: and those, who came not of their own accord, he took care to seek. He sent prayers and incense to the nations; in return for which they dedicated gold and silver to his use, and endowed his numerous servants with woods and fields. But their most valuable present was their raw, unprejudiced hearts; which sinned the more, as they acquired the knowledge of sin; and received from him catalogues of offences, that his absolutions might become requisite. Thus the keys of St. Peter came into employ; but never did they turn without a fee. What a fine inheritance for the clergy were the lands of the goths, allemans, franks, angles, saxons, danes, swedes, slavians, poles, prussians, and hungarians! The later these people entered into the kingdom of Heaven, the dearer were they obliged to pay for admission; and not unfrequently their land and liberty were the price. The farther they lay to the north, or to the east; the more tardy was their conversion, and the more ample their gratitude. The greater the difficulty with which a nation was led to the faith, the more firmly did it learn to believe. At length the fold of the romish bishop extended to Greenland, and stretched from the Dwina and the Nieper to the extreme promontory of the west.

Winifred, or Boniface, the converter of the germans, raised the authority of the pope over bishops situate out of his diocese to a much higher pitch, than any emperor could have done. As a bishop in a land of infidels he had taken an oath of fealty to the pope, which persuasion or assumption afterwards extended to other bishops, till at length it became a law in all catholic kingdoms. The frequent division of countries under the carlovingian race likewise changed the limits of episcopal dioceses, and afforded the pope abundant opportunities of exercising his authority in them. Lastly, the collection of decretals of the Pseudo-Isidorus, which first appeared publicly in these times of the carlovingians, probably in the interval between the frank and germanic empires, being permitted to pass as valid, from inattention, artifice, and ignorance, at once established all the growing abuses of recent times on the basis of ancient authority. This single book was of more service to the pope than ten imperial

diplomas:

diplomas: and indeed ignorance and ſuperſtition in general, with which the whole weſtern world was deluged, formed the deep and extenſive ſea, into which the net of St. Peter was caſt with ample ſucceſs.

The political abilities of the roman biſhops were moſt eminently diſplayed, in the art with which they turned the moſt unpromiſing circumſtances to their advantage. Long were they oppreſſed by the emperors of the eaſt, and often by thoſe of the weſt: and yet Conſtantinople was firſt obliged to allow them the rank of univerſal biſhops, and Germany at laſt to cede to them the inveſtiture of the ſpiritual order of the empire. The greek church ſeparated itſelf: and by this, too, the pope profited; for in it he could never have obtained that authority, for which he ſtrove in the weſt, and which he was thus enabled, to render the more compact. Mohammed appeared: the arabs ſubdued a great part of the ſouth of Europe: they even cruiſed in the neighbourhood of Rome, and attempted to land. Theſe calamities, likewiſe, were of ineſtimable value to the pope; who well knew how to avail himſelf of the feebleneſs of the greek emperors, and the danger which threatened Europe; taking the field as the deliverer of Italy, and thenceforward aſſuming to himſelf the ſtandard of chriſtendom againſt all infidels. A fearful ſpecies of war, which he had the power to enforce by bans and interdictions, and in which he was not merely the herald, but often both treaſurer and commander in chief. He likewiſe turned to account the ſucceſſes of the normans againſt the arabs; inveſting them with lands, to which he had no right, and by means of them ſecuring his rear, that he might be at full liberty, to carry on his operations in front. So true it is, that he advances fartheſt, who knows not in the beginning how far he ſhall advance, but avails himſelf with ſteady principle of every circumſtance, that time throws in his way.

Let us impartially exhibit ſome of theſe principles, purſued by the court of Rome to it's no ſmall advantage.

1. *The ſovereignty of Rome reſted on faith:* on a faith, that was to promote the good of men's ſouls, both in time and in eternity. To this ſyſtem pertained every thing, that could lead the human mind; and every thing conducive to this end Rome got into her own hands. From his mother's womb to the grave, nay beyond it in the flames of Purgatory, a man was in the power of the church, from which he could not withdraw himſelf, without being irremediably miſerable. The church moulded his head: the church diſturbed and calmed his heart. Confeſſion placed in her hands the keys of his ſecrets, of his conſcience, of every thing that he carried in or about him. All his lifetime the believer remained a pupil under her diſcipline: and in the article of death ſhe bound

bound him with ſevenfold bonds, the more liberally to looſe the penitent and the liberal. This was equally the caſe with the king and the beggar, the ſoldier and the monk, the huſband and the wife: maſter neither of his reaſon, nor of his conſcience, every one was doomed to be led, and guides he could not want. Now as man is an indolent animal, and, when once accuſtomed to have his mind under ſpiritual direction, cannot eaſily diſpenſe with it, but rather commends this ſoft yoke to his poſterity, as the pillow of a ſick ſoul; the dominion of the church was hereby interwoven moſt intimately into the believer's frame. With his reaſon and conſcience ſhe had every thing in her power: it was a trifle, that, ſowing her ſpiritual ſeed, ſhe reaped his temporal harveſt; ſhe was ſurely the heir of him, whom reſignation had ſtamped her ſole property during life.

2. *To guide this faith, the church employed not the greateſt, the moſt important means, but the leaſt, and moſt comprehenſible*; well knowing how little ſatisfies men's devotion. A crucifix, a picture of Mary and her child, a maſs, a roſary, promoted her object more than many refined reaſonings would have done: and even theſe implements ſhe managed with the moſt frugal diligence. Where a maſs was ſufficient, it was not neceſſary to eat the Lord's ſupper: when a low maſs would anſwer the purpoſe, high maſs was not required: if a man ate the tranſubſtantiated bread, he might diſpenſe with the tranſubſtantiated wine. This economy afforded the church opportunity for innumerable indulgences, and unexpenſive preſents: for even the moſt frugal economiſt may be defied, to make more of a little water, bread, or wine, a ſtring of glaſs or wooden beads, a lock of wool, a little ointment, or a croſs, than was made by the church of Rome. It was the ſame with rituals, prayers, and ceremonies. They were never invented and eſtabliſhed in vain: old ceremonies remain, though new are adapted to more modern times: pious poſterity muſt and will be ſaved after the manner of their fathers. Still leſs has the church retracted any of the faults committed by her: when too glaring, indeed, they have been artfully gloſſed over; otherwiſe every thing has remained as it was, and, when opportunity offered, not corrected, but enlarged. Before Heaven was peopled with ſaints in this prudent way, the church was filled with wealth and miracles: and even with regard to the miracles of their ſaints the inventive powers of the narrators have been at little expenſe. Every thing was repeated, and built on the grand principles of the popular, the comprehenſible, and the familiar: for the frequent and bold repetition of what is leaſt credible challenges belief, and at length obtains it.

3. With this principle of the ſmalleſt means the romiſh policy contrived ſo

to

to combine the *moſt refined* and the *moſt groſs*, that it would be difficult to exceed it in either. No one could be more humble, cajoling, and ſuppliant, than the popes, in time of need, or towards thoſe who were liberal, and prompt to ſerve them; at one time it is a tender father, at another St. Peter, that ſpeaks through their mouth: but no one could write or act with more openneſs and vigour, with more coarſeneſs and ſeverity, when it was requiſite. They never diſputed, but decreed: an artful boldneſs, which purſues it's own courſe, in ſpite of tears, or prayers, or demands, or threats, or defiance, or puniſhment, diſtinguiſhes the language of the romiſh bulls, almoſt without a parallel. Hence the peculiar tone of the laws, mandates, and decretals of the church, in the middle ages, ſingularly different from the dignity of the ancient roman legiſlation: the ſervant of Chriſt is accuſtomed to ſpeak to laics, or thoſe under his immediate control, always certain of his object, never retracting his words. This holy deſpotiſm, gloſſed with paternal authority, has done more than the empty courteſy of frivolous ſtate policy, in which no one confides. It knew it's object, and how obedience was to be enſured.

4. *The romiſh policy attached itſelf to no particular object of civil ſociety in preference: it exiſted for itſelf*; it employed every thing, that was of uſe to it; it could annihilate every thing, that was an obſtacle to it: for it depended ſolely on itſelf. An eccleſiaſtical ſtate, which lived at the expenſe of all chriſtian ſtates, could not fail to be of ſervice now to ſcience, now to morality and order, to agriculture, arts, or commerce, when it ſuited it's purpoſe: but that papacy was never truly inclined to promote the diffuſion of genuine knowledge, the advancement to an improved form of government, and whatever is connected with it, is apparent from all the hiſtory of the middle ages. The beſt germe might be cruſhed, if it were at all dangerous: and the more learned papiſt muſt conceal or accommodate his knowledge, the moment it interfered with the eternal intereſt of the ſee of Rome. On the other hand, whatever promoted this intereſt, arts, taxes, municipal mutinies, or donations of lands, were cheriſhed and managed for the greater glory of God. In every movement the church was the fixed centre of the univerſe.

5. *The romiſh political ſupremacy might employ whatever was conducive to this object:* war and devaſtation, fire and ſword, death and impriſonment, forged writings, perjury on the holy ſacrament, inquiſitorial tribunals and interdictions, poverty and diſgrace, temporal and eternal miſery. To ſtir up a country againſt it's prince, it might be deprived of all the means of ſalvation, except at the hour of death: the keys of Peter exerciſed an authority over the laws of God and man, over the rights of individuals and of nations.

6. *And as all the gates of Hell were not to prevail againſt this edifice*; as this ſyſtem of canonical inſtitutions, the power of the keys to bind and to looſen, the magic power of holy ſigns, the gift of the ſpirit, tranſmitted from Peter to his ſucceſſors, and thoſe whom they conſecrated, preached nothing but eternity; who can imagine a more deeply rooted empire? The clerical order were it's own, body and ſoul: with ſhaven heads, and irrevocable vows, they were it's ſervants to eternity. The bond that connected the prieſt to the church was indiſſoluble: he was deprived of child, of wife, of father, and of heir: cut off from the fruitful tree of the human ſpecies, he was engrafted into the barren evergreen of the church; and his honour was thenceforward it's honour, his profit it's profit: no change of mind, no repentance, for him, till his ſlavery was terminated by death. In recompenſe the church opened to theſe it's vaſſals an ample field of reward, a lofty ladder, leading them, though ſervants, to wealth and extenſive command, to dominion over all the free and great ones of the Earth. It held out honours to tempt the ambitious, devotion to ſtimulate the devout, and for every one his proper bait and reward. This legiſlation, too, has this peculiarity; that, as long as a fragment of it remains, the whole exiſts; and, with each individual maxim, all muſt be followed: for it is the rock of Peter, from which the fiſherman caſts his indeſtructible net; it is the garment without ſeam, that can be the lot only of *one*, though ſoldiers play for it.

7. And who was this *one*, at the head of the ſacred college at Rome? Never a whimpering child, to whom men had taken the oath of fealty perhaps in his very cradle, and thereby vowed ſubmiſſion to all his future freaks; never a playful boy, with whom men ſought to creep into favour by indulging him in all his youthful follies, that they might afterwards become the ſpoiled children of his caprice: a man of ripe years, or ſilvered with age, was elected, already for the moſt part practiſed in the affairs of the church, and acquainted with the field, to which he was to appoint labourers; or one cloſely allied with the princes of his time, and choſen at a critical period, preciſely for the difficulty, which he had to ſurmount. He had but few years to live, and no poſterity for whom he could legitimately make proviſion: and if he did this, it was but as a drop in the great ocean of the catholic pontificate. The intereſt of the ſee of Rome was progreſſive: the experienced old man was only ſet up, that he alſo might put his name to what had been done. Many popes ſunk under the burden: others, verſed in law and politics, bold, and ſteady, performed more in a few years, than a weak government could have accompliſhed in half a century. Were only the moſt eminently great and worthy popes to be enumerated, they would

would preſent a long catalogue of names, many of which muſt excite our regret, that they who bore them could not be employed to ſome other purpoſe. Fewer effeminate debauchees by far have worn the roman tiara than ſecular crowns; and of many of theſe the faults are ſtriking only becauſe they were the faults of popes.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Effect of the Hierarchy on Europe.*

FIRST of all it is proper to conſider the benefits, that chriſtianity, even in this garb, muſt from it's nature confer. Compaſſionate toward the poor and oppreſſed, it took them under it's protection from the wild devaſtation of the barbarians: many biſhops in Gaul, Spain, Germany, and Italy, have proved this as ſaints. Their habitations and the temples were aſylums for the oppreſſed: they redeemed ſlaves, liberated priſoners, and repreſſed the horrible traffic in human beings, carried on by the barbarians, wherever it was in their power. This merit of clemency and generoſity to the oppreſſed part of the human ſpecies cannot be refuſed to the principles of chriſtianity: from it's infancy it laboured for the deliverance of man, as is evinced even by many impolitic laws of the eaſtern emperors. But this benefit was ſtill more indiſpenſable in the weſtern church; and many decrees of the biſhops in Spain, Gaul, and Germany, inculcate it, even without the aſſiſtance of the pope.

It is alſo inconteſtible, that, in times of general inſecurity, temples and convents were the ſanctuaries, in which peaceful induſtry and trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactures, found refuge. Eccleſiaſtics eſtabliſhed annual fairs, ſtill bearing in honour of them the name of maſſes *, and protected them with the peace of God, when no royal or imperial proclamation could give them ſecurity. Artiſts and mechanics retreated within the walls of the convent, as a ſafeguard againſt the nobles, who would have held them in a ſtate of vaſſalage. Monks purſued neglected huſbundry, both with their own hands, and by means of others: they prepared whatever was neceſſary for their convents, or at leaſt afforded a place for a monaſtic application to the arts, and beſtowed on them a frugal reward. The remains of ancient authors were ſaved from deſtruction in convents; and, being occaſionally tranſcribed, were thus tranſ-

* The term *meſſe* is equally applied, in Germany, to the religious office named a maſs, and to the great meeting of traders, called a fair; the moſt important of which are held about eaſter and michaelmas, when a great deal of buſineſs is tranſacted. T.

mitted to posterity. Lastly, by means of divine service a slight clew was preserved, such as it was, in the latin language, which afterwards led men back to the literature of the ancients, and thus to improvement in knowledge. For such times were convents adapted, which afforded even the pilgrim security and protection, food, lodging, and conveniencies. Journeys of this kind first brought nations peaceably together; for the pilgrim's staff was a defence, where the sword would have been of little avail: and through their means was acquired a knowledge of foreign countries; while at the same time tales, narratives, romances, and poetry, were cherished by them though in their rudest infancy.

All this is undeniably true: but as much of it might have taken place without the bishop of Rome, let us inquire what advantages his spiritual sovereignty may properly be said to have brought to Europe?

1. *The conversion of many heathen nations.* But in what manner were they converted? Frequently by fire and sword, by secret tribunals, and wars of extirpation. Let it not be said, that the bishop of Rome ordered none of these: he approved them, enjoyed their fruits, and copied them, when it was in his power. Hence that tribunal of the inquisition, at which psalms were chaunted; hence those croisading missions, the plunder of which was shared by popes and princes, knights, prelates, canons, and priests. They who escaped destruction were reduced to the state of vassalage, in which they for the most part still continue. Thus was christian Europe founded: thus were kingdoms erected, and their crowns conferred by popes: and thus was the cross of Christ afterwards carried as the signal of death into every quarter of the Globe. America yet smokes with the blood of her slain; and the enslaved nations of Europe still curse their converters. And you, innumerable victims of the inquisition, in the south of France, in Spain, and in other quarters of the World! your bones are mouldered into dust, and your ashes are dispersed by the winds: but the story of the barbarities exercised towards you remains, an eternal appellant in behalf of human nature outraged in you.

2. To the hierarchy is ascribed the merit *of having united all the nations of Europe in one christian republic.* But in what did this consist? That all nations should kneel before one cross, and hear one mass, was something, but not much. That they should all be governed by Rome in spiritual affairs, was not of any inestimable advantage to them: for they groaned under the weight of the tribute they sent thither, and an innumerable army of monks and ecclesiastics, nuncios and legates. Peace between the european powers then there was less than now; owing, among other things, to the system of false policy, which

which the pope himſelf cheriſhed in Europe. Chriſtianity ſtopped the piratical depredations of heatheniſm: but powerful chriſtian nations rubbed hard againſt each other; and all were full of diſorder within, animated by a ſpiritual and temporal thirſt of plunder. This double ſovereignty, too, a papal ſtate within every ſtate, prevented each kingdom from recurring to it's principles; to which men have turned their attention only ſince they have been free from the ſupremacy of the pope. Europe, therefore, has ſhown itſelf as a chriſtian republic only toward the infidels; and this not often to it's honour: for the croiſades can ſcarcely be deemed deſerving of fame, even by the epic poet.

3. It has been reckoned to the honour of the hierarchy, that it ſerved to *balance the deſpotiſm of the princes and nobles, and exalt the lower claſſes of men.* True as this is, as to the matter of fact, it muſt be admitted with great limitations. The original conſtitution of the germanic nations was properly ſo repugnant to all deſpotiſm, that, if this diſeaſe of the mind were to be learned, it would be much leſs difficult to maintain, that the biſhops taught it to the kings. For inſtance, the oriental or monaſtic notion of blind ſubmiſſion to the will of the ruler was firſt introduced into the juriſprudence and education of the people by the biſhops, who derived it from abuſe of Scripture, from Rome, and from their own order: they converted the office of the ſovereign into an idle dignity, and infuſed into him preſumption with the oil of divine right. Thoſe who were employed by kings, to eſtabliſh their deſpotic power, were almoſt always eccleſiaſtics: if theſe were but well feed with preſents and privileges, they little ſcrupled the ſacrifice of others. Then, too, were not the ſecular princes in general preceded, or at leaſt zealouſly emulated by the biſhops, in extending their powers and privileges? and did not theſe ſanctify the unjuſt booty? The pope, laſtly, as lord paramount of kings, and deſpot of deſpots, decided by right divine. In the time of the carlovingian, frank, and ſuabian emperors, he indulged himſelf in pretenſions, on which a laic could not have ventured without univerſal diſapprobation; and the ſingle life of the emperor Frederic II, of the houſe of Suabia, from his minority under the guardianſhip of a pope, of all others moſt learned in the law, to his own and the death of his grandſon Conradin, may ſerve as a ſummary of what may be ſaid of the ſupremacy of the pope over the princes of Europe. The blood of this houſe can never be waſhed out from the apoſtolical chair. What a tremendous height, to be the ſovereign lord over all the kings and countries of chriſtendom! Of this Gregory VII, certainly no ordinary man, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII, are glaring examples.

4. *The great inſtitutions of the hierarchy in all catholic countries* are palpable; and

and probably the ſciences would long ago have been reduced to beggary, had they not received a ſupport, though ſcanty, in the crumbs that fell from theſe ancient holy tables. Let us not, however, miſtake the ſpirit of the times. Agriculture was not the principal object of any benedictine monk, but cloiſtered devotion. He ceaſed to work, as ſoon as he could diſpenſe with labour: and how conſiderable was the portion of the ſums he gained that went to Rome, or were conſumed for purpoſes, on which they ought not to have been employed! The uſeful benedictines were followed by a ſeries of other orders, advantages to the hierarchy indeed, but then extremely burdenſome to arts and ſcience, to the ſtate and to mankind; the mendicants in particular. All theſe, with the nuns of every deſcription, the brothers and ſiſters of mercy perhaps alone excepted, were ſuited only to thoſe harſh, unenlightened, barbarian times. Who would now found a convent, according to the rules of Benedict, to promote the cultivation of the ground? or a cathedral, that an annual fair might be held under it's protection? Who would expect from a monk inſtructions in the theory of commerce; from the biſhop of Rome, the beſt ſyſtem of political economy; or from the teacher in ordinary of a chapter, the moſt perfect form of education? Still every thing, that promoted ſcience, morality, order, and gentleneſs of manners, though but collaterally, was of ineſtimable value.

In this claſs, however, the forced vows of chaſtity, idleneſs, and monaſtic poverty, are to be reckoned at no time, and in no religious ſect. They were indiſpenſable to the ſupremacy of the papal chair; which found it neceſſary to break every tie, by which the ſervants of the church were connected with ſociety, that they might live for it alone: but to mankind they were never adapted, never beneficial. Let any one lead a life of celibacy, beg, ſing pſalms, count beads, and ſcourge himſelf, who can and will: but to whom can it appear a ſubject of praiſe, or of approbation, that confraternities of this ſort ſhould be favoured with privileges, benefices, and an eternal ſalary, under the protection of the public, nay under the ſeal of ſanctity and ſupererogatory merit, at the expenſe of active, uſeful induſtry, a virtuous domeſtic life, nay the deſires and propenſities of our very nature itſelf? The amorous ſighs of pining nuns, the furtive gratifications of monks, the ſecret and crying ſins of eccleſiaſtics, their infringements of the matrimonial tie, the accumulation of property in mortmain, the pampered ambition of the iſolated body of the clergy, and every irregularity, that muſt neceſſarily grow out of it, gave Gregory the VIIth no concern; but their conſequences ſtand conſpicuous in the page of hiſtory.

5. The

5. The *pilgrimages* of holy idlers, too, deſerve no great commendation. Where they were not immediately ſubſervient to commerce and the arts in a clandeſtine manner, they contributed but very imperfectly and caſually to the knowledge of men and countries. Certainly it was very commodious, under the ſacred garb of a pilgrim to find every where ſecurity, in beneficent convents food and repoſe, on every road travelling companions, and at laſt, in the ſhade of a temple, or ſacred grove, the deſired comfort and abſolution. But if the pleaſing revery be reduced to the ſtandard of truth, we ſhall frequently detect, beneath the holy palmer's weeds, ſome malefactor, deſirous of atoning for flagrant crimes by an eaſy pilgrimage, or ſome inſane devotee, who has forſaken houſe and home, perhaps beſtowed all he had on ſome convent, renounced the firſt duties of his condition, or of man, to remain for the reſt of his life a rotten limb of ſociety, a halfmad, arrogant, or diſſolute fool. The life of a pilgrim had ſeldom any claim to ſanctity; and the maintenance, which they ſtill derive from certain ſtates at the chief places of their reſort, is an actual robbery of the country. The ſingle circumſtances, that this pious rage of performing pilgrimages to Jeruſalem produced among other things the croiſades, gave birth t many eccleſiaſtical orders, and miſerably depopulated Europe, alone bear ſufficient teſtimony againſt them; and if miſſionaries made them their ſtalking-horſe, they had certainly no good purpoſe in view.

6. Laſtly, much may be urged againſt *the colloquial latin of the monks*, the *band* by which all roman catholic countries were unqueſtionably united. This not only contributed, to keep the vernacular languages of the nations that inhabited Europe, and with them the people themſelves, in an uncultivated ſtate; but it was particularly inſtrumental in depriving the people of their laſt ſhare in public affairs, becauſe they were ignorant of latin. The public buſineſs of the nation loſt a great part of the national character, with the vernacular tongue; while with the monkiſh latin crept in that pious monkiſh ſpirit, which could flatter, enſnare, or even falſify, as it ſaw occaſion. The writing of all the public acts of the nations of Europe in general, their laws, decrees, teſtaments, commercial inſtruments, titledeeds, and likewiſe hiſtory, for ſo many centuries, in latin, could not be otherwiſe than advantageous to the clergy, as the body of the learned, and prejudicial to the nation. The cultivation of it's mother tongue alone can lift a nation out of a ſtate of barbariſm: and this very reaſon kept Europe ſo long barbarous; a foreign language fettering for near ten centuries the natural organs of it's inhabitants, robbing them even of the remains of their monuments, and rendering a native code of laws, a native conſtitution, and a national hiſtory, utterly unattainable by them for ſo long

long a period. The ruſſian hiſtory alone is founded on documents in the language of the country; and this is owing to the ſtate having remained unconnected with the hierarchy of the pope of Rome, whoſe legates Wladimir would not receive. In all other countries of Europe the monkiſh language has ſtifled every thing ſuſceptible of being ſtifled by it, and is to be commended only as a language of neceſſity, or the ſlender plank, on which the literature of antiquity ſaved itſelf for better times.

Theſe reſtrictions of the praiſe of the middle ages I have written with reluctance. I am fully ſenſible of the value, that many inſtitutions of the hierarchy poſſeſs even with reſpect to us; and of the neceſſity of the times, in which they were formed; and I delight to wander amid the awful gloom of their venerable piles. As a coarſe medium of conveyance to us, capable of withſtanding the ſtorms of barbariſm, it is eſtimable, and evinces both the ability and circumſpection of thoſe, who committed treaſures to it's charge; but it would be abſurd to aſcribe to it an abſolute and permanent value for all ages. When the ſeed is ripe, the integument burſts.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Temporal Protectors of the Church.*

The kings of germanic tribes and nations were originally generals appointed by election, the ſuperintendants, the chief judges of the people. As ſoon as they came to be anointed by biſhops, they were kings by divine right, the protectors of the church of their country. When the pope inaugurated the roman emperor, he appointed himſelf his coadjutor: he the Sun, the emperor the Moon, the other kings the ſtars, of the catholic church. This ſyſtem, planned in darkneſs, was firſt brought out in the twilight, but ſoon glared into broad day. Already the ſon of Charlemagne laid down his ſceptre at the command of the biſhops, and would not again take it up, without their freſh injunction: under his ſucceſſors the compact was frequently repeated, that the kings ſhould conſider their ſpiritual and temporal orders as coadjutors in the affairs of the church and of the ſtate. Laſtly, the Pſeudo-Iſidorus made the principle univerſal, that the power of the keys authoriſed the pope, to lay princes and kings under his ban, and declare them incapable of ruling their ſtates. Over the roman imperial crown in particular the pope arrogated to himſelf many rights, and they were not diſputed. Henry of Saxony ſtyled himſelf only king of Germany, till he was inaugurated emperor by the pope. Otto, and

his ſucceſſors down to Frederic II, received from the pope the imperial ſceptre, and imagined they thus acquired precedency, or indeed a ſort of ſovereignty, over all the kings of chriſtendom. They, who often found it difficult to govern their german dominions, were offended when any thing, of which they did not confer the inveſtiture, was taken from the grecian empire: they made war upon the heathen, and placed biſhops in thoſe lands. When the pope created a chriſtian king in Hungary, the firſt chriſtian prince in Poland was a vaſſal of the german empire, and many wars afterward aroſe on account of this feudal dependency. The emperor Henry II received from the pope the golden imperial ball, as an emblem, that the World belonged to him: and Frederic II was laid under the pope's ban, becauſe he declined the croiſade he was enjoined to undertake. A council depoſed him: the pope declared the imperial throne vacant; and ſo low was it degraded, that no foreign prince would accept it. Thus the chriſtian Sun had proved a bad aſſiſtant to his Moon; as the protection of chriſtendom had at length reduced the german emperor to a ſtate of inability to protect himſelf. He was to travel about, hold diets and tribunals, and confer fiefs, ſceptres, and crowns, according to the directions of the pope; who, from his ſeat on the Tiber, governed the World by his legates, bulls, and interdictions. There is not a catholic kingdom in Europe, which has not conſidered it's king as a protector of the church, under the ſovereign guidance of the pope: nay for a certain period this was the public law of Europe*. 1000.

All the internal regulations of kingdoms could not avoid being conformable to this notion: for the church was not in the ſtate, but the ſtate in the church.

1. As the ſpiritual and temporal orders every where compoſed the ſtates of the kingdom, the moſt important political, military, and feudal cuſtoms were ſtamped as it were with the ſeal of the church. The kings held their grand court-days on the eccleſiaſtical feſtivals: the ceremony of crowning them was performed in churches: their coronation oath was taken on the goſpels, and on relics: their dreſs, their crown, and their ſword, were conſecrated. They themſelves were conſidered, in conſequence of their office, as ſervants of the church; and enjoyed the privileges of the clerical order. All the feſtivities of the ſtate

* Leibnitz has touched upon this notion in many of his writings, and occaſionally admitted it in his hiſtorical ſyſtem. Puetter's *Geſchichte der Entwicklung der Deutſchen Staatſverfaſſung*, 'Hiſtory of the Developement of the German Conſtitution,' gives a fine clew to it, which, in former times, led every ſtatiſt, after his manner, to the prerogatives or pretenſions of the german empire.

were more or less connected with masses and religion. The first sword given to the bachelor knight was consecrated upon the altar; and when knighthood in time arrived at the solemnities of an order, one third of these consisted in religious ceremonies. Piety took it's place in the order with love and honour: for it was the professed object of all the orders of chivalry, to draw the sword in defence of christendom, as well as of injured innocence and virtue. Christ and the apostles, the mother of God, and other saints, had long been the patrons of christendom, of all conditions and offices, of particular companies of mechanics, churches, abbeys, castles, and families: their images soon became the banners of armies, standards, seals: their names, the watchword, and the shout of onset. Men took up their swords at the reading of the Gospel; and went to battle with a *kyrie eleeson* *. Practices of this kind so prepared the way for war against heretics, heathens, and infidels, that a loud cry, well timed, and accompanied with spiritual ensigns and promises, was sufficient to set all Europe on the saracens, albigenses, slavians, prussians, and poles. Nay the knight and the monk could coalesce in the singular shape of a spiritual order of chivalry: and in particular cases bishops, abbots, and even popes themselves, exchanged the crosier for the sword.

The abovementioned foundation of the kingdom of Hungary by the hand of the pope affords us a brief example of these manners. The emperor and the empire had long considered, how the savage and often defeated hungarians might be reduced to a state of tranquillity. Their conversion to christianity was the sole mean, by which it could be effected: and this being accomplished after considerable labour, a king educated in the christian religion, St. Stephen, pursuing himself the work of conversion, an apostolical crown, probably an avarian robbery, was sent him; he received, too, the holy lance, or hungarian battle-axe, and St. Stephen's sword, to protect and extend the church toward all quarters of the Globe; and, at the same time, the imperial ball, the episcopal glove, and the crosier. He was appointed the pope's legate; and delayed not, to found a canonry at Rome, a convent at Constantinople, and hospitals, hostelries, and religious houses, at Ravenna and Jerusalem; to turn the road of the pilgrims through his country; to invite priests, bishops, and monks, from Greece, Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and Venice: to erect the archbishopric of Gran, with a number of bishoprics, and convents; and to make of the bishops, who were not exempt from the duties of the field, one of the estates of his kingdom. He promulgated a code, the spiritual part of which

* 'The Lord have mercy upon us:' the form of solemn invocation in the romish liturgy. T.

was

was borrowed from capitularies of the weſt, particularly thoſe of the franks, and eccleſiaſtical decrees of Mentz; and left it to his ſucceſſors, as the fundamental law of the new chriſtian kingdom. This was the ſpirit of the times: the whole conſtitution of Hungary, the relations and condition of it's inhabitants, were built upon it: and it was the ſame in Poland, in Naples and Sicily, in Denmark, and in Sweden, with ſome trifling variations, according to the circumſtances of time and place. All floated on the ocean of the church; the epiſcopal power formed the ſtarboard ſide of the veſſel; the feudal ſyſtem, the larboard; the king, or the emperor, ſerved as a ſail; and the pope ſtood at the helm.

2. In all kingdoms the *adminiſtration of juſtice* was arch-catholic. The cuſtoms and ſtatutes of the people muſt bend before the decrees of the pope and eccleſiaſtical councils: nay, before the roman juriſprudence prevailed, the canon law was introduced. It cannot be denied, that many rude aſperities of the people were thus rubbed off: for even when Religion ſtooped to conſecrate the trial by combat, or exchange it for the ordeal, ſhe laid theſe under ſome reſtraint, and at leaſt reduced ſuperſtition within leſs pernicious limits *. Abbots and biſhops were the arbitrators of peace and miniſters of divine juſtice upon Earth: eccleſiaſtics, for the moſt part, were the clerks of courts of juſtice, the makers of laws, ordinances, and capitularies, and often ambaſſadors on the moſt important occaſions. The judicial authority, which they enjoyed among the heathen of the north, was retained among the chriſtians; till, at a late period, they were thruſt out of their ſeats by the doctors of law. Monks and confeſſors were often the oracles of princes; and in the vile affair of the croiſades, St. Bernard was the oracle of Europe.

3. The little *phyſic* of the middle ages, except what was practiſed by the arabs and jews, was in the hands of the clergy; whence, as among the northern pagans, it was a tiſſue of ſuperſtition. The devil and the croſs, relics and ſet forms of words, acted the moſt conſpicuous parts in it; for the true knowledge of nature, a few traditions excepted, had vaniſhed from Europe. Hence ſo many diſeaſes, that with infectious rage traverſed whole countries, under the appellations of the leproſy, the plague, the black death, St. Vitus's dance: no one reſiſted their progreſs, for no one was acquainted with them, or knew their proper remedies. Uncleanlineſs in dreſs, the want of linen, confined habita-

* No one, to my knowledge, has ſhown the good effects of the eccleſiaſtical domination in tranquillizing the then turbulent World, and promoting the cultivation of the land, in a more inſtructive and philoſophical manner, than John Mueller, in his *Schweizergeſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Switzerland.' This ſide is not to be overlooked, though it is but one ſide.

tions, and even the imagination clouded by ſuperſtition, could not fail to promote them. It would have been a truly guardian office, if all Europe had combined, under the direction of the emperor, the pope, and the church, againſt the influx of ſuch peſts, as real works of the devil, and left neither ſmall-pox, plague, nor leproſy, in their land: but they were permitted to enter, rage, and deſtroy, till the poiſon exhauſted itſelf. To the church, however, we are indebted for the few inſtitutions formed to counteract them: that was done as a work of compaſſion, which men yet wanted ſkill to perform as a work of art *.

4. The *ſciences* were not ſo properly in the ſtate, as in the church. What the church thought fit was written and taught: all iſſued from the ſchools of monks: accordingly the monkiſh manner of thinking prevailed in the few literary productions, that then appeared. Even hiſtory was written for the church, not for the ſtate, for very few except monks read; and hence the beſt authors of the middle ages ſmack of the cloiſter. Legends and romances, to which the invention was then confined, paced round in a narrow circle; for few writings of the ancients had any circulation, ſo that few ideas had an opportunity of being compared, and the images chriſtianity then afforded were ſoon exhauſted. Beſides, this allowed no poetical mythology: a few circumſtances from the ancient hiſtory, or fables, of Rome and Troy, interſperſed with the occurrences of more recent times, formed all the rude ſcenes of the poetry of the middle ages. And as ſoon as theſe began to be diffuſed in the language of the country, ſpiritual ſubjects were brought forward, with a ſingular intermixture of heroic fables, and tales of chivalry. On the whole, neither popes nor emperors † gave themſelves any concern about literature, conſidered as a mean of diffuſing knowledge; the ſcience of juriſprudence alone excepted, which was indiſpenſable, to ſupport the pretenſions of both. A pope like Gerbert, who loved the ſciences as a man of learning, was a phenix indeed: the ſhip of the church was ballaſted with the ſciences of the convent.

5. In like manner, of the *arts* thoſe only were cheriſhed, without which neither churches, nor caſtles, nor towers, could exiſt. Gothic architecture, as

* The hiſtories of the ſmall-pox, plague, leproſy, &c., are known from the writings of many ſkilful phyſicians; who have likewiſe propoſed means for eradicating theſe evils, and in ſome degree accompliſhed their purpoſe. Good accounts of the art of phyſic, and the medical eſtabliſhments, of the middle ages, with remarks, may be found in Mœhſen's *Geſchichte der Wiſſenſchaften in der Mark Brandenburg*, 'Hiſtory of Sciences in the Marche of Brandenburg.'

† The particular exceptions to this melancholy truth will be noticed in the following book. Here the ſubject is merely the ſpirit of the times.

it is called, ſo thoroughly accorded with the ſpirit of the times, the religion and way of life, the wants and climate, of it's contemporaries; that it faſhioned itſelf as individually and ſeaſonably, as monkery or knighthood, or as the hierarchy and feudal ſyſtem. Among the inferiour arts ſuch maintained and improved themſelves, as were employed in adorning the arms of the knight, and in the decorations and ceremonies of the church, the caſtle, or the convent: their productions were ſculpture and moſaic, painted windows and illuminated books, repreſentations of ſaints, tapeſtry, ſhrines for relics, pixes, chalices, and goblets. From theſe, not excluding church muſic, or the huntſman's horn, the revival of the arts in Europe commenced: how different from what was once in Greece *!

6. The *trade and commerce* of Europe, too, received their broad and deeply indented outline from the all-graſping eccleſiaſtical and feudal ſyſtems. The nobleſt tutelary offices of emperors and kings were unqueſtionably their delivering towns from plundering violence, and artiſts and tradeſmen from the yoke of vaſſalage; their protecting and promoting the free exerciſe of induſtry and commerce, by juſtice, exemption from impoſts, peaceable fairs, and ſecure roads; their endeavouring to annihilate the barbarian right of wreck, and to exonerate the uſeful inhabitants of the town and country from other oppreſſive burdens: to all which the church very honourably contributed †. The bold idea of Frederic II, however, to aboliſh all guilds and confraternities in his towns, went far beyond his age, like many others of his active mind. Corporate bodies were ſtill neceſſary, in which, as in the ſyſtems of chivalry and monachiſm, all ſhould be anſwerable for each, and, even in the moſt trifling occupations, the learner ſhould riſe by degrees; as the monk or the ſoldier roſe in his order. In both, every higher ſtep was accompanied with ſimilar feſtivities; and the ſpirit of guilds and aſſociations was extended even to commerce. It's greateſt combination, the hanſe itſelf, aroſe from fraternities of merchants, who firſt travelled about like pilgrims: danger and neceſſity by ſea and land extended the union higher and farther, till at length, under the protection of

* A hiſtory of the arts in the middle ages, particularly of gothic architecture as it is called, in their different periods, would be a work well deſerving peruſal: a ſelection of ſuch eſſays as deſerve general notice, from the works of the Britiſh Antiquary Society, would ſerve as a preliminary to it.

† Fiſher's Hiſtory of the Trade of Germany has already been quoted as a collection of important inquiries: from it, and other publications of modern days, might be collected materials for a General Hiſtory of Trade and Navigation, very different from that which was publiſhed at Breſlaw in 1754, or from what was in Anderſon's power to give in his valuable Hiſtory of Commerce. A hiſtory of the arts, manufactures, guilds, towns, and municipal laws, of the middle ages, is likewiſe a deſirable work.

european chriſtendom, ſuch a wideſpread *commercial republic* aroſe, as the World had otherwiſe never ſeen. Afterwards the univerſities were ſimilar guilds: gothic inſtitutions, ſuch as neither greeks, romans, nor aſiatics, ever knew; but, as inſtitutions of monachiſm and chivalry, indiſpenſable to the times, and beneficial to future ages by the preſervation of the ſciences. In the middle ages, too, a particular *municipal law* aroſe; very different from that of the romans, but erected on the baſis of liberty and ſecurity, according to german principles, and productive of induſtry, arts, and ſubſiſtence, on every favourable ſoil. It bears marks of it's origin amid the preſſure of princes, nobles, and eccleſiaſtics; yet operated powerfully on the civilization of Europe. In ſhort whatever could ariſe under the compreſſed arch of the hierarchy, feudal ſyſtem, and tutelary ſuperintendance, has ariſen: the firm edifice of gothic architecture ſeems to want but one thing, light. Let us ſee in what ſingular ways it acquired this.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Kingdoms of the Arabs.*

THE arabian peninſula is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed regions of the Earth, apparently intended by Nature herſelf, to ſtamp a peculiar character on it's nation. The great deſert between Syria and Egypt, extending from Aleppo to the Euphrates, afforded, like a ſouthern Tatary, ample room for the predatory and paſtoral life, and has been poſſeſſed by tribes of wandering arabs from the remoteſt periods. The mode of life of theſe people, to whom a town appeared a priſon; their pride of an ancient indigenous origin, of their god, their rich and poetic language, their noble horſes, their ſword and bow, with every thing elſe which they fancied ſacred to themſelves; ſeem to have prepared the arabs for a part, which in due time they performed in three quarters of the Globe, in a manner very different from the tatars of the north.

Even in the age of ignorance, as they call their ancient hiſtory, they extended themſelves beyond their peninſula: in Irak and Syria they had founded ſmall kingdoms; ſome of their tribes dwelt in Egypt; the abyſſinians were deſcended from them; the whole of the african deſert appeared to be their inheritance. Their peninſula was ſeparated from the great body of Aſia by the deſert, which protected them againſt the frequent expeditions of it's conquerors: they remained free, and proud of their deſcent, of the nobility of their families, of their unconquered valour, and their uncontaminated language. With this

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they were the centre of the ſouthern and eaſtern trade; and conſequently in the way of acquiring the knowledge of all the nations, that carried on this trade, in which, from the happy ſituation of their country, they could not avoid taking part. Thus at an early period an intellectual culture aroſe here, which the Altai or Ural could never have produced: the arabian language formed itſelf to an ingenuity in figurative eloquence and prudential apophthegms, long before they, by whom it was ſpoken, knew how to commit them to writing. On their Sinai the hebrews received their law, and among them they almoſt always dwelt. When chriſtians aroſe, and perſecuted each other, chriſtian ſects alſo repaired to them. Could it be otherwiſe, then, that from the mixture of jewiſh, chriſtian, and native ideas, among ſuch a people, with ſuch a language, a new flower in due time ſhould appear? and when it appeared, could it fail, from this point between three quarters of the Globe, to obtain the moſt extenſive ſpread from commerce, wars, foreign expeditions, and books? Thus the odoriferous ſhrub of arabian fame, ſpringing from ſuch an arid ſoil, is a very natural phenomenon, the moment a man aroſe, who knew how to rear it into bloſſom.

In the beginning of the ſeventh century this man did ariſe; a ſingular compound of whatever the nation, tribe, time, and country, could produce; merchant, prophet, orator, poet, hero, and legiſlator; all after the arabian manner. *Mohammed* * was born of the nobleſt tribe in Arabia, the guardian of the pureſt dialect, and of the Caaba, the ancient ſanctuary of the nation; a boy of conſiderable beauty, not rich, but educated in the family of a man of conſequence. Already in his youth he had enjoyed the honour of replacing the ſacred black ſtone in it's former ſituation, in the name of the whole people: circumſtances brought him early acquainted, on his commercial journeys, with other nations and religions, and led him to the acquiſition of conſiderable property. The praiſes beſtowed on him as an extraordinary youth, the dignity of his tribe and family, and his early employment in the affair of the Caaba, no doubt operated powerfully on his mind; the impreſſion he had received of the ſtate of chriſtianity united with theſe; before him ſtood mount Sinai decorated with a hundred tales from ancient hiſtory; the belief in divine inſpirations and miſſions was common to all theſe religions, natural to the national way of thinking, and flattering to his own character:

* Not to mention Sale's Introduction to the Koran, Gagnier's Life of Mohammed, and other writers, who have recurred to arabian documents, Brequigni, in his Eſſay on Mohammed, which is ſeparately tranſlated into german, has given ſome excellent obſervations on his ſituation and miſſion.

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all these probably acted so deeply on his mind, in the fifteen years during which he led a life of contemplation, that he believed *himself*, the koreish, *himself* the distinguished man, chosen to restore the doctrines and duties of the religion of his fathers, and to reveal himself as a servant of God. Not the dream of his celestial journey alone, but his life, and the Koran itself, evince the fervour of his imagination, and that no artfully concerted deception was necessary to the persuasion of his prophetic call. Mohammed came forward on the stage, not in the ebullition of youthful blood, but in the fortieth year of his age; first as the prophet of his house, who revealed himself only to few, and gained scarcely six followers in three years: and when, at the celebrated feast of Ali, he had announced his mission to forty persons of his tribe, he thenceforward exposed himself freely to every thing a prophet has to expect from the opposition of the incredulous. His followers justly compute their time from the year of his flight to *Yatreb* (Medina): in Mecca his undertaking would have miscarried, if his life had not been lost.

Thus, if detestation of the barbarous idolatry, which he saw practised by his tribe, and imagined he perceived in christianity; with an ardent zeal for the doctrine of the unity of God, and a mode of serving him by purity, devotion, and beneficence; appear to have been the grounds of his prophetic mission: corrupted traditions of christians and jews, the poetical way of thinking of his nation, the dialect of his tribe, and his personal talents, may be considered as the wings, that bore him above and out of himself. His Koran, that wonderful mixture of poetry, eloquence, ignorance, sagacity, and arrogance, is a mirror of his mind; displaying his talents and defects, his faults and propensities, the self-deception and necessary pretext with which he imposed upon himself and others, much more perspicuously, than any other Koran of any prophet. He delivered it in separate fragments, as they were called for by occasional circumstances, or when his mind was rapt by contemplation, without thinking of a written system: it consisted of the ebullitions of his imagination, or prophetic discourses of censure and exhortation, at which at other times he himself was astonished, as something above his powers, as a divine gift entrusted to his charge. Hence, like all men of strong minds under the influence of self-deception, he required faith, which at length he contrived to extort even from his bittereſt enemies. Scarcely was he lord of Arabia, when he sent his apostles to all the neighbouring kingdoms, Persia, Ethiopia, Yemen, nay to the greek emperor himself; considering his doctrines, local as they were, as the religion of all nations. The stern expressions that fell from him, when his ambassadors returned, and brought him the refusals of the kings; together with the celebrated passage of

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the Koran, in the chapter of the Declaration of Immunity *; afforded his ſucceſſors ſufficient grounds, to purſue the converſion of nations, from which the prophet was prevented by his early death. To this, alas, chriſtianity taught him the way; chriſtianity, the firſt of all religions, that impoſed it's belief upon foreign nations, as the neceſſary condition of ſalvation: the arab, however, converted not by means of women, monks, and underhand practices, but in a manner ſuited to an inhabitant of the wilderneſs, with ſword in hand, and the authoritative demand, 'belief, or tribute!'

After Mohammed's death, war ſpread itſelf over Babylon, Syria, Perſia, and Egypt, like the burning wind of the deſert. The arabs went to battle, as to the ſervice of God, armed with texts of the Koran, and the hopes of Paradiſe. At the ſame time they wanted not perſonal virtue: for as the firſt khalifs of the houſe of Mohammed were juſt, temperate, and excellent men, their blind zeal excepted; ſo their armies were led by valiant and able generals, as Khaled, Amru, Abu-Obeidah, and many others. They found the empires of the perſians and greeks ſo badly conſtituted, the chriſtian ſects ſo inveterate in their hatred to each other, perfidy, voluptuouſneſs, ſelfiſhneſs, treachery, pride, vanity, cruelty, and oppreſſion, ſo univerſally prevalent, that in the dreadful hiſtory of theſe wars we ſeem to read a fable of a troop of lions breaking into the folds of ſheep and goats, into farms abounding with fat oxen, gaudy peacocks, and helpleſs lambs. Theſe degenerate people were for the moſt part a contemptible race, deſerving to ride upon aſſes, as incapable of managing the generous ſteed, and unworthy the croſs upon their churches, which they were unable to defend. What pomp of patriarchs, prieſts, and monks, in theſe rich and extenſive regions, was now laid at once in the duſt!

With this was ſunk in a moment, as by an earthquake, the remains of that ancient grecian cultivation and roman grandeur, which chriſtianity was incapable of demoliſhing. The moſt ancient cities of the World, and with them innumerable treaſures, fell into the hands of valiant robbers, who at firſt ſcarcely knew the worth of gold. Above all we have to lament the fate, that befel the remains of ſcience. John the Grammarian begged the library of Alexandria (what would the fool have done with the preſent?), on which the conqueror, Amru, had never once thought. The petition was referred to the khalif Omar, who anſwered it by that celebrated argument, which deſerves for

* 'Fight againſt them who believe not in God, nor in the laſt day, who forbid not that which God, and his apoſtle, have forbidden, and who profeſs not the true religion, of thoſe unto whom the Scriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of ſubjection, and they be reduced low.' Koran [Sale's verſion, chap. IX.]

ever to bear the name of the khalif's ſyllogiſm *; and the books were committed to the flames. Above a thouſand warm baths were heated with them conſtantly for ſix months; and thus the moſt precious thoughts, the moſt indiſpenſable records, the moſt elaborate ſyſtems in the World, with every thing that depended upon them for ages to come, was at once loſt through the fooliſh requeſt of a grammarian, and the pious ſimplicity of a khalif. Gladly would the arabs have recovered this treaſure, when a century afterwards they were ſenſible of it's value.

Almoſt immediately after the death of Mohammed diſſenſions aroſe, which, on the deceaſe of Oſman, the third khalif, might ſoon have checked the conqueſts of the arabs, if the valiant, honeſt, long oppreſſed Ali, and his ſon Haſſan, had not eſtabliſhed the houſe of the Ommiades. In the perſon of Moawiyah this now ſeated itſelf in the high prieſt's chair, of which it maintained the he-
661 reditary poſſeſſion for ninety years. Damaſcus was made the ſeat of the
to khalifs: the arabs ſoon became a maritime power: and, under an heredi-
750. tary government, ſplendour aſſumed the place of the former ſimplicity of the court. In Syria, Meſopotamia, Aſia Minor, and Africa, indeed, the work of conqueſt ſtill went on: Conſtantinople was more than once beſieged, but in vain: under Al Waled, Turkeſtan was taken, and an inroad made even into India: Tarik and Muſa conquered Spain with extraordinary ſucceſs; and the latter conceived the vaſt project of forming, by the addition of France, Germany, Hungary, and all the country even beyond Conſtantinople, a more extenſive empire, than the romans had accumulated in the courſe of ſeveral centuries. But how completely was this project fruſtrated! All the incurſions of the arabs into France miſcarried: in Spain itſelf they loſt province after province by inceſſant revolts: Conſtantinople was not yet ripe for conqueſt: and, even under ſome of the Ommiades, turkiſh tribes, afterwards deſtined to become the conquerors of the arabs themſelves, began to try their ſtrength in
632 the field. On the whole, the firſt overwhelming flood of their military
to ſucceſs ſubſided with the thirty years of their early enthuſiaſm, when
661. the houſe of Mohammed ſat on the throne: under the hereditary Ommiades, their conqueſts proceeded, amid various internal diſſenſions, with ſlower and often interrupted ſteps.

The houſe of the Abaſſides followed, who removed their reſidence from Da-

* 'What is contained in the books, of which thou ſpeakeſt, either agrees with what is written in the book of God, the Koran, or it is contradictory to it. If it agree with it, the Koran is ſufficient without it; if it be contradictory to it, it is fit that the books ſhould be deſtroyed.'

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maſcus, and whoſe ſecond khalif, Al-Manſur, built Bagdad, as the ſeat of government, in the centre of his dominions. The court of the khalifs now attained the ſummit of it's ſplendour; and it was alſo viſited by the arts and ſciences, in regard to which the names of Al-Raſchid and Al-Mamoun will ever be celebrated. Under this race, however, leſs was done toward foreign conqueſt, than for the conſervation of the monarchy itſelf. Already under Al-Manſur, the ſecond of this family, Abderahman, the ſupplanted heir of the Ommiades, founded a ſeparate, independent khalifate in Spain, which continued almoſt three hundred years, and was afterwards divided into ten kingdoms, which were for ſome time ſhared among different arabian families, but never reunited to the khalifate of Bagdad. On the weſtern coaſt of african Barbary (Mogreb) the Edriſiates, a branch of the family of Ali, tore off a kingdom, where they laid the foundations of the city of Fez. In the reign of Haroun Al-Raſchid, his viceroy at Kairwan (Cyrene) in Africa made himſelf independent. The ſon of this viceroy conquered Sicily. His Succeſſors, the Aglabites, removed their reſidence to Tunis, where they conſtructed the great aqueduct; and their kingdom endured above a hundred years. In Egypt the attempts of the viceroys to render themſelves independent were at firſt attended with doubtful ſucceſs, till the family of the Fatimites ſwallowed up thoſe of the Edriſiates and Aglabites, and founded a third khalifate, extending from Fez to Aſia, and including Tunis, Sicily, and Egypt.

755 to 1023. 788. 789. 800. 894. 800. to 908.

Thus there were now three khalifates, at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova. However, the kingdom of the Fatimites alſo fell to ruin: curds and zeirites divided it between them; and the valiant Saladin (Selah-eddin), the grand viſir of the khalifs, ſupplanted his maſters, and founded the kingdom of the curds in Egypt; which afterward fell into the hands of the life-guards (*mamalukes*, or ſlaves), who were at length diſpoſſeſſed of it by the oſmans. Thus affairs went on throughout all the provinces. In Africa, zeirites, morabethians, muahedians, acted their reſpective parts; in Arabia, Perſia, and Syria, dynaſties of every nation and family; till at length the turks (ſeljuks; curds, arabecks, turcomans, mamalukes, &c.) got every thing into their hands, and the mungals took Bagdad itſelf by ſtorm. The ſon of the laſt khalif of Bagdad fled to Egypt, where the mamalukes left him his empty title; till, on the conqueſt of this country by the oſmans, the 18th of theſe dethroned princes was carried to Conſtantinople, but ſoon ſent back to Egypt, there miſerably to cloſe the liſt of theſe arabian emperor-popes. The ſplendid empire of the arabs was loſt in the turkiſh,

1171. 1250 to 1517. 1258. 1517. 1538.

perſian, and mungal; parts of it fell under the dominion of the chriſtians, or became independent; and moſt of it's nations ſtill continue to live amid perpetual revolutions.

The cauſes both of the ſpeedy decline of this vaſt monarchy, and of the revolutions by which it was inceſſantly perturbed and torn, were inherent in it's nature, ariſing from it's origin and conſtitution.

1, *The arabian power aroſe from the virtues of enthuſiaſm, and could be upheld only by theſe virtues*; by valour and fidelity to the law, by virtues of the deſert. While their khalifs, either in Mecca, Cufa, or Medina, adhered to the rigid mode of life of their firſt four great predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed the magic means of binding all their generals and viceroys to their commands with this ſtrong bond, what power could injure this nation? But when the poſſeſſion of ſo many fine countries introduced, with a widely extended commerce, wealth, pomp, and luxury; and the hereditary throne of the khalifs attained ſuch ſplendour in Damaſcus, and ſtill more in Bagdad, that the deſcription of it appears like a fable of the Arabian Nights Entertainments; the drama, that has been acted a thouſand times on the ſtage of the World, was repeated: Voluptuouſneſs introduced Effeminacy, and at length enfeebled Refinement ſunk beneath the arm of rude Strength. The firſt of the Abaſſides created a grand viſir; and under his ſucceſſors the authority of this officer grew up to the tremendous power of an *emir al omrah (emir of emirs)*, and was deſpotic over the khalif himſelf. As moſt of theſe viſirs were turks, and the life-guards of the khalif were compoſed of the ſame people; the evil, that was ſoon to overpower the whole body of the monarchy, was ſeated in it's very vitals. The territories of the arabs lay along thoſe elevated regions, on which theſe warlike people, curds, turks, mungals, berbers, were on the watch like beaſts of prey; and as moſt of them were held unwillingly under the dominion of the arabs, they could not fail to avenge themſelves, when opportunity offered. Accordingly, what happened to the roman empire happened here; viſirs and mercenaries were converted into ſovereigns and deſpots.

2. *That the revolution took place more ſpeedily with the arabs, than with the romans, muſt be aſcribed to the conſtitution of their monarchy.* This was khalific; that is deſpotic in the higheſt degree, the characters of emperor and pope being moſt intimately combined in that of khalif. The belief of inevitable deſtiny, and the word of the prophet, which enjoins obedience in the Koran, promoted ſubmiſſion to the word of his ſucceſſors, and of their viceroys; and thus this ſpiritual deſpotiſm pervaded the government of the whole empire. But how eaſy was the tranſition from the exerciſe of deſpotic power in another's name to that of

arbitrary authority in a man's own, particularly in the remote provinces of this extenſive empire! Add to this, the viceroys were almoſt every where abſolute lords, the chief art of government of the khalifs conſiſting in diſtributing, recalling, or changing them, with ſkill. Thus, for example, when Mamoun allowed his valiant general Taher too much power in Choraſan, he gave the reins of independence into his hand; the countries beyond the Gihon were detached from the khalifate; and a way into the heart of the kingdom was opened to the turks. Thus it went on throughout all the viceroyalties, till the great empire reſembled an archipelago of detached iſlands, ſcarcely connected by religion and language, and in a ſtate of the higheſt diſturbance within and without. This empire of varying iſlands went on for ſeven or eight hundred years with frequent change of boundary, till moſt, though not all of them, fell under the power of the oſmans. The empire of the arabs had no conſtitution: a circumſtance equally unfortunate to the deſpot, and to his ſlaves. The conſtitution of mohammedan kingdoms conſiſts in ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and of his vicegerent; *iſlamiſm*.

3. *The government of the arabian empire was attached to one tribe, and properly only to one family of this tribe, the houſe of Mohammed:* and as almoſt from the beginning the rightful heir, Ali, was ſet aſide, kept out of the khalifate for a conſiderable time, and quickly expelled from it with his family, the great ſchiſm between the ommiades and alites aroſe; which even now continues with all the animoſity of religious rancour between the turks and perſians, after the lapſe of more than a thouſand years. In remote countries impoſtors aroſe, who forced themſelves upon the people as relations of Mohammed, either with ſword in hand, or an appearance of ſanctity: nay, Mohammed having founded the empire in the character of a prophet, fanatics occaſionally ventured, to ſpeak like him in the name of the Lord. Inſtances of this occurred even in the prophet's lifetime: but Egypt and Africa were the peculiar theatres of ſuch fanatics and impoſtors *.

The religion of Mohammed might appear to have exhauſted the abominations of fanaticiſm and blind credulity, if, alas! they had not reappeared in other religions alſo: the deſpotiſm of the *old man of the mountain*, however, has no where been exceeded. This monarch of a diſtinct ſtate of murderers, practiſed, nay born to the trade, may ſay to any one of his ſubjects: 'go, and kill:' he will do it, though to the ſacrifice of his own life. And this kingdom of aſſaſſins has continued for centuries.

* Schlœtzer's *Geſchichte von Nordafrica*, 'Hiſtory of the North of Africa;' Cardonne's *Geſchichte der Araber in Afrika und Spanien*, 'Hiſtory of the Arabs in Africa and Spain;' &c.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Effects of the Arabian Kingdoms.*

QUICK as the ſpread and diviſion of the khalifate were, it attained with equal celerity the period of it's bloom, for which, on a more frigid ſoil, ten centuries would ſcarcely have ſufficed. The genial power of nature, which accelerates the bloſſoming of the eaſtern plant, diſplays itſelf equally in the hiſtory of theſe people.

1. *The vaſt empire of arabian commerce* had an effect upon the World, which, proceeding from the local ſituation and national character of the people, out-lived their poſſeſſions, and ſtill in part ſurvives. The tribe of Koreiſh, from which Mohammed ſprung, and indeed the prophet himſelf, were leaders of travelling caravans; and Mecca the holy had long been the central point of an extenſive commerce between various nations. The gulf between Arabia and Perſia, the Euphrates, and the ports of the Red Sea, were the famed repoſitories, or roads of conveyance, of the produce of India, in all ages: whence many indian wares bore the epithet of arabian, and Arabia itſelf was called by the name of India. Tribes of theſe active arabs had early poſſeſſion of the eaſtern ſhores of Africa, and were inſtruments of the commerce of India even in the times of the romans. Accordingly, when all the country between the Nile and the Euphrates, and from the Hindus, Ganges, and Oxus, to the Atlantic ocean, Pyrenees, and Niger, belonged to theſe people, whoſe colonies extended even to the land of Caffraria, they were enabled, to become for a time the greateſt commercial nation on the face of the Globe. Hence Conſtantinople ſuffered, and Alexandria ſhrunk to a village; while Omar was enabled to build at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates the city of Balſora, which received and diſtributed all the merchandize of the eaſt. Under the Ommiades Damaſcus became the ſeat of government; an ancient great emporium, a natural centre of the caravans in it's paradiſiacal ſituation, the zenith of wealth
670. and induſtry. In Africa the city of Kairwan was built ſo early as the
969. time of Moawiyah, and afterwards Cairo, through which the trade of the World was carried on acroſs the iſthmus of Suez *. In the interiour parts

* See Sprengel's *Geſchichte der Entdeckung* †, words, and the *Geſchichte des Handels*, 'History of Commerce,' already quoted. in every ſection of which much is ſaid in few

† I ſuppoſe his *G. der zwichtigſten geographiſchen Entdeckungen*, 'History of the moſt important geographical Diſcoveries.' T.

of

of Africa the arabs had monopolized the gold and gum trade, diſcovered the gold mines of Sofala, and founded the cities of Tombut, Telmaſen, and Darah: on it's eaſtern ſhores they had planted conſiderable colonies and commercial towns; and had even extended their ſettlements to Madagaſcar. When India was conquered under Waled, as far as Turkeſtan and the Ganges, the weſtern World was connected with the extremities of the eaſt. To China they had early traded, partly in caravans, partly over the ſea to Kanfu (Canton). From this empire they imported brandy, afterward ſo inordinately increaſed by the art of chymiſtry, which they firſt cultivated; while, fortunately for Europe, it was ſome centuries later before it ſpread over this quarter of the World, with the pernicious uſe of tea, and of coffee, an arabian drink. They alſo brought from China into Europe the knowledge of porcelain, and probably of gunpowder likewiſe. They were maſters of the coaſt of Malabar; viſited the Maldivia iſlands; formed ſettlements in Malacca; and taught the malays to write. More recently they planted colonies and their religion in the Moluccas; ſo that, before the arrival of the portugueſe in theſe ſeas, the eaſt-india trade was entirely in their hands, and purſued by them to the eaſt and the ſouth, without any european rival. Even the great diſcoveries of the portugueſe by ſea, which changed the whole face of Europe, were led on by war with the arabs, and the chriſtian zeal of ſubduing them in Africa.

2. The *religion and language* of the arabs produced another important effect on many nations of three quarters of the Globe. For while every where, throughout their extenſive conqueſts, they preached iſlamiſm or tributary ſubmiſſion, the religion of Mohammed extended eaſtward to the Gihon and the Hindus; weſtward, to Fez and Morocco; northward, beyond Caucaſus and Imaus; ſouthward, to Senegal, Caffraria, the two peninſulas of India, and the neighbouring archipelago; and acquired a greater number of followers than chriſtianity itſelf. Now with regard to the doctrines taught by this religion, it cannot be denied, that it has raiſed the heathen converted to them above the groſs idolatrous worſhip of the powers of nature, the ſtars of Heaven, and inhabitants of the Earth; and has rendered them zealous adorers of one God, the creator, ruler, and judge of the World, with daily devotion, with deeds of charity, with cleanlineſs of perſon, and with reſignation to his will. By the prohibition of wine, it has ſought to prevent drunkenneſs and quarrelling; and by enjoining abſtinence from unclean meats, it has endeavoured to promote temperance, and preſerve health. In like manner it has forbidden uſury, avaricious gambling, and many ſuperſtitious practices: and it has raiſed ſeveral nations out of a ſavage or depraved ſtate to a middle degree of civilization, ſo that the

moſlem,

moſlem, or muſſulman, profoundly deſpiſes the vulgar herd of chriſtians in their groſs exceſſes, and particularly in the impurity of their lives. The religion of Mohammed imprints on the minds of men a degree of tranquillity, an uniformity of character, which, though they may be as dangerous as uſeful, are in themſelves valuable, and deſerving eſteem: but on the other hand, the polygamy it allows, the prohibition of all inquiry concerning the Koran, and the deſpotiſm it eſtabliſhes in ſpiritual and temporal affairs, cannot eaſily avoid being attended with pernicious conſequences *.

Be this religion, however, what it may, it was propagated in a language, the pureſt dialect of Arabia, the pride and delight of the whole nation. No wonder, therefore, that the other dialects were thrown by it into ſhade, and the language of the Koran became the victorious banner of arabian ſovereignty. Such a common ſtandard of the oral and written language is advantageous to a widely extended, flouriſhing nation. Had the german conquerors of Europe poſſeſſed a claſſic book of their language, ſuch as the Koran was to the arabs, their tongue would never have been ſo overpowered by the latin, and ſo many of their tribes would not have been left in oblivion. But neither Ulphilas, nor Kædmon, nor Ottfried, could produce, what Mohammed gave to all his followers in the Koran; which is to this day a pledge of their ancient genuine dialect, by which they are led to the moſt authentic documents of their race, and remain one people throughout the whole Earth. The language of the arabs is their nobleſt inheritance; and even now it forms in various dialects ſuch a bond of intercourſe and commerce, between ſo many nations of the eaſtern and ſouthern World, as no other language ever equalled. Next to the greek, perhaps, it is moſt worthy too of this general ſway: at leaſt the *lingua franca* of thoſe countries appears on compariſon with it but as a wretched beggar's cloak.

3. In this elegant and copious language *ſciences* were cultivated, which, when rouſed by Al-Manſur, Haroun Al-Raſchid, and Mamoun, ſpread from Bagdad, the ſeat of the Abaſſides, north-eaſt, and ſtill more weſtward, and flouriſhed for a conſiderable period throughout the extenſive arabian empire. A chain of cities, Balſora, Cufa, Samarcand, Roſetta, Cairo, Tunis, Fez, Morocco, Cordova, &c., were celebrated ſchools, whence ſcience was imparted to Perſia, India, ſome tatarian countries, nay China itſelf; and even down to the malays formed the means, whereby Aſia and Africa acquired ſome

* Good remarks on this ſubject may be found in Michaelis's *Orientaliſcher Bibliotheck*, following. ' Oriental Bibliotheca,' Vol. VIII, p. 33 and

new

new improvement in civilization. Poetry and philoſophy, hiſtory and geography, philology, mathematics, chymiſtry, and phyſic, were cultivated by the arabs; in moſt of which the ſpirit of nations has felt their influence as inventors or diſſeminators, thus conferring benefits on thoſe they conquered.

*Poetry* was their ancient inheritance: the offspring of freedom, not of a khalif's favour. It flouriſhed long before Mohammed; for the ſpirit of the nation was poetical, and a thouſand circumſtances ſerved to excite this ſpirit. Their country, their way of life, their pilgrimages to Mecca, the poetical conteſts at Okhad, the honour in which a riſing poet was held by his tribe; the pride the people felt in their language and legends; their propenſity to adventure, love, and glory; and even their love of ſolitude, thirſt of vengeance, and wandering life, were all incentives to poetry, and their muſe diſtinguiſhed herſelf by ſplendid imagery, pride and grandeur of ſentiment, acute apophthegms, and ſomething extravagant in the praiſe or cenſure of the ſubjects of her ſong. Her ideas ſtand like detached rocks piercing the clouds: the fire of the arab's words appals like the lightning of his ſcimitar; his wit is ſharp as the arrow from his bow. His noble ſteed is his Pegaſus: often uncomely, but intelligent, faithful, and indefatigable. The poetry of the perſian, on the other hand, which, like his language, deſcended from the arabic, has moulded itſelf to the character of the nation and country; more voluptuous, ſoft, and gay, a daughter of the terreſtrial Paradiſe. And though neither was acquainted with the forms of grecian art, the epopee, the ode, the paſtoral, ſtill leſs the drama; though both, when they had acquired the knowledge of them, rejected them as models; the peculiar poetic talent of the arab and perſian appeared the more diſtinctly formed and beautified on this very account. No nation can boaſt of ſo many paſſionate votaries of poetry as the arabs, during their golden age: in Aſia this paſſion ſpread even to the tatarian princes and nobles; in Spain, to the chriſtian. The *gaya ciencia* of the limoſin or provençal poets was in a manner forced upon them, or inſpired by their arabian foes: and thus Europe by degrees acquired, though rudely and ſlowly, an ear for more refined and animated poetry.

The fabulous part of poetry, the *romance*, flouriſhed more particularly under an orient ſky. An old national ſtory, orally tranſmitted, became in time a romance: and when the imagination of the people, by whom theſe ſtories are told, has a fixed propenſity to the extravagant, incomprehenſible, grand, and wonderful, the common is exalted into the rare, the unknown into the extraordinary; to which the oriental eagerly lends an ear, for the inſtruction or amuſement of his leiſure hours, in his tent, on his journies, or in the ſocial circle. Even in the time of Mohammed there came among the arabs a perſian

merchant with amuſing tales, which filled him with apprehenſions, that they would obſcure the fables of his Koran: and indeed the moſt pleaſing fictions of eaſtern genius appear to be of perſian origin. The gay talkativeneſs of the perſians, and their love of ſplendour, gave their ancient tales in time a romantic form, which was conſiderably heightened by creatures of the imagination, chiefly formed from the animals of the neighbouring mountains. Hence aroſe that Fairyland, the country of the peries and neries, for which the arabs had ſcarcely a name, and which was copiouſly introduced into the european romances of the middle ages. Theſe tales were arranged by the arabs at a much later period, when the brilliant reign of the khalif Haroun Al-Raſchid was made the ſcene of their adventures; and this form afforded Europe a new model, for concealing delicate truths under the fabulous garb of incredible events, and uttering the moſt refined maxims of policy under the pretext of diverting idle hours.

From the romance of the arabs let us turn to it's ſiſter, their *philoſophy*; which, according to the oriental mode, was properly erected upon the Koran, and acquired a ſcientific form only from the tranſlation of Ariſtotle. As the ſimple idea of one God was the baſis of the whole religion of Mohammed, ſo we can ſcarcely conceive an hypotheſis, which the arabs would not connect with this idea, or deduce from it, while they carried it into their metaphyſical ſpeculations, and made it the ſubject of their lofty encomiums, ſentences, and maxims. They almoſt exhauſted the ſyntheſis of metaphyſical fiction and united it with an exalted myſticiſm of morality. Sects aroſe among them, which, in their diſputes, already exerciſed a refined criticiſm of abſtract reaſon *; and indeed ſcarcely left the ſchoolmen of the middle ages any thing more to do, than to adapt their notions to the doctrines of european chriſtians. The jews were the firſt ſcholars of this metaphyſical theology: afterwards, it came to the newly erected chriſtian univerſities, where Ariſtotle appeared firſt wholly in the arabian mode, not in the grecian, and greatly poliſhed and whetted the ſpeculations, polemics, and language of the ſchools. Thus the illiterate Mohammed ſhares with the moſt learned of the grecian philoſophers the honour of having given the whole metaphyſical ſcience of modern times it's direction: and as moſt of the arabian philoſophers were poets alſo, ſo among the chriſtians in the middle ages myſticiſm was conſtantly united with ſcholaſtic lore, in ſuch a manner, that their boundaries were undiſtinguiſhable.

* '*Eine kritik der reinen vernunft.*' *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* is the title of Kant's celebrated work. T.

Philology

Philology was cultivated by the arabs as the honour of their race; ſo that, from pride in the beauty and purity of their language, they reckoned up all it's words, and their inflexions, and in very early times the man of learning might load threeſcore camels with dictionaries. In this ſcience, likewiſe, the firſt ſcholars of the arabs were the jews. They endeavoured to fabricate for their much ſimpler language an artificial grammar after the arabian faſhion, which remained in uſe even among the chriſtians to the moſt recent times: on the other hand, in our days men have taken from this very arabic language a living guide, to lead them back to the natural meaning of hebrew poetry; to conſider as figurative what is figurative, and to ſweep away a thouſand idols of fallacious hebrew exegeſis from the face of the Earth.

In the delivery of *hiſtory* the arabs have not been ſo happy as the greeks and romans; for they were deſtitute of republics, and conſequently ſtrangers to the practice of philoſophically diſcuſſing public acts and events. They could write nothing but brief and dry chronicles; or, if they attempted biography, ran the hazard of falling into poetical panegyric of their hero, and unjuſt cenſure of his enemies. The impartial hiſtorical ſtyle never formed itſelf among them; their hiſtories are poems, or interwoven with poetry: but their chronicles, and geographical accounts of countries, with which they had opportunities of being acquainted, and which ſtill remain unknown to us, ſuch as the interiour of Africa, are of much utility *.

The moſt decided merit of the arabs, however, appears in mathematics, chymiſtry, and phyſic; in which ſciences, augmented by themſelves, they were the teachers of all Europe. So early as the reign of Al-Mamoun, a degree of the meridian was meaſured on the plain of Sanjar, near Bagdad. In aſtronomy, though compelled to ſubſerve the purpoſes of ſuperſtition, celeſtial atlaſſes, aſtronomical tables, and various inſtruments, were executed and improved with much art by the arabs; in which they were greatly aſſiſted by the fine climate, and clear ſky of their extenſive dominions. Aſtronomy was applied alſo to the ſervice of geography: they made maps, and compoſed ſtatiſtical ſketches of many countries, long before ſuch things were thought of by europeans. By it likewiſe they fixed the dates of chronology: they employed their knowledge

* Moſt of theſe, however, remain unexplored or neglected by us. There are lettered germans, who poſſeſs both knowledge and induſtry, but want ſupport, to publiſh them as they ought to be: in other countries, the learned ſleep over wealthy inſtitutions and legacies appointed for this purpoſe. Our Reiſke has fallen a martyr to his arabic-grecian zeal: peace be to his aſhes! but long will be the time, ere we ſhall ſee again ſuch learning, as was neglected in him.

of the courſes of the ſtars in navigation, many technical terms of which are of arabic derivation: and in general the name of this people is inſcribed among the ſtars with more permanent characters, than it could have imprinted any where upon the Earth. The books produced by the induſtry of it's mathematicians, aſtronomers particularly, are innumerable: moſt of them now lie unknown, or unuſed; and multitudes have been deſtroyed by war, by the flames, by inattention, or by ignorance. Through it's means the nobleſt ſciences of the human intellect penetrated into Tatary, the mungal countries, and even the ſecluded China: in Samarcand aſtronomical tables were conſtructed, and epochs aſcertained, to which we ſtill refer. The characters employed in our arithmetic we received from the arabs: and algebra derives from them it's names. So does chymiſtry, of which they are the fathers; a ſcience that has put into the hands of man a new key to the ſecrets of Nature, not only for the purpoſes of phyſic, but of every department of natural philoſophy. As from attachment to this ſcience they paid leſs attention to botany, and the purſuit of anatomy was prohibited by their law; they were more ſedulous in the application of chymiſtry to the materia medica, and in the diſcrimination of diſeaſes and temperaments by an almoſt ſuperſtitious obſervation of their external ſigns and ſymptoms. What Ariſtotle was to them in philoſophy, what Euclid and Ptolemy were in mathematics, ſuch were Galen and Dioſcorides in the art of phyſic: though it cannot be denied, that, in following the greeks, the arabs were not merely the keepers, propagaters, and amplifiers, of the ſciences moſt indiſpenſable to man, but occaſionally the falſifiers of them. The oriental taſte, in which they cultivated the ſciences, long adhered to them in Europe, and could not eaſily be removed. In ſome of the arts, too, much of what we call the gothic ſtyle is properly the arabian: as in architecture, which theſe rude conquerors formed after their own manner from the edifices they found in the grecian provinces, and brought with them into Spain, whence it ſpread farther into Europe.

4. Laſtly, we ſhould ſpeak of the dazzling and romantic *ſpirit of chivalry*, which they unqueſtionably mingled with the european ardour for adventure; but this will ſoon appear of itſelf.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *General Reflections.*

If we caſt a retroſpective view on the form our quarter of the Globe has acquired through the migrations and converſion of nations, through wars and the hierarchy, we ſhall diſcern a powerful but helpleſs body, a giant wanting nothing but eyes. This weſtern end of the ancient World was ſufficiently populous; the territories of the romans, enfeebled by luxury, were abundantly peopled by men of ſtrong bodies and ſolid courage*. For in the early days of their recent poſſeſſion of theſe countries, before the diſtinction of ranks had acquired the oppreſſive hereditary form, the conquered dominions of the romans were a real Paradiſe to the rude enjoyments of theſe uncultivated people, in the midſt of other nations, who had long planted and built for their own convenience. They regarded not the ravages their expeditions occaſioned, which kept back the human race more than ten centuries: for we feel not the loſs of unknown good; and for the animal man this weſtern part of the northern World, with the ſlighteſt remnants of it's cultivation, was in every reſpect preferable to his ancient Sarmatia, Scythia, or remoter eaſtern Hunland. By the devaſtations, that took place after the chriſtian era; in the wars, that theſe people carried on among themſelves; in the new peſts and diſeaſes, that ravaged Europe; it muſt be confeſſed the human ſpecies ſuffered: but by nothing ſo much, as by the deſpotic feudal ſyſtem. Europe was full of men, but of men in a ſtate of bodily ſervitude: and the ſlavery, under which theſe groaned, was ſo much the more ſevere, as it was a chriſtian ſlavery, reduced into rule by political laws and blind cuſtom, confirmed by writings, and attached to the ſoil. The very air conferred property: he who was not emancipated by contract, or a deſpot by birth, entered into the pretended natural ſtate of ſubjection, or vaſſalage.

From Rome no ſuccour was to be expected. It's ſervants ſhared with others the ſovereignty of Europe; and Rome itſelf was ſupported by a multitude of ſpiritual ſlaves. Whomever kings and emperors made free, were to be forced from giants and dragons, as in the books of romance, by letters

* The bodily ſtrength of our forefathers is atteſted by their graves and armour, as well as by hiſtory: and without it the ancient and middle hiſtory of Europe is ſcarcely reconcileable to the underſtanding. The valiant and noble maſs poſſeſſed but few ideas; and theſe few were ſet in motion ſlowly, yet forcibly.

of

of enfranchiſement: accordingly this way was tedious and difficult. The knowledge the chriſtianity of the weſt poſſeſſed was expended, and turned to profit. It's popular form was become a wretched verbal liturgy: it's vile patrician rhetoric had been converted, in monaſteries, churches, and communities, into a magic deſpotiſm over the mind, which the vulgar adored under whips and ſcourges, nay licking the duſt in penitence. The arts and ſciences were no more: for what muſe will dwell amid the bones of martyrs, the din of bells and organs, the ſmoke of incenſe, and prayers for deliverance from Purgatory? The hierarchy had launched it's thunderbolts againſt all freedom of thought, and crippled with it's yoke every noble ſpring of action. Reward in another World was preached up to the ſuffering: the oppreſſor was ſecure of abſolution in the hour of death, for a legacy: God's kingdom upon Earth was let to farm.

In Europe there was no ſalvation without the pale of the romiſh church. For, not to mention the oppreſſed nations miſerably pent up in the corners of the Earth, nothing was to be expected from the grecian empire, ſtill leſs from the only kingdom, which had begun to form itſelf in the eaſt of Europe, out of the juriſdiction of the roman emperor and pope *. Thus nothing remained for the weſtern part, but itſelf; or the only ſouthern nation, in which a new ſhoot of mental cultivation bloomed, the mohammedans. With theſe Europe ſoon came into conflict, in it's moſt ſenſible parts; and this conflict was of long duration: in Spain it continued till the time when knowledge was diffuſed over all Europe. What was the prize of the conteſt? and who were the victors? Unqueſtionably the newly excited activity of mankind was the moſt valuable prize of the victory.

* This is Ruſſia. From the time of it's foundation it took a peculiar courſe, different from that of the other kingdoms of Europe. With theſe it entered not the liſts till late.

# PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

## BOOK XX.

IF the croiſades, carried on by Europe in the eaſt, may juſtly be conſidered as the epoch of a great revolution in our quarter of the Globe, yet we muſt take care not to eſteem them it's firſt and only cauſe. They were nothing more than a mad enterpriſe, which coſt Europe ſome millions of men; and reconveyed to it in the ſurvivors, for the moſt part, a looſe, daring, debauched, and ignorant rabble. The good which was effected in their time aroſe chiefly from collateral cauſes, which obtained freer play at this period, and produced advantages, in many reſpects attended with conſiderable danger. Indeed, no occurrence in human affairs ſtands alone: ariſing from anteriour cauſes, the ſpirit of the times, and the diſpoſition of nations, it is to be conſidered only as the dial, the hand of which is moved by internal ſprings. Let us proceed, therefore, to examine the movements of Europe in the whole, and obſerve how every wheel in them cooperated to one common end.

### CHAPTER I.

*The Spirit of Commerce in Europe.*

THIS ſmall portion of the Earth was not in vain ſurrounded by Nature with ſo many coaſts and bays, and interſected by ſo many navigable rivers and lakes: the nations, that dwelt on them, were active from the remoteſt times. What the Mediterranean had been to the ſouth of Europe, the Baltic was to the north; an early incentive to the purſuit of navigation, and a mean of intercourſe between different countries. Beſide the gael and cimbri, we have ſeen the friſons, the ſaxons, and more eſpecially the normans, traverſing all the ſeas of the weſt and the north, nay even the Mediterranean, and effecting much good, and much evil. From the ſimple excavated trunk of a tree they roſe to ſhips of burden, to a capacity of keeping the open ſea, and availing themſelves of every wind; ſo that even now the points of the compaſs, and many nautical terms, in all the languages of Europe, are of german derivation.

Amber in particular was the coſtly bauble, that attracted greeks, romans, and arabians, and brought the north and the ſouth acquainted with each other. It was conveyed by ſhips of Maſſilia (Marſeilles) over the ocean; by land, through Carnuntum (Preſburg) to the Adriatic; and on the Dnieper, to the Black Sea; in quantities ſcarcely credible.

The way of the Black Sea was preeminently the path of intercourſe between the nations of the North, South, and East *. At the mouths of the Don and the Dnieper were two great commercial towns, Azoph (Tanais, Aſgard), and Olbia (Boryſthenes, Alfheim); the repoſitories of the wares of Tatary, India, China, Byzantium, and Egypt, which were diſperſed over the north of Europe, chiefly by way of barter: and even when the readier way through the Mediterranean was frequented, down to the times of the croiſades and beyond them, this north eaſtern commerce was purſued. After the ſlavians became poſſeſſed of a great part of the baltic ſhores, they eſtabliſhed a range of flouriſhing commercial towns along them. The germanic nations on the iſlands and oppoſite coaſts were their eager rivals; and deſiſted not, till, for the ſake of gain and of chriſtianity, the commerce of the ſlavians was deſtroyed. They then endeavoured to occupy their place; and long before the proper hanſeatic league, a kind of maritime republic, *a league of mercantile towns*, was gradually eſtabliſhed, which afterwards roſe to the grand hanſe. As in the days of plunder there had been maritime kings in the north; ſo now a much more extenſive commercial ſtate was formed of various members, on the genuine principles of mutual aid and ſecurity; a prototype, probably, of the future ſtate of all the mercantile nations of Europe. Induſtry, and uſeful manufactures, flouriſhed on more than one of the northern ſhores; firſt of all particularly in Flanders, which was peopled with german coloniſts.

The internal conſtitution of this part of the World, however, was aſſuredly not the beſt adapted to the riſing induſtry of it's inhabitants: for, on almoſt every coaſt, the moſt promiſing eſtabliſhments were frequently ruined by pirates; and, by land, the love of war, that ſtill raged among the nations, and the feudal ſyſtem, which ſprung from it, threw in it's way a thouſand obſtacles. In the earlieſt times, after the barbarians had diſperſed themſelves over Europe, when greater equality prevailed among the members of the nation, and the ancient inhabitants experienced gentler treatment, the general ſpirit of induſtry required nothing but

* Much on this ſubject is collected in the firſt volume of Fiſcher's *Geſchichte des teutſchen Handels*, 'Hiſtory of german Commerce.'

encouragement:

encouragement: and this would not have been wanting, had more Theodorics, Charlemagnes, and Alfreds, appeared. But when every thing fell under the yoke of bondage, and an hereditary order arrogated to itſelf the labour and induſtry of it's vaſſals, for the ſupport of it's luxury and ſplendour; when no man, poſſeſſed of talents for any art, could dare to purſue it, till he had redeemed himſelf out of the clutches of this demon by tribute, or by patent; every thing was unqueſtionably manacled with heavy chains. Intelligent ſovereigns did what they could: they founded cities, and endowed them with privileges: they took artiſts and mechanics under their protection; invited merchants, and even hebrew uſurers, into their dominions, exempting the former from tribute, and often conferring on the latter pernicious commercial liberties, becauſe they ſtood in need of jewiſh gold: but all theſe could not eſtabliſh a freer employment or circulation of human induſtry on the continent of Europe, under the circumſtances we have mentioned. Every thing was confined, mutilated, oppreſſed; nothing therefore could be more natural, than that the addreſs of the ſouth, aided by convenience of ſituation, ſhould for a time prevail over the aſſiduity of the north. Yet it was only for a time: for all that Venice, Genoa, Piſa, Amalfi, have done, is confined within the limits of the Mediterranean: the ocean belongs to the navigators of the north; and, with the ocean, the World.

*Venice* aroſe amidſt it's marſhes like Rome. Firſt the aſylum of thoſe, who ſaved themſelves from the incurſions of the barbarians on wretched, inacceſſible iſlands, and ſupported themſelves as well as they could: afterwards joining with the ancient haven of Padua, it united it's villages and iſlands, acquired a form of government, and roſe from a paltry trade in fiſh and ſalt, with which it began, to be in a few centuries the firſt commercial city of Europe, the repoſitory of merchandize for all the ſurrounding countries, and the miſtreſs of ſeveral kingdoms; even in the preſent day it boaſts the honour of being the moſt ancient republic exiſting, and a republic never conquered *. It's hiſtory confirms, what that of many commercial cities has proved, that men may riſe from nothing to every thing, and ſave themſelves from the very jaws of deſtruction, if they unite indefatigable induſtry with prudence. It ventured not out of it's marſhes till late, when, like a timid inhabitant of the mud, it ſought a little diſtrict on the ſtrand. It then advanced a few ſteps farther, and, to obtain the favour of the wealthy grecian empire, aſſiſted it's feeble exarchs of Ravenna.

* This was true when the original was publiſhed. T.

In return for this, it obtained what it defired; the moſt important privileges in this empire, then in poſſeſſion of the principal trade of the World.

When the arabs had extended their dominions; and with the ſovereignty of Syria, Egypt, and almoſt all the ſhores of the Mediterranean, had likewiſe uſurped their commerce; the venetians boldly and ſucceſsfully withſtood their attacks on the Adriatic. As ſoon as a proper opportunity offered, however, they entered into a treaty with them, and thus became the venders of all the wealth of the eaſt, to their immenſe profit. Thus ſpices, ſilk, and all the commodities of oriental luxury, were ſo abundantly diffuſed over Europe, that almoſt the whole of Lombardy was converted into a repoſitory of them, and the venetians and lombards were, together with the jews, the general brokers of the weſtern world. The more uſeful trade of the northern nations ſuffered from this for a certain period: and now the wealthy Venice, preſſed upon by the hungarians and avari, eſtabliſhed a firm footing on the main land. Embroiling themſelves neither with the greek emperors, nor with the arabs, they drew advantages from Conſtantinople, Aleppo, and Alexandria; and oppoſed the commercial eſtabliſhments of the normans with timorous jealouſy, till they had encloſed theſe alſo in their graſp.

The commodities ſubſervient to the calls of luxury, which they and their rivals imported from the eaſt; and the wealth they acquired thereby; with the reports the pilgrims gave of the magnificence of the oriental nations; inflamed the minds of the europeans with greater deſire for the poſſeſſions of the mohammedans, than did the ſepulchre of Chriſt: and when the croiſades broke out, there were none who derived from them ſo much advantage, as theſe commercial cities of Italy. They tranſported over ſeveral armies, carried them proviſion, and hence acquired not only immenſe ſums of money, but new privileges, factories, and poſſeſſions, in the newly conquered lands. Venice was particularly fortunate above all the reſt: for as it ſucceeded in taking Conſtantinople with an army of croiſaders, and eſtabliſhing in it a latin empire, it ſhared the plunder with it's allies ſo advantageouſly, that they had but little, and that little inſecure, and but for a ſhort period, while it obtained every thing conducive to it's trade, the coaſts and iſlands of Greece. Theſe poſſeſſions it retained for a long time, and conſiderably augmented: and all the dangers that threatened them, from rivals or enemies, it contrived to ſurmount by ſucceſs, or ward off by circumſpection; till a new order of things, the voyages of the portugueſe round the Cape of Good Hope, and the irruption of the turks into Europe, reſtricted it to it's own Adriatic. A great part of the booty of the

grecian empire, the croiſades, and the commerce of the eaſt, concentred in it's marſhes: it's fruits, both good and bad, were diſſeminated over Italy, France, and Germany, particularly it's ſouthern part. They were the hollanders of their time; and, beſide their commercial induſtry, beſide various arts and manufactures, they have eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the book of human nature by the durability of their form of government *.

*Genoa* acquired a great trade earlier than Venice, and poſſeſſed for a long time the ſovereignty of the Mediterranean. It ſhared the grecian commerce, and afterward the arabian: and as it was of importance to it, to preſerve the ſecurity of the Mediterranean, it not only made itſelf maſter of Corſica, but alſo, with the aſſiſtance of ſome chriſtian princes of Spain, of ſeveral places in Africa, and dictated peace to the pirates. During the croiſades it was very active: the genoeſe ſupported the armies with their fleets; and aſſiſted, in the firſt expedition, at the conqueſts of Antioch, Tripoli, Cæſarea, and Jeruſalem; ſo that, beſide an honorary inſcription over the altar in the chapel of the holy ſepulchre, they were rewarded with diſtinguiſhed privileges in Syria and Paleſtine. In the trade of Egypt they rivalled the venetians: but in the Black Sea they bore ſupereminent ſway, where they poſſeſſed the great commercial city of Kaffa, the repoſitory of all the commodities, that took their courſe from the eaſt over land; and they enjoyed magazines and liberty of trade in Armenia, nay far within Tatary. They long defended Kaffa, and the iſlands they held in the Ægean Sea, till the turks had conquered Conſtantinople, and excluded them firſt from the Black Sea, afterwards from the Archipelago. With Venice they carried on long and bloody wars, and more than once brought this republic to the brink of deſtruction: Piſa, indeed, they raſed to the ground; but at length the venetians ſucceeded in checking the power of the genoeſe at Chiozza, and completing the fall of their greatneſs. 1288. 1381.

*Amalfi*, *Piſa*, and ſome other cities of Italy, had part with Genoa and Venice in the arabian trade of the eaſt. Florence rendered itſelf independent, and joined to it Fieſole: Amalfi obtained the privilege of a free trade throughout the ſtates of the egyptian khalifs: Amalfi, Piſa, and Genoa, how- 1010. 1020.

* In Le Bret's *Geſchichte von Venedig*, 'Hiſtory of Venice †,' we have ſuch an abſtract of every thing moſt memorable, that has been written reſpecting the hiſtory of this city, as no other language can exhibit. What this maritime city has done in the hiſtory of Europe for the church, letters, and in other points, will hereafter appear.

† I doubt whether this be a diſtinct work, as I know no one under this title. Probably Herder refers to the account of Venice in Le Bret's *Geſchichte von Italien*, 'Hiſtory of Italy, and all the ancient and modern States founded therein,' a work in nine volumes 8vo, 1787.

ever, were the principal maritime powers in the Mediterranean. The coaſts of France and Spain, likewiſe, ſought to participate in the trade of the Levant; and the pilgrims of both countries repaired thither as much for the ſake of gain, as of devotion. Such was the ſituation of the ſouth of Europe, with reſpect to the poſſeſſions of the arabs; which to the ſhores of Italy, in particular, expanded like a garden of ſpices, as a Fairyland of wealth. The italians, that accompanied the croiſades, ſought not the body of the Lord, but the ſpices and treaſures in his grave. The bank of Tyre was their Holy Land; and what they any where undertook was in their uſual way of trade, which they had trodden for centuries.

Tranſient as was the proſperity theſe foreign riches brought to thoſe, by whom they were acquired, ſtill in all probability they were indiſpenſable to the firſt blooming of italian cultivation. By them men were taught a leſs rude and more commodious manner of living; and, inſtead of their coarſe oſtentation, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by more refined magnificence. The many great cities of Italy, which were held only by feeble ties to their weak and abſent ſovereigns on the other ſide of the Alps, while they all panted after independence, acquired more than one ſuperiority over the uncivilized marauder of the caſtle: for they either drew him within their walls, by the attractions of luxury, and the increaſed enjoyments of ſocial life, and converted him into a peaceable citizen; or by their increaſe of population they acquired ſufficient ſtrength, to deſtroy his fortreſs, and compel him to live as a quiet neighbour. Riſing luxury awakened induſtriouſneſs, not only to the purſuit of arts and manufactures, but even of agriculture: the fields of Lombardy, Florence, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, flouriſhed under the hand of the huſbandman, in the neighbourhood of great and induſtrious cities. Lombardy was a garden, when great part of Europe was covered with woods and downs. For as theſe populous cities muſt derive their ſupport from the land; and the proprietor of the ſoil could gain more by the proviſion, with which he furniſhed them, in conſequence of the increaſed price given for the neceſſaries of life; he could not avoid exerting himſelf in purſuit of this gain, if he were deſirous of participating in the luxury recently introduced. Thus one ſpecies of activity rouſed another, and kept it in play: and, with this new courſe of things, order, the free enjoyment of private property, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, neceſſarily prevailed. Men were obliged to learn frugality, that they might have money to ſpend: human invention was ſharpened, while one endeavoured to carry the prize from another: every houſeholder, formerly an unconnected individual, now became

became in ſome degree himſelf a merchant. Thus it aroſe from the nature of things, that fertile Italy, watered by the wealth of the arabs, ſhould firſt put forth the bloſſoms of a new cultivation.

Theſe bloſſoms, however, were far from perennial. Trade diffuſed itſelf, and took a different courſe: the republics decayed: voluptuous cities became inſolent, and at variance within themſelves: the whole country was filled with parties, among which enterprizing men, and a few powerful families, raiſed themſelves to great authority. War and oppreſſion ſucceeded: and as luxury and the arts had baniſhed not only the military ſpirit, but alſo faith and probity, one city, one ſtate, after another, fell a prey to foreign or domeſtic tyrants. The ſtricteſt laws of moderation alone were capable of preſerving from ruin the diſtributor of this pleaſing poiſon, Venice itſelf. Yet let no ſpring of human action be denied it's rightful claims. Happily for Europe, this luxury was at that time far from general, and the greater part of it promoted the gains of the lombards alone: a ſpring ſtill more powerful acted in oppoſition to it, the ſpirit of chivalry, deſpiſing ſelfintereſt, and daring every thing for the ſake of glory. Let us examine from what ſeeds this flower aroſe; whence it derived it's nutriment; and what virtues it poſſeſſed, to check the ſpirit of commerce.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Spirit of Chivalry in Europe.*

ALL the germanic tribes, that ſpread themſelves over Europe, conſiſted of warriours: and as the moſt arduous part of military ſervice fell upon the cavalry, it was natural, that theſe ſhould amply recompenſe themſelves for their ſkill in equeſtrian accompliſhments. Accordingly, a fraternity of horſemen ſoon aroſe, who learned their art in due form: and as theſe were the attendants of the commander, duke, or king, a ſort of military ſchool was eſtabliſhed where the court reſided, in which the bachelor knights ſerved their apprenticeſhip. When this was accompliſhed, it is probable, that they were ſent in queſt of adventures, as the means of rendering them perfect in their trade; and, having well approved themſelves on this trial, continued to ſerve as maſters of their craft, to the privileges of which they were admitted, or as teachers to inſtruct others in thoſe arts, which themſelves had learned. It is ſcarcely poſſible, that the order of chivalry ſhould have had any other origin. The germanic nations, who carried the corporation ſpirit into every thing, muſt have applied it particularly

cularly to an art familiar to themſelves alone: and as this was their grand and ſole art, they naturally conferred upon it all the honour, which they were too ignorant to beſtow on any other. All the laws and regulations of chivalry may be deduced from this origin *.

This company of horſemen being trained for the ſervice of the prince, the firſt duty incumbent both on the bachelor and the knight was, to ſwear fealty to him. Horſemanſhip and the uſe of weapons were the exerciſes of their ſchool; whence tilts and tournaments, with other knightly ſports as they were called, afterwards aroſe. At court the young cavalier was to be about the perſon of the prince and his conſort, to be ready for courtly ſervices: hence the duty of courteſy toward princes and ladies, which he learned as a trade. And as, beſide his horſe and his arms, a little religion and favour with the ladies were neceſſary for him, he acquired the former from a ſhort breviary, and obtained the latter as he could, according to his abilities and the faſhion of the times. Thus originated chivalry, conſiſting of a blind faith in religion, a blind ſubmiſſion to the will of the prince, provided he required nothing inconſiſtent with the principles of the confraternity, courteouſneſs in ſervice, and gallantry toward the ladies: if a knight poſſeſſed theſe virtues, no matter whether his head contained a ſingle idea, his heart a ſingle ſentiment, beſides. The lower claſſes were not his equals: the knowledge of the mechanic, the artiſt, or the man of learning, he, as a ſoldier and accompliſhed knight, could deſpiſe.

It is obvious, that this military trade muſt degenerate into unbridled barbariſm, as ſoon as it became an hereditary right, and the genuine, thorough knight was a noble in his very cradle. Sagacious princes, who ſupported ſuch an idle train about their courts, paid conſiderable attention to the improvement of this calling, by inſtilling into the minds of the noble maſters ſome few ideas, and giving them morals, for the ſecurity of their own court, family, and country. Hence the ſevere laws by which every act of baſeneſs was ſubjected to penalties among them: hence the noble duties of ſuccouring the oppreſſed, protecting virgin innocence, treating enemies with magnanimity, and the like: the deſign of which was to obviate their burſts of violence, to temper the rudeneſs and barbarity of their manners. Theſe laws of the order were not to be obliterated from the virtuous mind, on which they had been impreſſed from the earlieſt infancy;

* See Mœſer's *Oſnabrueckiſche Geſchichte*, 'Hiſtory of Oſnabruck,' Vol. I. For what follows, inſtead of the numbers who have written on chivalry, I ſhall cite only Curne de St. Palaye, whoſe work is tranſlated into german by D. Klueber. The chief part of the original relates to the french knights alone; the general hiſtory of chivalry in Europe has never yet been written to my knowledge.

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ſo that the probity and faith almoſt mechanically diſplayed in word and deed by every worthy knight aſtoniſh us. Pliability of character, facility of placing a queſtion in every point of view, and fertility of ideas, were not their failings: hence the language of the middle ages was ſo ceremonious, ſtiff, and formal, that it ſeems to move as it were capariſoned in ſteel, round two or three thoughts, in all the pomp of knighthood.

Cauſes from two extremities of the Earth concurred, to give this body of chivalry more life and motion: Spain, France, England, and Italy, but principally France, were the places where it received it's chief refinements.

1. The national character and country of the *arabs* rendered a kind of knight-errantry, mixed with the tenderneſs of love, ſomewhat like hereditary property to them, from the earlieſt times. They went in queſt of adventures; fought ſingle combats; and waſhed out the ſtain of every diſgrace, thrown on themſelves, or their tribe, with the blood of their enemy. Accuſtomed to hard fare and ſlight clothing, their horſe, their ſword, and the honour of their race, were dear to them above all things. And as while roaming with their tents they ſought love-adventures, and then breathed out complaints of the abſence of the object of their paſſion in their much valued poetical language; their ſongs very ſoon fell into the regular train of chaunting their prophet, themſelves, the honours of their race, and the praiſes of their miſtreſs; without much attention to the aptneſs of tranſition. On their expeditions of conqueſt the tents of the women were intermingled with theirs: the moſt courageous animated them in battle, and in return the ſpoils of the victory were laid at their feet. And as from the time of Mohammed the influence of the women in the formation of the arabian empire had been great; and the orientals had no enjoyments in a period of peace, except games of paſtime, or amuſing themſelves among the women; the feſtivities of chivalry, as throwing the javelin at the ring, and other conteſts, within liſts, in the preſence of the ladies, were celebrated with great ſplendour and magnificence in Spain, during the government of the arabs. The fair dames encouraged the champions, and rewarded them with jewels, ſcarves, or garments worked with their own hands: for theſe feſtivals were held in honour of them, and the portrait of the conqueror's miſtreſs was hung up to view, ſurrounded by the portraits of the knights he had overcome. The competitors were divided into bands, diſtinguiſhed by their colours, devices, and garments; poems were ſung in honour of the feaſt; and the thanks of love were the victor's nobleſt reward. Thus the more refined cuſtoms of chivalry were evidently brought into Europe by the arabs: what with the heavy-armed heroes of the north remained only profeſ-

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ſional manners, or mere fiction, were with theſe nature, light play, ſportive exerciſe *.

Thus this gayer ſpirit of chivalry was firſt introduced among the chriſtians in Spain, where the arabs and goths lived together for centuries. Here we not only diſcover the moſt ancient chriſtian orders, eſtabliſhed either for the purpoſe of oppoſing the moors, for protecting pilgrims on their journeys to Compoſtella, or for pleaſure and amuſement; but the ſpirit of chivalry was ſo deeply imprinted in the character of the Spaniards, that even knights errant, and chevaliers of love, perfectly in the arabian ſtyle, were not with them mere creatures of the imagination. The romaunt, or hiſtorical poem, particularly as dedicated to the adventurers of love and chivalry; and probably the romance, as the old Amadis, and others; were the offspring of their language and way of thinking, in which Cervantes found in latter days the materials for that incomparable national romance, Don Quixote de la Mancha.

But their influence was more eminently diſplayed in the *lighter poetry*, both here and in Sicily, the two countries of which the arabs longeſt maintained poſſeſſion †. For in the land, extending to the Ebro, which Charlemagne conquered from the arabs, and peopled with limoſins, or the inhabitants of the ſouth of France, the firſt poetry among the vernacular languages of Europe, the *provençal*, or *limoſin*, gradually formed itſelf, on either ſide the Pyrenees, in the neighbourhood of the arabs. Tenzonets, ſonnets, idyls, villaneſcas, ſirventes, madrigals, canzonets, and other forms, invented for witty queſtions, dialogues, and envelopes of amorous ſubjects, gave occaſion, as every thing in Europe muſt aſſume the court or corporation form, to a ſingular tribunal, the court of love *(corte de amor)*, in which ladies and knights, princes and kings, were concerned as judges and parties. Before it was formed the *gaya ciencia*, the ſcience of the troubadours; firſt the purſuit of the higher nobility, but afterwards, being conſidered after the european mode as an amuſement of the court, it fell into the hands of the *contadores*, *truanes*, and *bufones*, the ſtory-tellers, jeſters, and court-buffoons, where it became contemptible.

In it's early flouriſhing days the poetry of the provençals had a ſoftly harmonious, pathetic, and engaging ſtyle, which poliſhed the heart and mind, refined the language and manners, and was the general parent of all modern european poetry. The limoſin language extended itſelf over Languedoc, Provence, Barcelona, Arragon, Valencia, Murcia, Majorca, and Minorca: in theſe charming

* See Reiſke on Thograi, Pocock on Abulfaragius, Sale, Jones, Ockley, Cardonne, &c.

† See Velaſquez on ſpaniſh poetry, and all who have written on the provençals, minneſingers, &c.

countries,

countries, fanned by the ſea-breeze, love breathed it's firſt ſigh, love poured the firſt language of delight. The poetry of Spain, France, and Italy, were it's daughters: by it Petrarch was tutored, of it he was emulous: our minneſingers were it's remote and harſh echoes, though the ſofteſt of our language is unqueſtionably theirs. The univerſally diffuſed ſpirit of chivalry tranſplanted ſome of it's flowers from France and Italy into Swabia, Auſtria, and Thuringia: ſome emperors of the Staufiſh family, and Hermann landgrave of Thuringia, delighted in it, with more german princes, whoſe names would have ſunk into oblivion, had they not been tranſmitted to poſterity with ſome of their ſongs. The art, however, ſpeedily degenerated, ſinking into the deſpicable trade of vagrant *jongleurs* in France, of *meiſterſingers* in Germany. In languages ſprung like the provençal itſelf from the latin, and known by the name of romanſh, it could take deeper root; producing far more pleaſing fruits as it ſpread from Spain through France and Italy to the iſland of Sicily. In Sicily, as in Spain, aroſe the firſt italian poetry on what was once arabian ground.

2. What the arabs began from the ſouth, the *normans* cultivated ſtill more ſtrenuouſly from the north, in France, England, and Italy. When their romantic character, their love of adventures, heroic tales, and martial exerciſes, and their native reſpect to the women, united with the refined chivalry of the arabs, it gained a wider ſpread, and deeper root in Europe. The tales called romances, the ground-work of which exiſted long before the croiſades, now came more into vogue: for all the german nations had ever celebrated the praiſes of their heroes; and theſe ſongs and poems had maintained their ground, even amid the darkeſt ages, in the courts of the great, nay in the convents themſelves; and in proportion as genuine hiſtory declined, men's minds were the more turned to ſpiritual legends, or romantic ſtories. Accordingly, from the firſt ages of chriſtianity we find this exerciſe of the human imagination more employed than any other, firſt after the african greek manner, latterly after the northern european: monks, biſhops, and ſaints, were not aſhamed of it; nay, from their mouths, true hiſtory, and the Bible itſelf, ſpoke the language of romance. Hence aroſe the ſuit of Belial againſt Chriſt: hence the allegorical and myſtical perſonification of all the virtues and duties: hence the ſpiritual dramatic moralities and interludes.

Such being the general taſte of the times, the offſpring of ignorance, ſuperſtition, and an awakened fancy, tales and fables *(contes et fabliaux)* were the only food of the human mind, and heroic tales were moſt admired by the equeſtrian order. In France, the centre of this cultivation, the ſubjects moſt peculiar to it were naturally choſen, according to the two ſtreams that united

here. The expedition of Charlemagne againſt the ſaracens, with all the adventures ſaid to have happened in the Pyrenees, was one of theſe: what already exiſted in the country of the normans, in Britanny, in the ancient ſtories of king Arthur, was the other. Into this were introduced, from the more recent french conſtitution, the twelve peers, with all the ſplendour of Charles and his knights, and all the ſavage deeds they had to tell of the ſaracen heroes. Ogier the dane, Huon of Bordeaux, the children of Aimon, and various ſtories of the pilgrims and croiſaders, entered likewiſe into this: but the moſt intereſting perſons and events were always borrowed from the country of the provençals, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, and that part of Spain, where the limoſin poetry flouriſhed. The ſecond ſtream, the tales of Arthur and his court, came over the ſea from Cornwall, or rather from an utopian land, where men indulged in a peculiar ſpecies of the wonderful. The mirrour of knighthood was brightly poliſhed in theſe romances: the vices and virtues of this court were clearly exhibited in the various characters of the knights of the round table; for which there was ample room in the unbounded domains of the romance of Arthur, and in ſuch ancient times.

At length from theſe two branches of romance iſſued a third, which excluded no french or ſpaniſh province. Poitou, Champagne, Normandy, the foreſt of Ardennes, Flanders, nay Mentz, Caſtile, and Algarva, furniſhed knights and ſcenes to the drama: for the ignorance of the times, and the form in which the hiſtories of antiquity then appeared, permitted, or rather urged this jumble of all ages and countries. Troy and Greece, Jeruſalem and Trebiſond, what was known of old, and what report juſt bruited about, united in the garland of chivalry: and above all the claim to a deſcent from trojan blood was a family honour, of which all the nations and empires of Europe, with it's greateſt knights and potentates, were firmly perſuaded. With the normans romance paſſed into England and Sicily: each country afforded it new heroes, and new materials; but no where did it flouriſh as in France. From the coaleſcence of various cauſes, this taſte formed the way of life, language, poetry, and even religion and morals of men *.

Then, if we paſs from the regions of fable into the land of hiſtory, is there a kingdom in Europe, where chivalry has bloſſomed with more elegance than in France? When, after the decline of the Carlovingian race, almoſt as many courts of little potentates, dukes, counts, or barons, ſhone forth in power and

* Of theſe directions and ingredients of the romance of the middle ages I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere.

ſplendour,

ſplendour, as there were provinces, caſtles, and fortreſſes; every palace, every knight's ſeat, was alſo a ſchool of chivalry and honour. The national vivacity of the people; the conteſts they had maintained for centuries againſt the arabs and normans; the fame their forefathers had thereby acquired; the flouriſhing ſtate, to which many families had raiſed themſelves; their intermixture with the normans themſelves; but, eſpecially, that peculiarity in the character of the nation, which diſplays itſelf throughout their whole hiſtory from the days of the gauls; introduced into chivalry that felicity of expreſſion, that prompt elaſticity, eaſy complaiſance, and ſparkling grace, which, in any other nation except the french, is to be found but late, or ſeldom, if ever. How many french knights may be named, whoſe ſentiments and actions, in peace and war, throughout the whole hiſtory of France, even down to the times of royal deſpotiſm, diſplay ſo much valour, nobleneſs, and gallantry, that their families will be eternally honoured! When Fame ſounded the trump of the croiſades, the knights of France were the flower of european chivalry: french families wore the diadem of Jeruſalem and Conſtantinople; and the laws of the new ſtate were promulgated in french. The language and manners of France ſeated themſelves on the britiſh throne, likewiſe, with William the conqueror: and the two nations emulouſly rivalled each other in the virtues of chivalry, as the plains both of France and Paleſtine witneſſed, till England relinquiſhed to it's neighbour the prize of empty ſplendour, and choſe the more uſeful career of civil virtues. France firſt braved the power of the pope; and indeed in the eaſieſt way, with a degree of grace: even St. Lewis himſelf was far from a ſlave of the holy father. England, Germany, and other countries, have had more valiant kings than France: but policy firſt entered France from Italy, and there aſſumed at leaſt the garb of decorum, however diſgraceful her actions. This ſpirit imparted itſelf likewiſe to inſtitutions of learning, magiſterial dignities, and tribunals of juſtice, at firſt to their advantage, afterwards to their detriment.

No wonder, then, that the french nation is become the vaineſt in Europe: almoſt from the origin of it's monarchy it has held the lamp to this quarter of the Globe, and given it the tone in it's moſt important revolutions. When all nations flocked together to Paleſtine, as to a grand carouſal, the german knights were led by their connexion with the french, to lay aſide their teutonic turbulence (*furor teutonicus*). The new dreſs, likewiſe, which coats of arms and other marks of diſtinction ſpread over all Europe in the time of the croiſades, was for the moſt part of french origin.

We ſhould now ſpeak of the three or four orders of ſpiritual knights, which,

founded in Paleſtine, attained ſo much wealth, and ſo many honours; but the heroic and political drama, in which they acquired theſe, lies before us, with it's five, or rather ſeven acts; to it therefore we will proceed.

## CHAPTER III.

### *The Croiſades and their Conſequences.*

986. PILGRIMS and popes had long complained of the diſtreſſes of chriſtians
1000. at Jeruſalem. The end of the World was announced to be at hand:
1074. and Gregory VII believed he had 50000 men ready to follow him to the holy ſepulchre, if he would place himſelf at their head. At length a native of Picardy, Peter the hermit, in concert with Simeon, the patriarch
1094. of Jeruſalem, ſucceeded in perſuading pope Urban II to ſet his hand to
1095. the work. Two councils were called; and in the latter of them the pope made a ſpeech, at the concluſion of which the people in a frenzy exclaimed: 'it is the will of God! it is the will of God!'

Accordingly multitudes were marked with a red croſs on the right ſhoulder; the croiſade was preached throughout all papal chriſtendom; and various privileges were conferred on the holy warriours. They were allowed to alienate or mortgage lands without the aſſent of their lords; a permiſſion, which was alſo conferred on eccleſiaſtics, with reſpect to their benefices, for a term of three years: all the croiſaders were taken under the protection and juriſdiction of the church, with regard both to perſon and property, and admitted to the rights of the clergy: during the continuance of the holy war they were exempt from all taxes and contributions, from being ſued at law for any debts they had contracted, and from paying any intereſt for what they owed: and they obtained a complete abſolution for all their ſins. An incredible number of devout, diſſolute, giddy, reſtleſs, ſavage, fanatics and dupes, of all ranks and degrees, and even of both ſexes, flocked together. The forces were
1096. muſtered; and Peter the hermit ſet out, barefoot, and clad in a long cowl, at the head of an army of 300000 men. Spurning at all order, they plundered wherever they came. The hungarians and bulgarians united; hunted them into the woods; and he arrived at Conſtantinople with a miſerable remnant, of about 30000, in a wretched condition. Gottſchalk, a prieſt, followed with 15000; and a count of the name of Emich, with 200000 more.

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Theſe men began their holy war with a maſſacre of the jews, of whom they murdered twelve thouſand in a few towns on the banks of the Rhine: and in Hungary they themſelves were either maſſacred or drowned. The firſt undiſciplined horde of hermits, ſtrengthened by the addition of ſome italians, were tranſported into Aſia, experienced the diſtreſſes of famine, and would have been totally extirpated by the turks, had not Godfrey of Bouillon at length arrived before Conſtantinople with his regular forces, and the flower of european chivalry. The army was muſtered in the plains of Chalcedon, and found to conſiſt of 500000 foot, and 130000 horſe. Nicæa, Tarſus, Alexandria, Edeſſa, Antioch, and at length Jeruſalem, were taken amid incredible dangers and difficulties; and Godfrey of Bouillon was unanimouſly choſen king. His brother Baldwin was made count of Edeſſa; and the prince of Tarentum, Boemund, duke of Antioch: Raymond, count of Tholouſe, became count of Tripoli; and all the heroes celebrated in Taſſo's immortal poem diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this campaign. Misfortune, however, ſucceeded misfortune: the little kingdom had to defend itſelf againſt innumerable ſwarms of turks from the eaſt, and of arabs from Egypt; and defended itſelf at firſt with incredible courage and fortitude. But the ancient heroes died: the kingdom of Jeruſalem came under a regency: diſſenſions aroſe among the princes and knights: a new power ſprung up in Egypt, that of the mamalukes, with which the noble and valiant Saladin ſtraitened the perfidious, depraved chriſtians, and at length took Jeruſalem; thus putting an end to this little ſhadow of a kingdom, before it had been enabled to celebrate it's centennial jubilee. 1097. 1187.

All the ſubſequent croiſades, to maintain or reconquer this kingdom, were in vain: and the little principalities preceded or ſoon followed it in their downfal: Edeſſa remained in the hands of the chriſtians no more than fifty years: and the immenſe croiſade, the ſecond in order, undertaken by the emperor Conrad III, and Lewis VII king of France, at the war-whoop of St. Bernard, with 200000 men, was unable to reſtore it. 1144. 1147.

In the third croiſade, three valiant potentates, the emperor Frederic I, Philip Auguſtus king of France, and Richard the lionhearted of England, took the field againſt Saladin. The firſt was drowned in a river, and his ſon died: the other two, being jealous rivals, and the french king in particular envious of the britiſh, could accompliſh nothing more than the reconqueſt of Acre. Unmindful of his word, Philip Auguſtus returned; and Richard, unable alone to contend againſt the power of Saladin, was obliged reluctantly to follow him. Nay he had the misfortune, as he travelled through Germany 1189.

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in a pilgrim's guiſe, to be ſtopped by Leopold duke of Auſtria, in revenge for a pretended inſult at the ſiege of Acre, and baſely delivered into the hands of the emperor Henry VI; who ſtill more baſely detained him four years in ſtrict confinement, till, all the world murmuring at this unknightly action, he
1194. ſuffered him to ranſom himſelf for 100000 marks of ſilver.

The fourth croiſade, undertaken by the french, dutch, and venetians, under the count of Mountſerrat, never reached Paleſtine; being led by the ſelf-
1202. iſh, revengeful venetians. They took Zara, and ſailed for Conſtantinople:
1204. the imperial city was twice taken and plundered: the emperor fled: Baldwin, count of Flanders, erected a latin empire in Byzantium: the empire and the ſpoil were divided, and the venetians acquired the richeſt part of the booty, on the Adriatic, the Euxine, and the Grecian ſea. The com-
1205. mander in chief of the expedition became king of Candia, which iſland alſo he ſold to his covetous allies: and inſtead of the countries beyond the Boſphorus he received the crown of Theſſalonica. A principality of Achaia, and a duchy of Athens, were created for french barons: wealthy venetian nobles were made dukes of Naxos and Negropont: there was a count palatine of Zant and Cephalonia: the grecian empire was ſold like ordinary plunder to the beſt bidder. On the other hand, different branches of the grecian imperial race
1204. erected an empire at Nicæa; a duchy, which afterwards aſſumed the title of empire, at Trebiſond; and a deſpotiſm, afterwards ſtyled an empire likewiſe, in Epirus. As ſo little was left to the new latin emperors of Conſtantinople, this weak and hated throne with difficulty ſtood for fifty years: the emperors
1261. of Nicæa retook the ancient grecian imperial city; and at length, all theſe poſſeſſions, acquired by adventurers, fell into the hands of the turks.

The fifth croiſade, undertaken by the hungarians and germans, was without effect. The kings of Hungary and Cyprus, a titular king of Jeruſalem,
1217. and the grand maſters of the different orders, ſurrounded Mount Tabor, blocked up the enemy, and had the victory in their hands: but jealouſy and diſcord robbed them of their advantage; and the croiſaders returned home, foiled and dejected.

Urged inceſſantly by the papal court, the emperor Frederic II diſpatched a fleet to the Holy Land. An advantageous truce was on the point of
1221. being concluded; but it was fruſtrated by the pope's legate: and as the emperor, compelled greatly againſt his inclinations, entered on the campaign, the pope himſelf hindered all probability of it's ſucceſs, by an abſurd ban,
1228. and a treacherous attack upon the european dominions of the emperor.
1229. A truce was concluded with the ſultan of Bagdad; Paleſtine and Jeru-

ſalem were yielded to the emperor; but the holy ſepulchre remained in the hands of the ſaracens, as a free port for pilgrims from all quarters.

This divided poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, however, continued ſcarcely fifteen years; and St. Lewis was unable to regain it by his croiſade, the ſeventh in order, and of all the moſt unfortunate. He himſelf, with his whole army, fell into the hands of the enemy in Egypt: he was obliged to purchaſe his ranſom at a dear price: and on a ſecond expedition, equally uſeleſs and unfortunate, againſt the moors, he ended his life before Tunis. His melancholy example at length ſtifled the ſenſeleſs propenſity to religious wars in Paleſtine; and the laſt of the chriſtian cities there, Tyre, Acre, Antioch, and Tripoli, fell, one after another, into the hands of the mamalukes. Thus ended this infatuation, which had coſt european chriſtendom immenſe ſums of money, and multitudes of men: and what were it's conſequences *?

1244. 1248. 1250. 1270. 1268. 1288.

It has been cuſtomary, to aſcribe ſo many beneficial effects to the croiſades, that, conformably to this opinion, our quarter of the Globe muſt require a ſimilar fever, to agitate and excite it's forces, once in every five or ſix centuries; but a cloſer inſpection will ſhow, that moſt of theſe effects proceeded not from the croiſades, at leaſt not from them alone; and that, among the various impulſes Europe then received, they were at moſt accelerating ſhocks, acting upon the whole in collateral or oblique directions, with which the minds of europeans might well have diſpenſed. Indeed it is a mere phantom of the brain, to frame one prime ſource of events out of ſeven diſtinct expeditions, undertaken in a period of two centuries, by different nations, and from various motives, ſolely becauſe they bore one common name.

1. *Trade*, we have ſeen, the europeans had already opened with the arabian ſtates, before the croiſades: and they were at liberty to have profited by it, and extended it, in a far more honourable way, than by predatory campaigns. By theſe, indeed, carriers, bankers, and purveyors, were gainers: but all their gain accrued from the chriſtians, againſt whoſe property they were in fact the croiſaders. What was torn from the greek empire was a diſgraceful trader's booty, ſerving, by extremely enfeebling this empire, to render Conſtantinople an eaſier prey at a future period to the turkiſh hordes, who were continually preſſing more cloſely upon it. The venetian lion of St. Mark prepared the way, by the fourth croiſade, for the turks to enter Europe; and ſpread themſelves ſo widely

* I have never ſeen the eſſays and prize papers, concerning the effects of the croiſades, written at the inſtigation of different learned ſocieties: therefore I deliver my own opinion, without reference to any of them.

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in it. The genoeſe, it is true, aſſiſted one branch of the greek emperors to reaſcend the throne: but it was the throne of a weakened, broken empire, which fell an eaſy prey to the turks; then both the venetians and genoeſe loſt their beſt poſſeſſions, and finally almoſt all their trade, in the Mediterranean and Euxine ſeas.

2. *Chivalry* aroſe not from the croiſades, but the croiſades from chivalry: the flower of french and norman knighthood appeared in Paleſtine in the firſt campaign. The croiſades, indeed, contributed rather to rob chivalry of it's proper honours, and to convert real armed knights into mere armorial ones. For in Paleſtine many aſſumed the creſted helmet, which in Europe they durſt not have born: they brought home with them armorial devices and nobility, which they tranſmitted to their families, and thus introduced a new claſs, the nobility of the heralds office, and in time alſo nobility by letters patent. As the number of the ancient dynaſties, the true equeſtrian nobility, leſſened, theſe new men ſought to obtain poſſeſſions, and hereditary prerogatives, like them: they carefully enumerated their anceſtors, acquired dignities and privileges, and in a few generations aſſumed the title of ancient nobility; though they had not the ſlighteſt pretenſions, to rank with thoſe dynaſties, which were princes to them. Every man, that bore arms in Paleſtine, might become a knight: the firſt croiſades were years of general jubilee for Europe. Theſe new nobles in right of military ſervice were ſoon of great uſe to growing monarchy, which cunningly knew how to avail itſelf of them againſt ſuch of the ſuperiour vaſſals as ſtill remained. Thus paſſion balances paſſion, and one appearance counteracts another: and at length the nobility of the camp and the court totally obliterated the ancient chivalry.

3. It is ſelf-evident, that the orders of *ſpiritual knights*, founded in Paleſtine, were of no advantage to Europe. They ſtill conſume the capital, once dedi-
1100. cated to the holy ſepulchre, an object wholly dead to us. The hoſpitallers were to receive pilgrims on their arrival, nurſe the ſick, and adminiſter to the leper: theſe are the lofty knights of St. John of our time. When a nobleman
1130. of Dauphiny, Raymond du Puy, introduced among them the vow of carrying arms, the order of Lazarus ſeparated from them, and adhered to the primitive inſtitution. The templars were regular canons, lived ten
1119. years on alms themſelves, and protected the pilgrims to the holy ſepulchre; till, their property increaſing, their ſtatutes were altered, and the knights
1128. had their eſquires; the order, it's lay brothers. Laſtly, the teutonic order was founded for the aſſiſtance of the ſick and wounded left on the field: bread, water,

water, and clothing, were it's rewards; till it alſo became rich and powerful, from it's uſeful ſervices againſt the infidels.

All theſe orders diſplayed much valour, and much pride, in the Holy Land; and likewiſe treachery and diſloyalty: but with Paleſtine their hiſtory might well have terminated. When the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem were compelled to quit this country; when they had loſt Cyprus and Rhodes, and Charles V had beſtowed on them the rock of Malta; how ſingular was the commiſſion, to remain to eternity croiſaders out of Paleſtine, and on that ſcore to enjoy poſſeſſions in kingdoms ſafe from the attacks of the turks, and which no pilgrim could traverſe in his way to the Holy Land! Lewis VII received the order of Lazarus into France, and would have reclaimed it to the original purpoſe of it's inſtitution, the care of the ſick: more than one pope was deſirous of ſuppreſſing it: but it was protected by the kings of France, and Lewis XIV united it with ſome other trifling orders. In this his ſentiments differed from thoſe of his anceſtor, Philip the fair, who barbarouſly exterminated the templars from motives of avarice and revenge; and appropriated to himſelf their eſtates, to which he had no claim. Finally, the teutonic knights were called in by a duke of Maſſovia to aſſiſt him againſt the heathen pruſſians, and obtained from a german emperor the gift of all the land they could conquer on the occaſion, except what belonged to himſelf. They ſubdued Pruſſia; united with the brothers of the ſword in Livonia; obtained Eſthonia from a king, who was unable to hold it: and thus at length ruled in knightly luxury and licentiouſneſs from the Viſtula to the Dwina and Neva. The ancient pruſſian nation was exterminated; lithuanians and ſamoiedes, courlanders, lettonians, and eſthonians, were divided as live ſtock among the german nobles. After long wars with the poles, they loſt half Pruſſia, and then the whole; and at length Livonia and Courland alſo. In theſe regions they left nothing behind them, but the repute, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for a conquered country, to be ruled more proudly and oppreſſively, than they ruled theſe coaſts, which, had they been cultivated by ſome maritime ſtates, would certainly have aſſumed a very different appearance. Upon the whole it may be ſaid, that the three orders abovementioned belonged not to Europe, but to Paleſtine. There they were founded; there they appeared in their place. There they might fight the infidels, attend hoſpitals, protect the holy ſepulchre, adminiſter to the leper, and conduct the pilgrim. Their inſtitutions ſhould have been extinguiſhed with theſe objects: their eſtates ſhould have been conſigned to chriſtian works, they were the eſpecial property of the ſick and the poor.

1190. 1290. 1309. 1530. 1254. 1312. 1226. 1466. 1525, 1560.

4. As the new armorial nobility was indebted ſolely to the growth of monarchy in Europe for it's eſtabliſhment: ſo the *freedom of cities*, the origin of communities, and laſtly the emancipation of the peaſantry, in this quarter of the Globe, are to be aſcribed to cauſes very different from the mad croiſades. That in their firſt febrile paroxyſm a reſpite was granted to all prodigal houſeholders and debtors; that vaſſals and bondſmen were diſcharged from their duties, tributaries from their tribute, and thoſe who were liable to impoſts from their taxes; aſſuredly formed not the baſis, on which the right of liberty in Europe reſts. Cities had long been erected; the rights of more ancient cities had long been confirmed and extended: and if the growing induſtry and commerce of theſe cities ſooner or later embraced the liberty of the peaſant alſo; if the endeavours of ſuch municipalities after independence were neceſſarily included in the progreſs of riſing monarchy; ſurely we need not ſeek in Paleſtine, what the ever changing ſcene of events in Europe alone could produce. The durable ſyſtem of Europe could ſcarcely have proceeded from a religious folly.

5. The *arts and ſciences*, too, were nowiſe promoted by the proper croiſaders. The diſorderly troops, that firſt flocked to Paleſtine, had not the leaſt notion of them; and were not likely to acquire them in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, or from the turks and mamalukes in Aſia. In the ſucceeding campaigns we need only reflect on the ſhort time the armies paſſed there; and the wretched circumſtances, under which this time was often ſpent merely on the confines of the country; to diſſipate the ſplendid dream of great diſcoveries imported thence. The pendulum clock, which the emperor Frederic II received as a preſent from Meledin, introduced not gnomonics into Europe; the grecian palaces, which the croiſaders admired in Conſtantinople, improved not the ſtyle of european architecture. Some croiſaders, particularly Frederic I and II, laboured to promote the progreſs of knowledge: but Frederic I did this ere he beheld Aſia; and the ſhort viſit paid that country by Frederic II ſerved only as a freſh ſtimulus, to urge him forward in that courſe of government, which he had long before choſen. Not one of the ſpiritual orders of knighthood introduced any new knowledge into Europe, or contributed to it's cultivation.

All that can be ſaid in favour of the croiſades, therefore, is confined to a few occaſions, on which they cooperated with cauſes already exiſting, and involuntarily promoted them.

1. As multitudes of wealthy vaſſals and knights repaired to the Holy Land in the firſt campaigns, and many of them never returned, their eſtates were of courſe

courſe ſold, or ſwallowed up in others. By this they profited who could, the liege lord, the church, the cities already eſtabliſhed, each after his own manner: this promoted and accelerated the courſe of things, tending to confirm the regal power by the erection of a middle claſs, but was by no means it's commencement.

2. Men became acquainted with countries, people, religions, and conſtitutions, of which they were before ignorant; their narrow ſphere of viſion was enlarged; they acquired new ideas, new impulſes. Attention was drawn to things, which would otherwiſe have been neglected; what had long exiſted in Europe was employed to better purpoſe; and as the World was found to be wider than had been ſuppoſed, curioſity was excited after a knowledge of it's remoteſt parts. The mighty conqueſts made by Genghis-Khan in the north and eaſt of Aſia attracted men's eyes chiefly toward Tatary; whither Marco Polo, the venetian, Rubruquis, a frenchman, and John de Plano Carpino, an italian, travelled with very different views; the firſt, for the purpoſe of trade; the ſecond, to ſatisfy royal curioſity; the third, ſent by the pope, to make converts of the people. Theſe travels, of courſe, have no connexion with the croiſades, before and after which they were undertaken. The Levant itſelf is leſs known to us from theſe expeditions, than might have been expected: the accounts the orientals give of it, even in the period when Syria ſwarmed with chriſtians, are ſtill indiſpenſable to us.

3. Finally, on this holy theatre europeans became better acquainted with each other, though not in a manner much to be prized. With this more intimate acquaintance kings and princes for the moſt part brought home an implacable enmity: in particular the wars between England and France derived from it freſh fuel. The unfortunate experiment, that a chriſtian republic could and might contend in uniſon againſt infidels, formed a precedent for ſimilar wars in Europe, which have ſince extended to other quarters of the Globe. At the ſame time it cannot be denied, that, while the neighbouring powers of Europe obtained a cloſer inſpection of their mutual weakneſſes and ſtrength, ſome obſcure hints were given for a more comprehenſive policy, and a new ſyſtem of relationſhip in peace and war. Every one was deſirous of wealth, trade, conveniences, and luxuries; as an uncultivated mind is prone, to admire theſe in ſtrangers, and envy them in the hands of another. Few, who returned from the eaſt, could be ſatisfied with european manners: even their heroiſm left much behind, awkwardly imitated Aſia in the weſt, or longed for freſh travels and adventures. For the actual and permanent good produced by any event is always proportionate to it's conſonancy with reaſon.

Unfortunate would it have been for Europe, if, at the time when it's military ſwarms were contending for the holy ſepulchre in a corner of Syria, the arms of Genghis-Khan had been ſooner and more powerfully turned toward the weſt. Then probably our quarter of the Globe would have been the prey of the mungals, like Poland and Ruſſia; and it's nations might have diſlodged, with the pilgrim's ſtaff in their hands, to tell their beads round the object of their contention. Let us quit theſe wild fanatics, therefore, and take a retroſpect of Europe; that we may ſee how the courſe of events, reciprocally acting on each other, gradually enlightened and formed the moral and political reaſon of mankind.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Cultivation of Reaſon in Europe.*

In the early ages of chriſtianity we obſerved numerous ſects, that attempted to elucidate, apply, and refine the ſyſtem of religion, through the means of an *oriental philoſophy*, as it was called. Theſe were oppreſſed and perſecuted as heretics. The doctrine of *Manes*, which, after the manner of Zoroaſter (Zerduſht), included a moral inſtitution, and the deſign of operating as an active inſtructor on the community, ſeems to have ſtruck the deepeſt root. This was more ſeverely perſecuted than theoretical hereſies; and took refuge eaſtwards in the mountains of Tibet, weſtwards in thoſe of Armenia, and here and there in european countries, in all of which it experienced the ſame fate as in Aſia.

It was long imagined to be ſuppreſſed, till, in the profundity of the dark ages, it burſt forth, as at a ſignal given, from a country whence it was leaſt expected, and at once occaſioned a prodigious uproar in Italy, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany. This country was *Bulgaria*; a barbarous province, for which the greek and latin churches had long contended: there was it's inviſible head, who, far different from the pope of Rome, profeſſed to reſemble Chriſt in poverty. Secret miſſions went into all parts, and attracted, not only the common people, eſpecially induſtrious mechanics and the oppreſſed peaſantry, but alſo the wealthy and the noble, particularly women, with a power, that braved the ſevereſt perſecution, and death itſelf. Their placid doctrines, which enforced pure human virtues; induſtry, chaſtity, and orderlineſs, in particular; and held up a pattern of perfection, to which the community ſhould be led in a very diſtinguiſhed manner; were a loud war-whoop againſt the prevailing abominations of the church. They

directly attacked the morals of the clergy, their wealth, ambition, and licentiouſneſs; rejected their ſuperſtitious doctrines and practices, the immoral magic of which they denied; and inſtead of all theſe admitted a ſimple benediction by the impoſition of hands, and an union of the members under their leaders, the perfect. According to them, tranſubſtantiation, crucifixes, maſſes, purgatory, the interceſſion of ſaints, and the inherent preeminence of the romiſh prieſthood, were human doctrines and inventions. The Scriptures, particularly of the Old Teſtament, they judged very freely, reducing the whole to poverty, purity of body and mind, quiet induſtry, gentleneſs, and benevolence; hence in many ſects they received the appellation of *bons hommes, the good people*. Among the moſt ancient of them the oriental manicheiſm is palpable: they ſet out with the conteſt between light and darkneſs, held matter for the origin of ſin, and entertained very rigid notions of ſenſual pleaſure. By degrees their ſyſtem was purified. Out of theſe manicheans, who were alſo called cathars (heretics), patarenes, publicans, *paſſagieri*, and by various other names in different countries, according to local circumſtances, individual teachers, particularly Henry and Peter de Bruis, formed leſs offenſive parties; till at length the waldenſes taught, and maintained with great courage, almoſt every thing, that proteſtaniſm preached ſome centuries after. The earlier ſects appear to have reſembled the anabaptiſts, mennonites, bohemian brethren, and other ſects of modern times. All theſe ſpread themſelves in ſilence ſo powerfully, and with ſuch perſuaſive impreſſion, that the conſequence of the clergy declined extremely in whole provinces, particularly as theſe were by no means a match for them in diſputation. The countries, in which the *provençal language* prevailed, were the ſpots in which they moſt flouriſhed: they tranſlated the New Teſtament, an undertaking at that time unheard of, into this language; publiſhed their *rules of perfection* in provençal verſe; and were the firſt, who *inſtructed and formed the people in their vernacular language, after the introduction of the romiſh religion* *.

On theſe accounts, however, they were perſecuted, as far as they were known, and according to the power poſſeſſed by their enemies. So early as the beginning of the eleventh century, manicheans were burned at Orleans, in the heart of France, and among them even the confeſſor of the queen: they refuſed to recant, and died in the profeſſion of their faith. 1022.

* Among the writings on theſe ſects, of which eccleſiaſtical hiſtory gives a full account, I ſhall only mention one book, far leſs known than it deſerves, J. C. Fueſsli's *Neue und unpartheiiſche Ketzer- und Kirchenhiſtorie der mittleren Zeit*, 'New and impartial Hiſtory of Hereſies, and of the Church in the Middle Age,' 3 vols. 8vo. in which very uſeful documents may be found.

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They experienced equal ſeverity in every country, in which the clergy could exerciſe their authority, as in Italy, and the ſouth of Germany: but in the ſouth of France, and in the Netherlands, where the magiſtrates protected them as induſtrious people, they lived a long time in peace; till, after various diſputations had taken place, and ſeveral councils been held, when the fury of the clergy was wrought to the higheſt pitch, the tribunal of the 1200. inquiſition was let looſe upon them; and as their protector, Raymond count of Toulouſe, a real martyr in the cauſe of humankind, would not give them up, that dreadful croiſade, with all it's ſuperabundance of atrocities, burſt forth upon them. The order of friars eſtabliſhed to preach againſt hereſy, the dominicans, founded expreſsly to oppoſe them, were their deteſtable judges: Simon of Montford, the leader of the croiſade, was the moſt inhuman monſter the Earth ever bore: and from this corner of France, where the poor *bons hommes* had remained concealed for two centuries, the bloody tribunal againſt heretics extended itſelf to Spain, Italy, and moſt catholic countries.

Hence the confuſion in which the moſt oppoſite ſects of the middle ages are involved, as they were all indiſcriminate objects of this bloody tribunal, and the perſecuting ſpirit of the clergy: yet hence, likewiſe, their ſtedfaſtneſs, and ſilent ſpread, ſo that after three or four centuries the proteſtant reformation in all countries found the ſeeds ſtill exiſting, to which it only imparted a new vivifying power. Wickliff in England acted upon the lollards, as Huſs did upon his bohemians; for ſects of this pious kind had long abounded among the bohemians, whoſe language and that of the bulgarians were the ſame. The germe of truth now planted, and the decided hatred to ſuperſtition, the adoration of mortals, and the inſolent, ungodly clergy, were incapable of being again trodden under foot: the franciſcans, and other orders, which, as examples of poverty and the imitation of Chriſt, were ſet up in oppoſition to theſe ſects, to overturn and ſuppreſs them, were ſo far from accompliſhing this end, even among the people, that they rather afforded freſh occaſion for ſcandal. Thus the future downfal of the chief of tyrants, the hierarchy, proceeded from the meaneſt beginnings, from ſimplicity and ſincerity: theſe ſimple *bons hommes*, though not without their prejudices and errours, certainly uſed more freedom of ſpeech in ſeveral reſpects, than many of the reformers could afterwards venture to employ.

What plain common ſenſe did on the one hand, was promoted not ineffectually, though more ſlowly and with greater refinement, on the other, by *ſpeculative reaſon*. In the ſchools of the convents the pupils were taught to diſpute on St. Auſtin and the logic of Ariſtotle; and accuſtomed themſelves to this art,

art, as a literary trial of ſkill. The cenſures paſſed on this liberty of diſputation, as an uſeleſs exerciſe of the middle ages, are therefore unjuſt: for this liberty, at that period, was ineſtimable. In theſe diſputations many things could be controverted, and ſifted by oppoſing arguments, for the poſitive or practical queſtioning of which the times were not yet ripe. Did not the reformation itſelf begin by men's taking ſhelter under the laws of diſputation, and claiming the protection of it's licence? As the monaſtic ſchools became univerſities, that is theatres of controverſy, protected by the papal and imperial licence, a wide field was opened, for exerciſing and improving the language, preſence of mind, wit, and ſagacity, of learned polemics. There is not an article of divinity, or a ſubject of metaphyſics, that has not occaſioned the moſt ſubtile queſtions, diſputes, and diſtinctions, and in time been ſpun out to the fineſt thread. This fineſpun texture naturally poſſeſſed leſs ſtability, than that coarſe web of poſitive traditions, to which an implicit faith was required: and being fabricated by human Reaſon, it could be unravelled and deſtroyed by that ſame Reaſon, as the work of her own hands. Thanks, therefore, to that ſubtile ſpirit of diſputation of the middle ages; and to every ſovereign, who erected palaces for it's learned webs! If many of the diſputants were perſecuted from motives of envy, or from their own want of caution; if, after their death, their bodies were diſinterred from conſecrated ground; ſtill the art, on the whole, continued it's progreſs, and greatly improved the weapons of reaſon in Europe.

As the ſouth of France was the firſt permanent ſtage of an emerging popular religion, it's northern part, eſpecially in the celebrated pariſian ſchool, was the theatre of *ſpeculation and ſcholaſtic philoſophy*. Here Paſchaſius and Ratramnus lived: Scotus Erigena found favour and a reſidence in France: Lanfranc and Berengarius, Anſelm, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Occam, and Duns Scotus, the morning ſtars and ſuns of ſchool philoſophy, taught in France, either the whole of their lives, or during their beſt years: and men of all countries flocked to Paris, to learn this chief wiſdom of the times. Whoever had rendered himſelf famous in this ſucceeded to poſts of honour in church and ſtate: for ſcholaſtic philoſophy was ſo far from being excluded from political affairs, that Occam, who had defended Philip the fair, and Lewis of Bavaria, againſt the pope, could ſay to the emperor, 'defend me with the ſword, I will defend you with my pen.' The french language is indebted for its ſuperiour philoſophical preciſion to this circumſtance among others, that ready and ſubtile diſputation was ſo long and ſo much purſued in it's

it's native country; for it was allied to the latin, and eaſily adapted itſelf to the expreſſion of abſtract ideas.

That *the tranſlation of the works of Ariſtotle* contributed more than any thing to the ſubtile philoſophy of the ſchools is evident, from the authority this grecian ſage retained in all the ſeminaries of Europe for ſeveral centuries: but the cauſes of the avidity, with which his writings, borrowed chiefly from the arabs, were ſtudied, are to be ſought in the diſpoſition and way of thinking of the age, not in the croiſades. The firſt ſtimulus Europe received from the ſciences of the arabs aroſe from their mathematical performances, and the ſecrets men hoped to find in them for the ſupport and prolongation of life, the attainment of immenſe riches, and the knowledge of mutable deſtiny. The philoſopher's ſtone, and the elixir of immortality, were ſought after; future events were read in the ſtars, and even mathematical inſtruments conſidered as implements of magic. Thus men purſued the wonderful like children, and were prompted by it to the moſt arduous journeys; a purſuit, which, diſappointed of it's object, was deſtined to be rewarded with the future acquiſition of truth. As early as the eleventh century, Conſtantine the african, had ſpent 39 years in travelling from Carthage over the eaſt, to collect the ſecrets of the arabs in Babylon, India, and Egypt. At length he came to Europe, and as a monk at Mount Caſino tranſlated many writings, particularly medical, from the arabic and the greek. However defective the tranſlations may have been, they came into many hands, and the firſt ſchool of phyſic at Salernum aroſe to great fame, by the help of arabian knowledge. Such of the french and engliſh as were eager after learning repaired to Spain, that they might enjoy the benefit of being inſtructed by the moſt celebrated arabian teachers. On their return they were conſidered as magicians, and even boaſted of various ſecret arts as the effects of magic. Thus mathematics, chymiſtry, and phyſic, were introduced into the moſt celebrated ſchools of Europe, partly in writings, partly in diſcoveries and practical experiments. But for the arabs, no Gerbert, no Albertus Magnus, Arnold of Villa Nova, Roger Bacon, Raymund Lully, &c. would have ariſen. Even the emperor Frederic II, who contributed with indefatigable zeal, to promote the tranſlation of arabic works, and the revival of every ſcience, was not perfectly free from ſuperſtition in his attachment to learning. The propenſity to travel, or the rumour of travels to Spain, Africa, and the eaſt, where the moſt valuable ſecrets of nature were to be learned from retired ſages, prevailed for centuries: many ſecret orders, and numerous conſraternities of travelling ſcholars, aroſe from this; and indeed the whole aſpect of

the

the philoſophical and mathematical ſciences betrayed this arabian origin even beyond the epoch of the reformation.

No wonder, that *myſticiſm* united with ſuch a philoſophy, thus moulding itſelf to one of the moſt refined ſyſtems of contemplative perfection. Even in the firſt chriſtian church myſticiſm had paſſed from the modern platonic philoſophy into ſeveral ſects; the tranſlation of the ſpurious Dionyſius the areopagite introduced it into the monaſteries of the weſt, many ſects of the manicheans were infected with it; and at length, with and without the aid of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy, it attained a degree of conſiſtency among the monks and nuns, in which it diſplayed ſometimes the moſt ſubtile ſophiſtry of human reaſon, at others the moſt refined tenderneſs of the enamoured heart. This, however, was not without it's benefits, as it called off the mind from mere ceremonial worſhip, accuſtomed it to enter into itſelf, and animated it with mental food. It afforded the languiſhing, ſolitary mind, ſeparated from this World, conſolation and exerciſe, while it refined the ſentiments by a ſort of ſpiritual romance. It was the precurſor of the metaphyſics of the heart, as the ſchool philoſophy prepared the way for that of the underſtanding, and each ſerved as a counterpoiſe to the other. Happy for us, that the time is almoſt paſt, in which the uſe of this opiate is requiſite as a medicine*.

Laſtly, *the ſcience of juriſprudence*, this practical philoſophy of the ſenſe of juſtice and ſound reaſon, when it began to ſhine with freſh light, contributed more than myſticiſm and ſpeculative philoſophy to the welfare of Europe, and the firm eſtabliſhment of the rights of ſociety. In the ages of honourable ſimplicity few written laws were requiſite; and the rude germanic nations properly ſtrove againſt the ſubtilties of the roman juriſts: more poliſhed and partly corrupted countries found written laws of their own, and ſoon an abſtract of the roman law, altogether indiſpenſable. And as this at length became inſufficient in oppoſition to a progreſſive papal juriſprudence, increaſing with every century, it was not amiſs, that the whole code of roman law ſhould be brought forward, to exerciſe the judgment and underſtanding of enlightened and active men. With good reaſon did the emperors recommend this ſtudy, particularly in the higher ſeminaries of their italian dominions: for it was a ſchool of arms againſt the pope, and all riſing free-ſtates were equally intereſted in availing themſelves of it, againſt the pope, the emperor, and their petty tyrants. Accordingly the number of lawyers increaſed aſtoniſhingly: as knights in the realm of literature, as defenders of the liberty and property of nations, they

* After all that has been written by Poiret, Arnold, and others, we ſtill want a hiſtory of myſticiſm, particularly of the middle ages, compoſed in a truly philoſophical ſpirit.

were highly reſpected in courts, in cities, and in the chair of learning; and on their account the much frequented city of Bologna was eſteemed the ſeat of learning.

The riſe of the law rendered Italy what France was in the philoſophy of the ſchools: the old roman and the canon law contended againſt each other: even ſeveral popes were men of the greateſt eminence in juriſprudence. Pity, that the reanimation of this ſcience happened at a time, when the ſources were impure, and the ſpirit of the old roman law could be ſeen only through a miſt. Pity, that the ſubtile philoſophy of the ſchools arrogated to itſelf this practical ſcience, and perverted the deciſions of the intelligent by a captious play upon words. Pity too, that an auxiliary ſtudy, an exerciſe of the judgment on the model of the ſages of antiquity, ſhould have been taken as a poſitive rule, as the goſpel of the law, in all caſes, even the moſt novel, and fartheſt from being determined. Hence aroſe that ſpirit of chicane, which in time nearly extinguiſhed the character of almoſt every national legiſlation in Europe. Barbarous book-learning aſſumed the place of a living knowledge of things: legal proceſſes became labyrinths of form and quibble: inſtead of a noble ſentiment of juſtice, men's minds were turned to artifice and cunning, which rendered the language of the laws and of the courts perplexed and unintelligible, and ultimately, in conjunction with the triumphant power of the magiſtrate, favoured a ſpurious paramount right of the ſovereign. The conſequences of this have long continued to be felt.

Were we to compare the ſtate of the human mind on it's reawaking in Europe with ſome of the more ancient times and nations, it would afford a melancholy proſpect. Every thing good riſes tremblingly from rude and ſtupid barbariſm, under the preſſure of ſpiritual and temporal tyranny: here, the beſt ſeeds are trodden down on the ſtony ſoil, or ſcattered by the plundering birds; there, the young plants riſe with difficulty amid the thorns, and are choked or ſtunted, as they want the favourable ſoil of ancient goodneſs and ſimplicity. The firſt popular religion appeared amid perſecuted and in ſome degree fanatical heretics; philoſophy, in the theatres of diſputing logicians; the moſt uſeful ſciences, as magic and ſuperſtition; the guidance of the human paſſions, as myſticiſm; an improved political ſyſtem, as the patched and caſt-off mantle of a long ſuperannuated and heterogeneous legiſlation: and through theſe Europe was to raiſe herſelf from a ſtate of the utmoſt confuſion, and form herſelf anew. What the ſoil wanted, however, in depth of fertile mould; the implements and auxiliary means, in utility; the air, in ſerenity and freedom; was compenſated, probably, by the extent of the field to be cultivated, and the value of the plants

to be produced. Not an Athens, or a Sparta, but an Europe was here to be formed; and this not to the *kalokagathie* of a grecian philoſopher or artiſt, but to a reaſon and humanity, that in time ſhould embrace the World. Let us ſee what inſtitutions have been framed for this, what diſcoveries have been ſcattered in the darkneſs of ages, to be ripened by futurity.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Inſtitutions and Diſcoveries in Europe.*

1. THE cities of Europe are become as it were fixed camps of cultivation, workſhops of induſtry, and the commencement of an improved political economy, without which this country would be ſtill a deſert. In all the territories of the roman empire, theſe cities retained ſome portion of the roman arts; and in countries, which the romans had never poſſeſſed, they were mounds oppoſing the incurſion of freſh barbarians, and the aſylums of men, of trade, of arts, and manufactures. Praiſed for ever be the ſovereigns, who founded, endowed, and protected them: for with them were founded conſtitutions, that firſt gave public ſpirit room to breathe; ariſtocratico-democratical bodies were formed, the members of which watched over each other, were often mutual enemies and opponents, and on this very account unavoidably promoted the common ſecurity, emulative induſtry, and progreſſive exertion. Within the walls of a city, all that could awaken and give conſiſtency to invention, diligence, civil liberty, economy, policy, and order, according to the times, was condenſed together in a narrow ſpace: the laws of many cities are maſterpieces of civic wiſdom. Through the means of cities, nobles, as well as communities, enjoyed the firſt title of common liberty, *citizenſhip*. In Italy republics aroſe, which went farther through the means of their trade, than Athens and Sparta had ever gone: on this ſide the Alps, not only did individual cities diſtinguiſh themſelves by induſtry and commerce, but alliances were formed between them, and ultimately a commercial ſtate, which extended over the Euxine and the Mediterranean, the Atlantic ocean, the North Sea, and the Baltic. Theſe cities lay in Germany, the Netherlands, and the northern kingdoms, Poland, Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Livonia. Lubec was their head, and the chief trading towns of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, joined their aſſociation; forming perhaps the moſt efficacious alliance, that ever exiſted.

This contributed more to give Europe the form of a commonwealth, than all the croiſades and romiſh rites; for it roſe ſuperiour to religious or national diſtinctions, and founded the connexion of ſtates on mutual advantage, emulative induſtry, probity, and order. Cities accompliſhed what was beyond the power of princes, prieſts, and nobles: they formed of Europe *one common* cooperative body.

2. The guilds in cities, troubleſome as they often were to the magiſtracy, and even to the growing arts, were at that time indiſpenſable, as little commonwealths, as aſſociated bodies, in which all were anſwerable for each, to the ſupport of honeſt trade, the improvement of the arts, and the honour and eſteem of the artiſts themſelves. By their means Europe became the manufacturer of all the productions of the Globe; and thus, though the ſmalleſt and pooreſt quarter of it, obtained an aſcendancy over the reſt. To it's induſtry Europe is indebted for the production of wonders from wool and flax, hemp and ſilk, hair and ſkins, earth and clay, ſtones, metals, plants, juices, and colours, aſhes, ſalts, rags, and excrement, which again ſerved as means to produce other wonders. If the hiſtory of inventions be the greateſt praiſe of the human intellect; guilds and corporations have been their ſchool; as by the ſeparation of the arts, and methodical regularity of inſtruction, by the mutual emulation of many, and by the ſtimulus of want, things were produced, which the favour of the ſovereign or the ſtate ſcarcely knew, ſeldom promoted or rewarded, and rarely if ever excited. Diſcipline and order produced them under the ſhade of a peaceful city government: the moſt ingenious arts aroſe from mechanical labours and enterpriſes, the garb of which they long wore, particularly on this ſide the Alps, not to their diſadvantage. Let us not ridicule, therefore, or pity the formalities and introductory ſteps of every ſuch practical regulation; for with them were connected the eſſence of art, and the common honour of artiſts. The monk and the knight had far leſs need of initiatory degrees than the active artificer, for the perfection of whoſe work the whole fraternity was in ſome meaſure anſwerable: for to every thing, that bears the name of art, nothing is ſo detrimental as underhand dealings, and the want of a ſenſe of honour ariſing from being maſter of it; by which the very foundations of the art are ſapped.

Let us honour, therefore, the maſterworks of the middle ages, which evince how much arts and trades are indebted to cities. Gothic architecture would never have attained it's flouriſhing ſtate, had not republics and wealthy commercial cities ſo eagerly rivalled each other in townhalls and cathedrals, as once the cities of Greece in temples and ſtatues. In each we can diſcern whence the

the models of it's taſte were derived, and the country to which the ſtream of it's commerce flowed: the moſt ancient edifices of Venice and Piſa diſplay a different ſtyle of architecture from thoſe of Milan or Florence. The tranſalpine cities followed various models; but, on the whole, the better gothic architecture is moſt eaſily explicable from the conſtitutions of the cities, and the ſpirit of the times. For as men live and think, ſo they build and inhabit: foreign models they can copy only after their own manner, as every bird conſtructs her neſt conformably to her figure, and mode of living. The boldeſt and moſt ornamental gothic architecture would never have taken place in convents, or in the caſtles of knights: it is the peculiar magnificence of public communities. In like manner, the moſt valuable works of art of the middle ages diſplayed the coats of arms of families, communities, and cities on metals, ivory, glaſs, wood, tapeſtry, or veſtments; on which account they have in general a permanent intrinſic worth, and are juſtly an inalienable property of cities and families. Thus civic induſtry wrote chronicles, alſo; in which, it is true, the writer's houſe, family, trade, and city, are his World: but then his heart and ſoul are proportionally engaged in his ſubject; and happy the country, that can frame it's hiſtory from many ſuch, and not from the chronicles of monks. In the councils of cities, too, the roman juriſprudence was firſt wiſely and efficaciouſly reſtricted; otherwiſe it would have ultimately ſtifled the beſt ſtatutes and rights of nations.

3. *Univerſities* were literary cities and corporations: they were inſtituted with ſimilar rights, as commonwealths, and participate their merits. Not as ſchools, but as political bodies, they weakened the barbarous pride of the nobility, ſupported the cauſe of ſovereigns againſt the pretenſions of the popes, and opened the way to political ſervices and rank for a properly learned claſs, inſtead of the excluſive clergy. Never, perhaps, did men of learning enjoy more eſteem, than at the firſt dawn of ſcience: men beheld the indiſpenſable value of a good they had long deſpiſed; and as one party dreaded the light, the other more eagerly hailed the riſing morn. Univerſities were fortreſſes and bulwarks of ſcience againſt the belligerent barbariſm of eccleſiaſtical tyranny: they at leaſt guarded a treaſure, of which the value was but half known, for better times. After Theodoric, Charlemagne, and Alfred, we would particularly honour the aſhes of the emperor Frederic II; who, among his various merits, poſſeſſes that of having given univerſities an impulſe toward improvement, the effects of which were not tranſient. In theſe inſtitutions Germany has become as it were the centre of Europe: in it the arſenals and magazines

of

of ſcience have acquired the greateſt internal abundance, as well as the moſt durable form.

4. Laſtly, we ſhall enumerate a few of the diſcoveries, which, carried into practice, became powerful implements in the hands of poſterity. The *magnetic needle*, the guide of navigation, was probably introduced into Europe by the arabs, and firſt brought into uſe by the merchants of Amalfi, in their early commercial intercourſe with them. With this the World was put into the hands of europeans. The genoeſe ſoon ventured into the Atlantic: and afterwards the portugueſe evinced, that they poſſeſſed not the weſtern ſhores of the old World in vain. They ſought and found a way round Africa, and thus changed the courſe of the whole indian trade: till another genoeſe diſcovered a ſecond hemiſphere, and thus gave a new face to all the relations of our part of the Globe. The little implement of theſe diſcoveries came into Europe with the dawn of ſcience.

*Glaſs*, an early commodity of the aſiatics, which was once eſtimated at it's weight in gold, has become of more value than gold in the hands of europeans. Whether it were Salvino, or ſome other, who poliſhed the firſt lens, he thus formed the beginning of an inſtrument, deſtined afterwards to diſcover millions of celeſtial worlds, regulate time and navigation, and aſſiſt the nobleſt ſciences the human mind can boaſt. Already Roger Bacon, the franciſcan friar, in his cell diſcovered wonders, in the properties of light, and in almoſt all the realms of nature, for which he was rewarded with the hatred of his order, and with impriſonment; but which were more happily purſued by others, in more enlightened times. The firſt beam of light in the mind of this wonderful man ſhowed him a new world in Heaven and on Earth. 1255. 1250.

*Gunpowder* alſo, a murderous, yet on the whole a beneficial gift, was either brought into uſe by the arabs, or at leaſt introduced into Europe by their writings. Here and there it appears from theſe to have been diſcovered by more than one, and but ſlowly applied to practical purpoſes, when it changed the whole face of the art of war. The modern ſtate of Europe was incredibly influenced by this invention; which better ſubdued the ſpirit of chivalry, than all the councils that ever were held; promoted the authority of ſovereigns, more than any aſſemblies of the people; checked the blind fury of perſonally embittered armies; and even ſet limits to that art of war, to which it gave birth. This and other chymical inventions, above all deſtructive ſpirituous liquors, which the arabs introduced into Europe as medicines, and which have

ſince

ſince ſpread themſelves as poiſons throughout the wide World, conſtitute epochas in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies.

The ſame may be ſaid of the preparation of *paper* from rags, and the prototypes of *printing* in cards, and other impreſſions of immoveable characters. That probably owed it's origin to the paper fabricated from cotton, and from ſilk, which the arabs brought out of Aſia: this proceeded by ſlow ſteps from one attempt to another, till, from wooden cuts and types, the printer and copperplate engraver produced the moſt important effects on our quarter of the globe. The *arithmetical figures* of the arabs; the *muſical notes* invented by Guido of Arezzo; *clocks*, for which we are indebted to Aſia; oil-painting, an ancient german invention; and other uſeful implements, invented, or adopted and imitated, in various places, before the dawn of ſcience; almoſt always became, in the hothouſe of european induſtry, ſeeds of new things and events for future ages.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Concluſion.*

How, therefore, came Europe by it's cultivation, and the rank it obtained by it above other countries? Time, place, neceſſity, the ſtate of affairs, the ſtream of events, impelled it to this: but, above all, it's *peculiar induſtry in the arts*, the reſult of many *common exertions*, procured it this rank.

1. Had Europe been rich as India, uninterſected as Tatary, hot as Africa, iſolated as America, what has appeared in it would never have been produced. Even in the profoundeſt barbariſm it's ſituation on the Globe helped to reſtore it to light; but from it's rivers and ſeas it derived moſt advantage. Take away the Dnieper, the Don, and the Dwina; the Euxine, Mediterranean, Adriatic, Atlantic, Baltic, and North Seas; with their coaſts, iſlands, and rivers; the great commercial league, to which Europe is indebted for it's beſt activity, would not have exiſted. But as it was, the two great and wealthy quarters of the Globe, Aſia and Africa, embraced their poorer, ſmaller ſiſter; they ſent her their wares and inventions from the remoteſt limits of the World, from regions the earlieſt and longeſt civilized, and thus whetted her induſtry and powers of invention. The climate of Europe, the remains of the ancient greek and roman worlds, aſſiſted all this: and thus the ſovereignty of Europe is founded on *activity* and *invention*, on *ſcience* and *united emulative exertions*.

2. The *preſſure of the romiſh hierarchy* was perhaps a neceſſary yoke, an indiſ-

penſable

penſable bridle for the rude nations of the middle ages. Without it Europe had probably been the prey of deſpots, a theatre of eternal diſcord, or even a mungal wilderneſs. Thus as a counterpoiſe it merits praiſe: but as the firſt and permanent ſpring it would have converted Europe into a tibetian eccleſiaſtic ſtate. Action and reaction produced an effect, which neither party had intended: want, neceſſity, and danger, brought forward between the two a third ſtate, which muſt be the life-blood of this great active body, or it will run into corruption. This is the *ſtate of ſcience*, of *uſeful activity*, *of emulative induſtry in the arts*; which neceſſarily, yet gradually, puts an end to the periods of chivalry and monachiſm.

3. Of what kind the modern cultivation of Europe could be is evident from what has been ſaid: only a cultivation of men as they were, and were deſirous of being; a cultivation, through the means of induſtry, arts, and ſciences. He, who needed not, deſpiſed, or abuſed theſe, remained what he was: an univerſal, reciprocating formation of all ranks and nations, by means of education, laws, and a political conſtitution, was not then to be thought of; and when will it be? Reaſon, however, and the effective joint activity of mankind, keep on their unwearied courſe; and it may even be deemed a good ſign, when the beſt fruits ripen not prematurely.

7 NO 55

THE END.

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